

ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY.

ARCHÆOLOGIA :
OR,
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS
RELATING TO
ANTIQUITY,

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ARCHAEOLOGIA:
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&c.

I.—*On a probable Allusion to the Christians in a Passage of the Sixth Satire of Juvenal.* By The EARL STANHOPE, D.C.L., F.R.S., President.

Read March 9, 1871.

The lines in the sixth Satire of Juvenal to which I desire to call your attention begin at verse 541. The poet is inveighing against the superstitions which he ascribes to the Roman ladies. First there comes a priest of Osiris:—

Cum dedit ille locum, cophino, fœnoque relicto,
Arcanam Judæa tremens mendicat in aurem,
Interpres legum Solymarum et magna sacerdos
Arboris, ac summi fida internuncia cœli.

The “cophinus fœnumque” are also commemorated in an earlier Satire (the third, verse 13), where Juvenal describes the Jews as herding before the Porta Capena and the path to Egeria’s Fountain:—

Nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur
Judæis, quorum cophinus fœnumque supellex.

It is from this “cophinus” that the French word *coffre* as well as our own word *coffin* are derived. So far as I know, it is mentioned only by one other Latin author, namely, Columella, in the eleventh of his books on Husbandry, chapter the third, where it signifies a basket for the conveyance of manure. But it is the same word as the Greek κόφινος, which frequently occurs in the New

Testament. See Matthew xiv. 20, xvi. 9; Mark vi. 43, viii. 19; Luke ix. 17; John vi. 13. All these passages refer to the miracle of the Loaves and Fishes; and the word no doubt denotes a common provision-basket, as in use among the Jews. Thence it is easy to see how a basket intended for provision, but half or wholly filled with hay, might form the subject of a taunt against the poverty of an exiled people.

Thus far then the "cophinus" and the "fœnum" are perfectly clear. But how are we to explain the epithet which Juvenal gives to the Jewess, as "magna sacerdos arboris?" It is to this point my observations tend.

It has been assumed by several commentators that the "magna sacerdos arboris," like the "cophinus" and "fœnum," refer to the earlier passage, already cited, in the third Satire. There the Jews and Jewesses are represented as dwelling in the grove which adjoins the Porta Capena. But it is one thing to dwell among trees, and another to worship them or to be termed their high-priest. Now, if there be a point above all others on which the Old Testament is explicit and decided, it is in denouncing the idolatry of groves. The texts to this effect are so numerous that I cannot allege all or nearly all, but must content myself with two. Thus, in Exodus xxxiv. 13, "Ye shall destroy their altars, break their images, and cut down their groves;" and in Deuteronomy xvi. 21, "Thou shalt not plant thee a grove of any trees near unto the altar of the Lord God which thou shalt make thee."

It may indeed be urged that the Romans, for the most part, at this time held in utter disdain the precepts and the practices of the Jews, and might therefore the more easily misunderstand them. I readily admit the proneness to error on such points on the part of the victorious race, and indeed I shall have occasion to allege this very proneness as my argument proceeds. But it must be observed that in the question now before us, of idolatry in groves, the statement of Juvenal, according to this interpretation, would be not only divergent from the truth, but in direct and utter opposition to it. Such an opposition between statement and fact is to be admitted only on some degree of collateral proof and not altogether on supposition or surmise.

It has therefore appeared to several of those who have tried their hands at interpretations, that the passage in the Sixth satire is not sufficiently explained by a reference to the passage in the third. Other interpretations have accordingly been tried. The edition "In Usum Delphini" imagines an allusion to the prophetic oaks in the forest of Dodona. "Alludit Juvenalis ad responsa dari solita sub quercu in nemore Dodonæo per Jovis sacerdotes." Yet even that ingenious

controversialist immortalised in one of Lord Macaulay's essays, who drew a parallel between Enoch and King George the Second, might have failed to trace even the slightest shadow of resemblance between the rites of Jove in Epirus and those of Jehovah in the Holy Land.

Another view of the subject is taken by the Rev. Mr. Madan in his English notes. On the "*magna sacerdos arboris*" he says: "This is spoken in contempt of the Jews, who lived in woods and forests." Surely, however, it is impossible for any allegation to be less well founded. So far from living in forests, the Jews lived in a country which is now and ever has been especially bare of trees. Any inquirer may convince himself of this by referring to Dean Stanley's excellent and most justly popular book on Sinai and Palestine.

Mr. Gifford in his translation of Juvenal and in his notes upon this passage appears to give up the point in despair. "What is meant," he says, "by '*magna sacerdos arboris*,' high-priestess of the tree, I cannot tell."

It is under these circumstances that I venture to propose a different interpretation, which, so far as I am aware, is altogether new. My theory is, that Juvenal confounded the early Christians with the Jews, and intended to point with a scoff at the worship of a crucified Redeemer.

To sustain this theory it should in the first place be shown that the Romans of that period did actually confuse together the Christians and the Jews. Of this there can be no stronger proof than is afforded by a well-known passage in Suetonius. He says of the Emperor Claudius: "*Judæos, impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes, Româ expulit.*" Here the meaning seems perfectly plain. The Christian proselytes often came to strife with their Jewish brethren of the old religion, and the Romans hearing the name of Christus or Chrestus—they cared little which form might be correct—re-echoed from side to side, they considered him, whether or not present in the city, as the author of the tumult; and they banished from Rome, with impartial severity, both parties to the fray.

The passage from Suetonius may, I think, suffice, but there are others also which lead to the conclusion that the Romans for some time regarded the Christians as no more than a sect of the Jewish Church.

It is also to be observed that there is another passage of Juvenal in which he alludes to the early Christians, without expressly naming them. This occurs in the first Satire, line 155:—

—*tædâ lucebis in illâ*

*Quâ stantes ardent, qui fixo gutture fumant,
Et latum mediâ sulcum diducis arenâ.*

It has always been understood that these lines refer to the horrible cruelties in the reign of Nero consequent upon the firing of Rome, when the Christians were smeared over with combustibles and set to burn as torches.

Reverting to my theme, the "*magna sacerdos arboris*," I may add that the taunt against the Crucifixion which I am ascribing to Juvenal is exactly such as we might expect him to make. The Cross, being then the mode of execution reserved for slaves and for the worst of malefactors, could not fail whenever associated with an object of religious worship to provoke the ridicule of any Pagan satirist. This tendency, such as we might *primâ facie* suppose it to exist, appears in fact not only in writings but also in designs. Not many years since, there was discovered by Father Garrucci in a garden near the Palatine Hill a caricature of the Pagan times. It represents, rudely scratched upon a wall, the figure of a man with the head of an inferior animal fastened to a cross, while below another man looks up as though in adoration, and some Greek words inscribed with faulty spelling state that here Alexamenos is worshipping God. A fac-simile of this very remarkable discovery is given by M. Champfleury in his recent volume, "*Histoire de la Caricature Antique*," which may with much advantage be consulted.

On the word "*arbor*," there is still something to be said. "*Arbor infelix*" was a phrase used by some of the Latin writers to denote the instrument of execution. It is quoted in that sense by Cicero in one of his orations, that for Caius Rabirius; "*Caput obnubito*," he says, "*arbori infelici suspendito*." And from the Pagan writers the word "*arbor*," in that sense, passed to the ecclesiastical.

Indeed, so far as regards the writings of theology within the Christian Church, the use of the word appears to have continued all through the middle ages. Here, for instance, is an extract of a letter addressed to me by a deeply read and accomplished friend who holds the Roman Catholic faith: "*The term arbor vite*, as a metaphor for the Cross, occurs in Drogo, a writer of the twelfth century, in his *Sermo de Sacramento Dominicæ Passionis*, in Migne's edition of the ecclesiastical writers of the Latin Church, vol. clxvi. page 1525. I find it also in the Latin translation of Moses Bar Cephas, a Mono-physite of the tenth century, but I do not know the date of the translation "

From mediæval Latin the phrase by natural transition passed into modern French. Thus the *Dictionnaire Universel* of Furetière, in the edition of 1701, states, under the heading of *arbre*, "*En termes de l'écriture on dit l'arbre de la croix où Jesus Christ a été attaché.*"

But this, it may be added, was not confined to France. The Latin word thus

applied appears to have had an influence on the English translation of the New Testament. In the original Greek the word referring to the Cross of Christ is *ξύλον*, which should properly be translated "wood." But the writers of our authorised version, having, as we may presume, the "arbor" in their thoughts, have rendered the *ξύλον* by "tree." Thus, for instance, in the fifth chapter of the Acts, verse 30, "The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew and hanged on a tree." Or in the first epistle of St. Peter, the second chapter, and the 24th verse, "Who His own self bare our sins in His own body on the tree."

It may be observed, in conclusion, that there is one reason perhaps why the sixth Satire of Juvenal has never been so carefully considered as many of the others. This was first pointed out to me by one of the professors at Oxford. It has not, at that University at least, been taken up for examinations, nor yet for preliminary lectures, on account of the exceeding grossness of some of its passages. Thus it has lain out of the way both of students and of teachers.

POSTSCRIPT. Shortly after the foregoing paper was read before the Society of Antiquaries, I was favoured by the receipt of a Latin epistle from W. H. Black, Esq., F.S.A. in which he combats learnedly, as usual with him, the interpretation of the lines of the great Roman satirist which I have ventured to put forth. This epistle, although Mr. Black did not think fit to communicate it formally to the Society, was nevertheless circulated by him in print among the Fellows and other persons likely to be interested in the subject. Wishing for nothing more than the fair discussion of a difficult passage, I have asked for and obtained Mr. Black's leave to reprint his letter in this place.

Inclyto Domino PHILIPPO HENRICO, Comiti STANHOPIO, Societatis Antiquariorum Londiniensis
Præsidi, MELAS MILIARENSIS, debita cum observantia, S.D.

Cum tu, Domine mi, apud novissimum Societatis nostræ consessum, versus aliquot JUVENALIS novo sensu interpretandos duxisses; assensum meum non dabam, sed suggestionem tantummodo proponebam, qua teipsum e discrimine magno, si libuerit, servares. Tunc tamen de cæteris, mihi prævisis, tacebam; diutius nunc silere nolo: tu enim auctoris illius verba sic intelligenda voluisti,

ut religionis Christianæ jacturam (ut opinor) non modicam feceris. Mulier illa “Judea tremens” fuit, seu secundum Poetæ existimationem, seu propria sua professione,—

*Interpres legum Solymarum, et magna Sacerdos
Arboris, ac summi fida Internuntia cæli.*

(JUV. Sat. vi. 543-4.)

Si revera ut Christiana reputetur, uti proposuisti, longe diversa habenda est ab iis Christianis, qui paucos ante annos, suadente Paulo, *præcibus magicis* renuntiatis, *Ephesia grammata* sua combusserant. (Acta Apostolorum xix. 18, 19.) Sortilega quippe fuit ea Judæa, quæ “somnia qualiacumque” vendebat, resque futuras lucri causa nuntiare mendax et mendicans profitebatur; nec, etsi Romæ, ubi omnia venalia fuisse dicebantur, ubi tamen ætatis illius Christiani fide pietateque præstantissimi habebantur, nomen Christianum gessisse, una cum adeo pravis moribus, ullo modo potuit. Interroga, Domine mi, ac intimo corde reputa, num tali mulieri, qualis apud Poetam depingitur et necessario intelligitur, inter sorores sanctas Christianas locum ac nomen habere cœtus venerabilis Romanus tunc temporis publice aut privatim permittere voluisset. Illud credere mihi saltem nefas videtur. Hinc tibi primum discrimen oritur.

Alterum sequitur discrimen, haud minus periculosum. Quoniam “arboris” interpretatio tua docet, quod *crucis* religionem quandam, inmo potius patibuli horrendi, (cui Servator noster crudeliter clavis fuit affixus,) venerationem, ætas prima Christianismi, eaque purissima, coluerit. Quæ res nullis rationibus, nullisque argumentis validis, nititur: nec unum quidem exemplum e libris primo vel secundo ævo scriptis, crucis lignum veneratum aut venerandum docens, ostendi potest. Quod autem dixit alicubi Paulus, crucem Christi quodammodo memorans, figurate mortem vel crucifixionis pœnam indicat, non crucis materiam, aut formam, aut cultum. Nec ab Apostolis *arbor*, sed *lignum*, (*ξύλον, οὐ δένδρον*,) nuncupatur crux; et martyrium subeundum, per crucis gestatæ vocabulum intelligi vult Jesus in Evangelio. Quis enim, ante Helenæ tempora, crucis lignum unquam veneratus est? Quis ante Tertullianum crucis formam, ut signum a Christianis factum aut inditum, usurpatam fuisse docuit? Quomodo autem crucis signaculo utendi mos, a Tertulliano memoratus, post religionis nostræ primordia sit exortus, paucis narrabo.

Juxta visiones propheticas, ii, qui Dei cultores ac servi fuerunt veracissimi, consignari quodam signo in frontibus suis videbantur. “Transi per mediam civitatem, et signa *thau* super frontes virorum gementium et dolentium super multis abominationibus quæ fiunt in medio ejus,” oraculum fuit Ezechielii auditum (Ezech. ix.); et, “Nolite nocere terræ, quoadusque signemus servos Dei nostri in frontibus suis,” vox fuit Angeli qui habuit “signum Dei vivi.” (Apocal. vii.) Prius signum litera fuit Hebraica, unde T litera Græca, itemque Latina: quale vero posterius, non traditum est. At veteres quidam Christiani literæ illius formam similitudinem *crucis* habere videntes, seipsos forma crucis notare commenti sunt. Sic illud (eheu!) fecerunt, quod in alia visione vetatur, ubi caractere bestię signatos plurimos fore prædictum est. Numerum DCLXVI. in se characterem illum habere, ut etiam habet crux, et sic bestię characterem (nempe imperii Romani signaculum,) crucem esse, ante triginta annos fere primus inveni, remque demum publici juris feci A.D. M.DCCC.XLVIII. Hic autem est numeri calculus. Fiat monogramma, e duabus lineis invicem se in medio secantibus, quod crucis formam habeat: in eo igitur omnes characteres isti

quater comprehenduntur, nempe, C angulare, L, X, V, I, et I dimidiatum. Eorum valores sunt, $100 + 50 + 10 + 5 + 1 + \frac{1}{2} = 166\frac{1}{2}$, $\times 4 = 666$.

Miro modo confectus fuit numerus iste, miroque usus habuit, inter Menses publicos Romanos: characteris autem ejus forma ex instrumento gromatico desumpta est, ubi lineæ duæ cardinalis et decumana inscribantur. Unde *crucis* formam in templis ethnicis notatam fuisse, Scriptores Gromatici testantur; his verbis:

“Quare per aedes publicas in ingressibus antiqui fecerunt *crucem*, antica et postica? Quia Aruspices, secundum aruspicium, in duas partes orbem terrarum dividerunt: unam partem ab oriente in occidentem, aliam a meridiano in septentrionem. Ideoque, si quis Imperatorum aut Consulium, pugnantem, terras acquisierunt nomini Romano, et partiti sunt veteranis aut militibus Romanis, et pro voto suo diis templum aedificaverunt; ut sciretur a posteris quia adquisierant terras nomini Romano, secundum aruspicium, signum fecerunt in aede deorum suorum, ut scriberent antica et postica.” (Rei Agrariæ Auctores Legesque variae, ed. 1554, 4to. p. 236; ed. 1674, 4to. p. 297.)

Quid ergo? Num Judæa illa malefica, sortilega, sordida, mendicatrix, pro *Christiana* reputabitur? Nullo modo, Domine. An *crucis* veneratio *ætati primariæ Christianismi* tribuenda sit? Nulla ratione, Domine. Nam “*arbor*” illa poetice stat pro *nemore*, seu horto, ob Numæ Regis nomen venerato: ut in tertia dixerat Poeta,—

*Nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur
Judeis,—*

Vectigalis causa, scilicet, ab Imperatore aut Senatu.

*Omnis enim populo mercedem pendere jussa est
Arbor, et ejectis mendicat sylva Camænia.*

(JUV. Sat. iii. 13—16.)

Sic inter nos, templa Paulinum et Petrinum, Londiniensia, pecuniæ datoribus monstrantur, aut nuper monstrabantur. Vox etiam “sacerdos” pro *curatore*, aut *curatrice*, alicujus rei sacræ, locive sacræ, stat; non pro cultrice, seu antistite sacræ. Alias enim Poetæ verba interpretando, necessario in res dubias, immo periculosas, lector deducitur: nec pro Christianismi veritate historica facit interpretatio nova, sed (ni fallor) in ejus dedecus damnumque vertitur.

Hæc in partem bonam accipienda postulo. Vale, Domine. Ex ædibus meis Miliarensibus, prope Arcem Londiniensem, xv. Martii, A.D. M.DCCC.LXXI.

II.—*Some Account of Ancient Oaken Coffins discovered on the lands adjoining Featherstone Castle, near Haltwhistle, Northumberland.* By THOMAS WILLIAM SNAGGE, Esq. M.A.

Read Feb. 3rd, 1870.

IN the year 1825 some labourers who were employed in draining a swampy field upon a farm belonging to the Featherstone Castle estate came upon what seemed to be part of the trunk of an oak-tree. Finding that it impeded the progress of their work they endeavoured to cut it out with an axe, when to their surprise they discovered that the trunk was hollowed and contained some human bones, which, however, speedily became dust when exposed to the air. Proceeding with their work they found the remains of four more coffins of the same kind, in one of which was part of a skull.

The workmen are said to have passed several coffins lying north and south, very near each other, and about 5 feet below the surface of the ground.

At the instance of Mr. Wallace,^a the owner of Featherstone, a letter describing the discovery was written to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle by his land-steward, Mr. Hutton. This letter gave but an imperfect account of the coffins. It was followed by another letter addressed to the same Society by Colonel Blenkinsopp Coulson, a gentleman who happened to be on the spot when the discovery was made. This letter adds nothing to our information except that it describes the coffin as "formed from the bole of an oak-tree which has been split by the wedge and hollowed out in a very rough manner to admit the body, the lid secured at the head and feet by wooden pins. . . . Few bones were found, and those after being exposed to the air shortly became dust."^b

It does not appear that the communication led to any discussion in the Society, or that any theory was raised respecting the date or origin of the coffins. One of them, which was sent as a specimen, was placed in the museum of the Society, where I believe it still remains.

^a Afterwards Lord Wallace, Master of the Mint.

^b Both letters will be found printed in *Archæologia Æliana*, ii. 177. The discovery is also noticed in Hodgson's *History of Northumberland*, iii. 350.

Nothing more was done in the matter, and the subject was almost forgotten when in 1859 a coffin exactly similar to those above mentioned was discovered in the same field by Mr. Clark, the present land-steward at Featherstone.

In 1863 a search was made at the instance of the Rev. Canon Greenwell of Durham, and another coffin was found which contained a skull in fair preservation. By the permission of Mr. Hope Wallace, the present owner of the Featherstone estate, Mr. Greenwell took the skull away, but I am not aware that he has since published any particulars of his discovery.

In 1864 I happened to be at Featherstone Castle, when I saw the coffin which Mr. Greenwell had exhumed in the previous year. Feeling interested in the discovery, I concluded that a further and more careful search would be very desirable, when an accurate note of all obtainable facts might be made, and the subject brought to the notice of competent archæologists, who might have leisure to deal with it.

In the month of August in the present year (1869) I was again at Featherstone, and, at my request, Mr. Hope Wallace kindly directed that a careful exploration should be made of the field in which the coffins were found. This was done under the very intelligent superintendence of his land-steward, Mr. Clark. A boring-rod was driven down in several parts of the field, and touched many times what seemed to be coffin-lids. In one place, where it was plain that a number of coffins lay together, a trench was made (about 15 feet by 4), and at a depth of from 5 to 6 feet the workmen came upon the coffins, one of which, a very perfect specimen, was laid completely bare.* It was not considered necessary to disturb more than one, although no less than four others were reached in digging this and an adjoining trench, and the boring-rod touched the hollow lids almost in every place where it was driven.



Fig. 1. External view of Oak Coffin.

The coffin (like those found in 1825) consisted of the trunk or bole of an oak-tree (see fig. 1) rudely split from end to end. No attempt appears to have been

* It lay nearly east and west, but several others lay in different directions.

made to reduce the huge log to "shapeliness." The ends were roughly dubbed to a rounded point, but evidently more with the object of severing the trunk at that place by successive strokes at an acute angle—as a woodman lays an axe to a tree—than for the purpose of shaping the coffin. The outer bark and sap-wood had indeed been removed or possibly decayed by time; but the coarse grain of the oak was untouched and was filled with grains of the sand or silt in which the relic had been imbedded.

An examination was made of the strata through which the trench was cut. For about a foot below the surface of the meadow there was a deposit of fine loam. Then came a singular layer of fibrous compost to the depth of about two feet, in which were innumerable twigs and bits of branches of trees, chiefly birch, in excellent preservation, and with the bark whole and silvery as when living. The shells of hazel-nuts were also found in great abundance in this compost. At some former period a forest must have existed on this spot. Next below the fibrous and woody compost we came upon river-sand of a dark bluish grey colour, and so fine in grain that it might at first sight have been mistaken for blue clay, as indeed it was by Mr. Hutton in 1825. This stratum of sand lay below the level of the neighbouring river, the South Tyne, and was very wet, the labourers being obliged to bale out the water as they proceeded with the trench. In this silt, 3 or 4 feet down, the coffins were found, and below them the sand became gradually coarser in grain, and river-stones were found.

As the workmen excavated the sand below the level of the upper half or lid of the coffin, clear water ran out through a small knot-hole in the lower end. When it ceased to flow we raised the lid carefully.

The upper and lower portions of the coffin had been fastened together by means of two oaken pegs an inch and a half or so in diameter, driven into holes which had been bored at each end for the purpose. These pegs had been decayed by time; we found but a fragment of one of them about one inch in diameter, which we knocked out of the hole into which it had been originally driven. The position of these peg-holes and the general appearance of the interior of both halves of the coffin are shown in fig. 2.

Before disturbing the coffin we made a careful search for any bones or other relics which it might contain; nothing however was found except one femoral bone and some fragments of those of the pelvis. The former was almost entire, but very dark in colour and reduced to a pulpy consistency. I may add that this bone was found in the part of the coffin it would have originally occupied, from which circumstance we may reasonably assume that the ground had been undis-

turbed since the time of sepulture. No traces remained of the skull or teeth. The coffin was then lifted carefully from the trench for the purpose of closer examination, and the trench was filled up again.



Fig. 2. Interior view of Oak Coffin.

On measuring the coffin we found the dimensions to be :—

	Ft.	In.
Outside length	7	4
Inside	5	10½
Girth	5	4
Open diameter (about)	1	7
Inner depth (including lid)	1	1
Thickness of "gunwale,"* (about)	0	1½

To form the coffin the trunk or log had been split from end to end, seemingly by means of a wedge, the split taking the direction of the grain of the wood; the upper and lower halves therefore fitted with an almost imperceptible joining. At a distance of 9 or 10 inches from the rounded extremities of the log the ends of the inner opening were squared off, and the inside had been hollowed by means of the rudest implements, and evidently at a considerable expenditure of labour. Transverse cuts had been made at intervals of about one-third of the distance, from end to end, and the wood torn or wedged away in the direction of the grain, from cut to cut.

The marks of the tools used were very plainly visible, and seemingly no attempt had been made to conceal or efface them, or, as one might express it, to "finish" the work in any way. At the narrower end of the coffin deep indent-

* For want of a better expression I am obliged to borrow a word describing part of a canoe or boat, which indeed the halves much resembled.

ations had been made in the interior of the upper half or lid, apparently to make room for the feet of the corpse.

Some of the marks were those of a flat-edged, but very rude, tool, about 4 inches broad; but the greater number appeared to have been made by an instrument of an arrow-head shape, and all the tool impressions to have been caused by *striking*. Here and there imperfect marks were found, as if the workman had missed his aim. Of *cutting* we could detect no trace. From a slight difference in the size and shape of the tool-marks in the upper and lower halves of the coffin, it was not difficult to infer that they were hollowed by different hands, possibly simultaneously, in order to save time.

After the coffin had been raised from the trench, the workmen found lying in the sand below it a flat piece of wood (oak) of irregular shape, about half an inch thick, and pierced at unequal distances with five or six round holes half an inch or so in diameter. This piece or plate of wood, of which an accurate drawing is given in fig. 3, measured 10 inches in length by about 7 broad. The holes

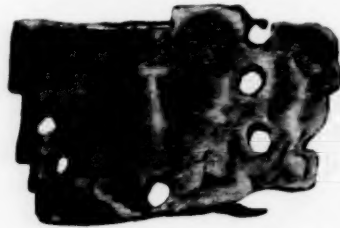


Fig. 3. Repair-plate found with Oak Coffin.

had apparently been made by burning, and in one place a hole had been begun but left unfinished. The fabrication of this oaken plate must have cost much labour, as the tools at the command of the maker were evidently of the rudest kind. We were for some time puzzled to conjecture the purpose for which this wooden plate had been intended; but, upon examining the coffin when closed, we found that there was a gap, probably a knot-hole, in one side near the head (see fig. 1), and round it were small holes bored or burnt and corresponding in size and position to those in the oaken plate. It was plain that the plate was simply a patch made to cover or repair the gap. The pegs with which it had been fastened were not to be found: possibly they had decayed away,* and the patch had slipped down to the place where it was found.

* The pegs which fastened the lid of the coffin were merely bits of the smaller branches of the tree, which the workmen doubtless found conveniently rounded. The pegs fastening the patch were probably of the same kind but smaller, and the finer quality of their fibre would account for their earlier decay.

Lastly, as to the locality of the discovery. The field, which forms part of a farm called Wyden, Wydon, or Wythen Eals, lies within 200 yards of the south branch of the River Tyne, and about two miles south-west of the town of Haltwhistle. (See the Index Map of the Ordnance Survey and also the six-inch map of the locality.) From the lie of the land it must have been at one time a back-reach of the river, and continually under water. It is also known as part of what was called, in a deed dated A.D. 1223, the "Temple Land;" and it is not a little remarkable that a charge of 19s. per annum was payable from time immemorial by the owner of Featherstone to the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle in respect of this very field, being, as I was informed, the only property in the county of Northumberland possessed by that corporation. Upon this charge being redeemed about a year and a half ago, it was ascertained that those entitled could show no other title than prescription.

There are in the field traces of the foundations of some building, but they have not been explored. The "Maiden Way" is about a mile to the west of the field or "haugh," and a small farm-house close by still bears the name of the Peat Gate or Pict Yett.

Similar discoveries of oaken coffins of uncertain date have occasionally but not frequently occurred both in England and in Scotland.

One of the best known instances is the interment at Gristhorpe between Scarborough and Filey, brought to light in the year 1834. Here the whole skeleton of a tall man was found lying in a coffin formed, as in the Haltwhistle examples, of a single trunk of oak, split into two portions and hollowed by rude tools, probably flint chisels. The body, which had evidently been wrapped in the skin of an animal having soft hair, was accompanied by objects in flint, bronze, and bone.

A full account of this discovery illustrated by woodcuts was given by Thomas Wright, Esq. F.S.A. in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.^{*} This communication includes notices of a similar coffin found at Great Driffield in Yorkshire, in 1856, and of another at Beverley in the same county in 1848. Besides these instances Mr. Wright records the finding in 1857 of fourteen tree coffins near the surface of the ground, on a spot understood to be the site of the old parish church of Selby, also in Yorkshire. These wooden chests lay parallel to each other in a direction nearly east and west.

A distinction is noticed in the workmanship of these coffins and those of Gristhorpe and Beverley, for in these latter the cavity for the reception of the body

^{*} August, 1857, vol. iii. New Series, p. 114; also previously, with an engraving, by Mr. William Williamson, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Dec. 1834.

must have been finished, says Mr. Wright, internally with the chisel, as their ends stand at right angles or nearly so to the bottom, which is flat in the whole length, while in the Selby coffin the cavity has been formed by an adze or similar instrument. The Selby and Beverley coffins agreed in the fastening down of the lid by wooden pegs, which, as before stated, were used also at Haltwhistle.

From the circumstances of the locality, and from the absence of *insignia*, it was considered that the Selby interments were Christian. Mr. Wright was disposed to refer the Gristhorpe and other tumuli in the maritime district of Yorkshire to the south of Scarborough, to the later Roman period. Dr. Thurnam, however, who has figured the skull from the Gristhorpe coffin, and gone at some length into the matter,^a concludes that that interment is British, probably not earlier than two or three centuries before, nor later than the first century of our era.

He agrees in thinking the Selby coffins, as well as some others of similar character, found, at great depth, in the centre of the city of York, thirty or forty years ago, to be probably Christian and early Saxon.

Another interment of a body wrapped in skins and placed in an oak coffin was discovered in 1767 in a barrow at Stowborough near Wareham in Dorsetshire.^b This, says Dr. Thurnam, nearly approaches the Gristhorpe example, although it is doubtful whether in this case there was a lid to the coffin.

While on the subject it may be well to notice the discovery at a great depth in the blue silt of Beeding Level, Sussex, of a rude coffin formed of four hewn trunks of oak tree, fastened together by oaken pegs, although the construction of this chest does not exactly agree with that of the specimens more particularly in question.

This coffin contained a skull and bones, the former stained blue, the latter filled with blue phosphate of iron.^c

Dr. Wilson in his *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*^d has noticed the few instances known to him of the discovery of tree-coffins in that country. He remarks that "such examples are less rare than is supposed, though they are little calculated to excite interest in the minds of those under whose observation unfortunately such discoveries most frequently come."

^a *Crania Britannica*. Description of plate lli.

^b *Crania Britannica*, *ubi supra*, and plate xlv. page 2. See also Hutchins's *Dorset*, ed 1774, vol. i. p. 25; edit. 1861, vol. i. p. 100.

^c Mantell's *Wonders of Geology*, page 47, paragraph 34, Third edition, 1839. The author mentions that for the skull and bones alluded to he is indebted to Warren Lee, Esq. of Lewes.

^d Second edition (1863), pp. 160-164.

He proceeds to notice the following instances :

1. At Cairngall, Longside, Aberdeenshire, where on the removal of a tumulus two coffins were exposed lying east and west, neither of them containing bones. They had parallel sides and rounded ends, with two projecting knobs to facilitate carriage.

2. At Culsalmond, Aberdeenshire, in 1812, on the spot whence a cairn had been removed. The coffin, if indeed it can so be called, was of a different construction, again, from those at Haltwhistle, being apparently made of six separate pieces from the trunk of an oak, with a rude attempt at fitting the bottom to the sides by a groove. The wooden cists appeared to have been surrounded by a wall of unhewn stones. An urn was found in the cist, and there were strong traces of the action of fire in the grave, so that this would seem to have been an interment by cremation, and of a class different from that with which we are now dealing.

3. Dr. Wilson narrates his own experience of the discovery in 1850 of two more examples of the oaken cist. The locality was the Castle Hill at Edinburgh. At a depth of about 25 feet, immediately below a layer of vegetable matter, in which was found a coin of the Emperor Constantius, the excavators came upon two rough coffins of oak-tree, split and hollowed, with a circular recess for the head. They lay nearly east and west, with the head to the west.

To these British examples we may add one from Denmark, to which Dr. Wilson, citing Worsaae,^a refers. In a barrow at the village of Vollersten a cist was discovered hollowed out of a very thick oaken trunk about ten feet in length, in which were found the remains of a woollen mantle, a sword, dagger, palstave, and brooch of bronze, a horn comb, and a round wooden vessel with two handles.

Lastly may be mentioned the occurrence of oaken coffins of very similar construction to that of the Haltwhistle examples, and discovered not many years ago in the graves of a tribe of Alamanni at Oberflacht in Suabia,^b where "the

^a *Primæval Antiquities of Denmark*.

^b *Archæologia*, xxxvi. 129, *et seq.* where a very full account of the Oberflacht discoveries is given by W. M. Wylie, Esq. F.S.A. The author observes that it is not improbable that this mode of burial was tolerably general among the Teutonic tribes of the continent at a very early period, especially in the wooded districts. He seems however to have considered the Gristhorpe discovery to be the only one of the kind in England, as he refers to it as the "sole example of a *Todten-baum* in our own country." He notices instances of similar modes of burial among the Laplanders, mentioned by Scheffer, *Laponia*, c. xxvii. p. 314, ed. Franc. 1673; and among the Circassians, as described by an old French writer of the sixteenth century, "*Funerailes et diverses manières d'ensevelir, descrites par Charles Guichard*. Lyon, 1583, livre iii. pp. 408-9."

more prevailing mode seems to have been to fell a massive oak, cleave the bole into nearly equal parts, and hollow out the interior to serve as a sarcophagus. After the body and the various accompanying relics were placed in the tree-coffin (*todten-baum*) the two parts were refitted and firmly pegged together. In the whole of this process no trace of the saw appears. It was managed with the axe or adze alone, whence it follows that the stems are frequently found unevenly divided."

To return to the Haltwhistle coffins. I have endeavoured in this short paper to detail as simply as I can the noticeable facts connected with this interesting discovery, leaving it for those who are conversant with such subjects to theorize respecting them. I may add that my friend Mr. Hope Wallace, whilst he is reluctant to allow the field and its contents to be needlessly disturbed for the gratification of mere curiosity, is most willing to afford every facility for proper scientific investigation.

III.—*Observations on the probable Sites of the Jewish Temple and Antonia, and the Acra, with reference to the results of the recent Palestine Explorations.* By THOMAS LEWIN, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

Read Feb. 16th and 23rd, 1871.

PREFATORY REMARKS.

The recent publication of *The Recovery of Jerusalem*^a assists us materially in solving some of the most perplexing questions as to the topography of the Holy City. The points of greatest interest are 1. The genuineness of the Holy Sepulchre; 2. The lines of the walls; and, 3. The relative sites of the Temple and Antonia and the Acra.

As regards the genuineness of the Holy Sepulchre the explorations have now established the important fact, so much fought for and so warmly opposed, that the Tyropœon Valley does actually run eastward in a gradual slope from the Jaffa Gate down to the Haram, and then deflects southward to Siloam,^b so that the Holy Sepulchre may very well at the date of the Crucifixion have stood *without* the city, and the great objection to the genuineness of the Sepulchre has thus been effectually removed. A paper upon this subject was some time back read by me before the Society of Antiquaries,^c and all that I there advanced has since been confirmed; I have no intention however at present of renewing the controversy, though, if it were necessary, I could now fortify my positions by many additional arguments.

As regards the circuit of the walls and the sites of the Temple and Antonia and the Acra, I feel myself much indebted to Captain Warren for the candour with which in *The Recovery of Jerusalem* he has acknowledged the general correctness of my views.

As to the *line of the walls*, he writes, "I still think Mr. Lewin's plan of the old walls is nearer correctness than any other;"^d but, while he adopts the course of

^a *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, a narrative of exploration and discovery in the City and the Holy Land. By Capt. Wilson, R.E., and Capt. Warren, R.E. London. Bentley. 1871.

^b "Our excavations in the city have established the certainty of a valley running down from the citadel (at the Jaffa Gate) to the Sanctuary." *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 268.

^c *Archæologia*, xli. 116.

^d *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 309.

the walls as I had drawn them generally, he makes one variation which to my judgment is far from being an improvement, and indeed is in direct opposition to an express statement of Josephus, our great authority. Captain Warren draws the line of the first wall in a regular course without any *bend* round Siloam. But the words of Josephus are, "then with its face to the south the wall *makes a turn* above Siloam, (*ἐπίστρεφον*;) and then again deflects with its face to the east to the Pool of Solomon, and reaches as far as the place called Ophlas."^a Thus Josephus distinctly marks the wall's curve above Siloam before it starts on the eastern side. This bend in the wall is further confirmed by the flight of Zedekiah from Jerusalem when it was captured by Nebuchadnezzar, for he "fled out of the city by night, by the way of the King's gardens, by the gate *betwixt the two walls*, and he went out by way of the plain"^b (of Jericho). And the same bend is no doubt referred to by Tacitus in the expression "*muri per artem obliqui aut introrsus sinuati*."^c

As to the *Temple*, Captain Warren places it, as I had done, at the south-west corner of the Haram, but differs from me in this—that, instead of confining the Temple to a square of 600 feet, he assigns it much larger dimensions, and extends it eastward all across the Haram to the south-east corner. I have carefully considered the grounds on which he arrives at this conclusion, and am satisfied, and hope to show, that they are founded upon a misunderstanding of some ambiguous passages in Josephus.

As to the *Castle of Antonia*, Captain Warren places it at the north-west corner of the Haram, and I have long since satisfied myself that this is the true site, and the recent explorations have now made it perfectly clear.

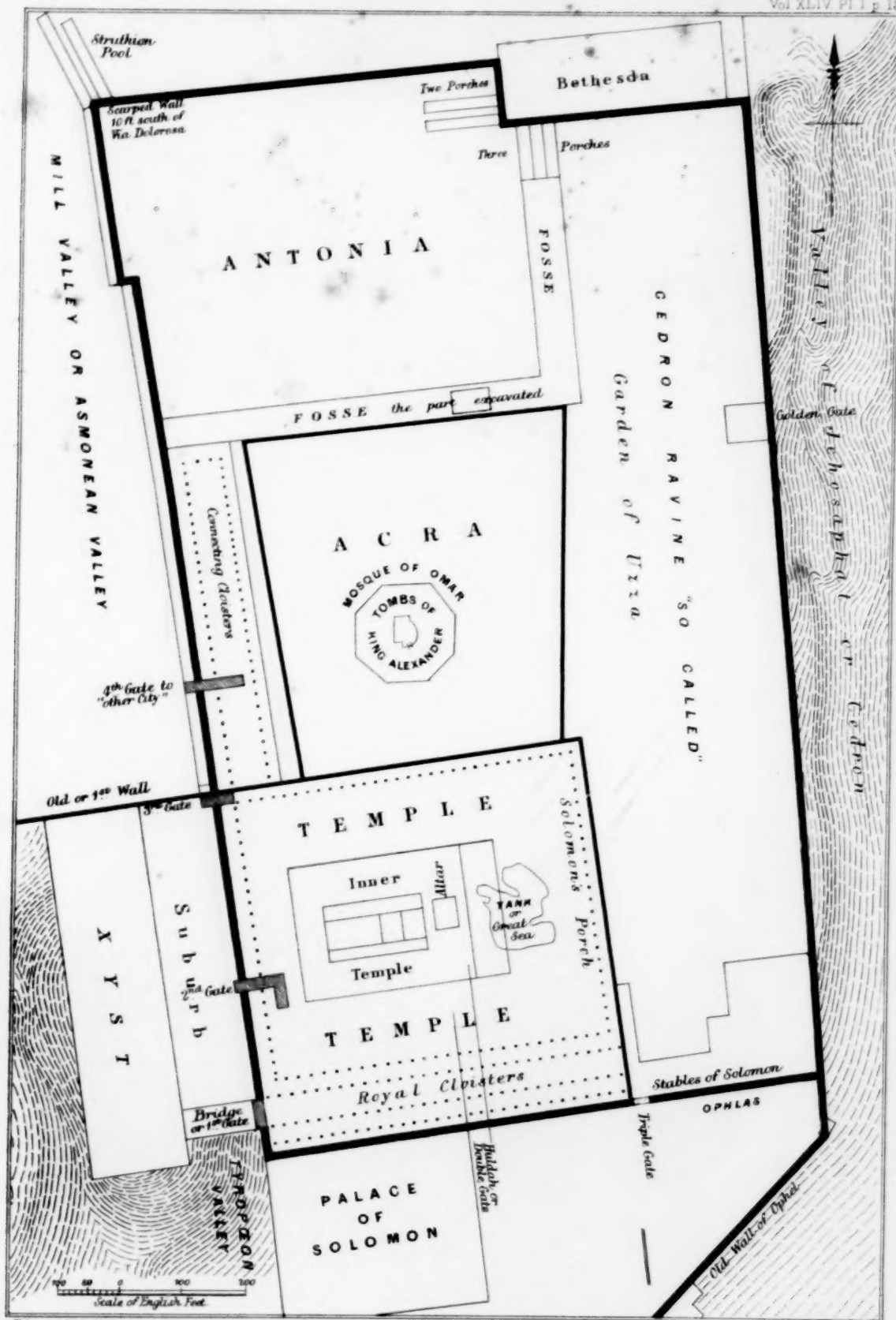
With respect to the *Akra*, I am obliged to differ entirely from Captain Warren's view. He places it on the *west* side of the Asmonean or Mill Valley, a theory which is at variance both with the Book of Maccabees and Josephus. I have no doubt, for the reasons which will be adduced, that it stood on the east side of the Asmonean Valley, upon the Haram itself, to the north of the Temple and to the south of Antonia.

I hope it needs no apology for venturing to controvert any opinion expressed by Captain Warren. The very object of the mission was to collect materials for future discussion. Captain Warren very properly considered it right, as he possessed so great advantages, to express his own convictions, and he has done so with all becoming diffidence, and without the least intention, in so doubtful a

^a *Bell.* v. 4, 2.

^b *Jer.* xxx. 19, 4: *2 Kings*, xxv. 4.

^c Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 11.



T. Lewis MA del

Hell Bro^s lith London.

PLAN OF THE HARAM, JERUSALEM.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. 1872.

matter, of pressing them upon the reader as oracles. The topography of the Holy City is not to be determined by actual exploration exclusively, but by a careful study also of the text of Josephus. The two guides must go hand in hand, or rather must be pitted against each other until they are made to agree. One principal object of the present paper is to bring the light of the historian, whom I have now studied for a quarter of a century, to bear upon the recent survey, so far, at least, as concerns the *Temple* and *Antonia* and the *Acra*.

As I am about to address myself in particular to the *Haram*, and as many persons may not be familiarly acquainted with it, I beg leave to offer a homely illustration of the area. Suppose a folio volume laid flat and unopened upon the table. This will represent well enough the *Haram* generally, which is a rectangular platform reaching 1617 feet on the west side from north to south and 932 feet on the south side from east to west. Next suppose a very thin quarto, about half the size of the folio, laid upon the folio about the middle but somewhat nearer to the left-hand edge than the right-hand edge. This will represent the inner platform, which we propose to call the inner plateau. It extends 550 feet from north to south and 450 feet from east to west, and rises about 15 feet above the ordinary level of the *Haram*. Lastly, suppose a square boss to project about a quarter of an inch from the middle of the thin quarto. This will represent the rock called the *Sakhra*, over which has been erected the Mosque of Omar. Thus the folio is the *Haram*, the thin quarto is the inner plateau, and the boss is the *Sakhra*. The terms *Haram* and *Sakhra* will speak for themselves; but when the term inner plateau is used it will be understood that the plateau of 550 feet by 450 feet is the one referred to. In the plan, Plate I., which accompanies this paper, I have mainly followed the one prepared by the Palestine Exploration Committee.

THE SITES OF THE TEMPLE AND ANTONIA AND THE ACRA.

It would require a volume to discuss the various theories as to the relative sites of these edifices, and I have no intention of entering upon so wide a field. The object is to show, which I think can now be done satisfactorily, what were the *true* positions of them, and if this can be established it will be unnecessary to negative any other hypothesis, as in each case an *alibi* will have been proved.

THE SITE OF THE TEMPLE.

The site of the Temple naturally presents itself first for our consideration, and by the Temple is here meant the Temple in its largest sense, as comprising the

outer court, which was accessible to the Gentiles. As to the Temple proper, the *inner court*, which could only be entered by Israelites, the prophecy has been strictly fulfilled, and not one stone has been left upon another. But if we can determine the position of the outer court we shall have no difficulty in determining, within very narrow limits, what was the site of the inner court.^a

1. In the first place Josephus states over and over again, both directly and indirectly, that the Temple, the outer one, was a square measuring 600 feet on each side.^b Sometimes he writes that the length or breadth was a stadium,^c which is 600 feet. Sometimes that it was 400 cubits,^d which again is 600 feet; and sometimes he leaves the same thing to inference, as where he tells us that the southern cloister consisted of 162 columns in four rows,^e viz. forty in each row, and, as the style of architecture was Corinthian, the inter-columniation or space from the centre of one column to the centre of the next would according to the rules of architecture be about 15 feet, which again would give 600 feet for the whole length.^f Josephus, be it remembered, was a *priest*, and as such in constant attendance upon the Temple, and must have been familiar with every inch of it. He could not therefore have been mistaken, nor can we suspect him (for he is a most honest writer) of wilful mis-statement. Besides, if he were capable of deviating from the truth, the leaning of his mind would be not in the way of curtailment and abridgment but of exaggeration and expansion. I consider it, therefore, as a certain and incontrovertible basis that the Temple was a square of 600 feet, and if there be found in his writings any dictum inconsistent with this assumption (as I believe there is not) the error must lie not in the description of the Temple but in the assertion at supposed variance with it.

Josephus proceeds to say that this square was a solid one, and had been formed by embanking with massive walls the three sides, viz. the south and west and east, and then filling up the hollows, and by scarping or cutting away the rock on the

^a The placing of the Temple at the south-west corner of the Haram, and the leading arguments in support of it, are not new, but will be found in the author's *Siege of Jerusalem by Titus*, and in a much earlier work by James Fergusson, Esq. entitled *An Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem*, 1847. To him must be given the credit of having first suggested what I conceive to be the true theory of the Temple site. On this point we agree; on all others—the sites of Antonia and the Acra, the genuineness of the Holy Sepulchre, and the lines of the city walls—we unfortunately differ.

^b *Ant.* xv. 11, 3; xx. 9, 7; *Bell.* vi. 5, 4.

^c *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

^d *Ant.* xx. 9, 7.

^e *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

^f See *Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem*, p. 13.

fourth side, the north.^a Now if we look to the south-west corner of the Haram we find a combination of all these features. Thus, of the four angles of the Haram, the only one which is a rectangle is that at the south-west corner.

If again we measure 600 feet from the south-west corner along the southern wall we come at once to an abrupt termination of the solid square, for here commences the *southern* or series of vaults erected in comparatively modern times by the Emperor Justinian. Strip off this mask, and the eastern wall of the Temple square of 600 feet discovers itself.

But, further, the scarpment of the rock on the north side still exists, for if we draw a line from west to east from a point in the western wall at the distance of 600 feet from the south-west corner of the Haram, it coincides with the southern face of the *inner plateau*, which is a projecting rock, and is ascended to this day from the south by flights of steps.

2. The next argument is more convincing still, as combining a greater variety of details, and of a singularly minute character. Josephus mentions that the Temple was connected with the upper city by a bridge, and that the bridge led from the south-west corner of the Temple to the Xyst or Gymnasium.^b The chances would be greatly against any relic of the bridge being still traceable, and indeed until recently it was not known that any vestige of it survived. But a few years back it was observed by Dr. Robinson that at the south-west corner of the Haram, on the western side, the uniformity of the wall was broken by the protrusion, as was supposed, of some stones of vast dimensions, as if forced from their places by extraordinary pressure from within. Dr. Robinson caught the happy idea that these stones formed the butt end of the bridge; and this, as now admitted on all hands, they proved to be. We have thus demonstrative proof that here was the south-west corner of the Temple.

The late explorations at Jerusalem show that the bridge was of a single arch; and if so, then, as according to Josephus it led to the Xyst, we should look at the western end of the bridge for the Xyst, and there accordingly we find it—a long rectangular space reaching from north to south, level and unoccupied, and capable, with little expense, of resuming its original use.^c The ordinary length of a xyst was a stadium, and, as this bridge was at the southern end of the Xyst, the first wall which passed along the northern end of it^d must have been about 600 feet to the north of the bridge, and this would carry the wall along the line of the present approach to the Sinsileh gate of the Haram, which was its probable

^a Διακόψαντες δὲ τὸ προσάρκτιον τεῖχος, κ.τ.λ. τευχίσαντες δὲ ἐκ μέσης τριχῇ κυκλῶν τὸν λόφον, κ.τ.λ. Bell. v. 5, 1; Ant. xv. 11, 3.

^b Ant. xiv. 4, 2; Bell. i. 7, 2; ii. 16, 3; vi. 6, 2; vi. 8, 1.

^c Siege of Jerusalem, p. 136.

^d Bell. v. 4, 2.

course, as no traces of it can be discovered elsewhere. The Xyst and the western side of the Temple were thus exactly commensurate.

But further, according to Josephus, the southern cloister or colonnade consisted of a grand central nave and two side aisles; and one naturally supposes that the bridge which ran across the valley and connected the Temple with the Xyst led from this central nave. Indeed the only reason that can be assigned why there should be a triple colonnade on the south side, while there was only a single one on the three other sides, is that the grand approach to the Temple, from the palace of Herod in the High Town, was across the Xyst over the bridge to the southern cloister. Can we discover then any relation between the bridge and the southern cloister, any adaptation of the one to the other? We can, in the most remarkable manner. The central nave was 45 feet wide, and the two aisles were each 30 feet wide, making together 105 feet, so that the centre of the nave was $52\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the south wall. But to this we must add the thickness of the Temple wall, which, according to Josephus, was 12 feet,^a and which, being added to the $52\frac{1}{2}$ feet, makes $64\frac{1}{2}$ feet as the distance of the centre of the southern cloister from the exterior of the southern side of the Temple inclosure. Let us now look to the position of the bridge. The abutment of the bridge, as now projecting from the wall, measures 51 feet in width, *i.e.* from north to south, so that the centre of the bridge is $25\frac{1}{2}$ feet from each side of the bridge, but the commencement of this fragment of the bridge is 39 feet from the south-west corner, which, with the $25\frac{1}{2}$ feet, makes just $64\frac{1}{2}$ feet as the distance of the centre of the bridge from the south-west corner.^b The centre of the bridge then coincides with the centre of the southern cloister to a single inch. The bridge, therefore, was constructed for the cloister, and the cloister for the bridge. Nay, the very width of the bridge agrees with that of the width of the central nave; for, though the latter was 45 feet and the former 51 feet, yet we must bear in mind that the bridge would require parapets on each side, and if we allow 3 feet for each parapet (which would be the proper amount), the width of the bridge being reduced by 6 feet, would exactly correspond with the 45 feet, the width of the nave.^c

^a ὀκτάπηχυν τὸ εὖρος, *Bell.* vi. 5, 1. Josephus is here speaking of the wall of the inner Temple. But it is implied in another passage that both walls were of the same dimensions, for he tells us that "the cloisters of both Temples were supported by a wall of marvellous breadth," and so assumes that they were both of equal breadth: "Ἀμφὼ δὲ ἦσαν μεγάλου τείχους· αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ τείχος ἔργον μέγιστον." *Ant.* xv. 11, 3.

^b Captain Wilson, in his *Notes on the Ordnance Survey*, p. 27, makes the distance 64 feet, *i.e.* half a foot less.

^c This argument is taken from the *Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem*, p. 12 *et seq.*

3. Another feature for identifying the site of the Temple is the number and position of the gates; and in this particular also the south-west corner of the Haram answers to all the requisites. On the south side, says Josephus, was (not *πύλη*, a single gate, but) *πύλαι*, a double gateway, and this was (not *at* the middle but) *at about* the middle, *κατὰ μέσον*.^a Now, if we take 600 feet along the southern wall of the Haram from the south-west corner, and assume it to be the southern wall of the Temple, we find the very double gateway referred to at the point indicated; for at the distance of 340 feet from the south-west corner of the western end of the 600 feet square, and therefore at about the middle, is the double passage commonly known as the Huldah Gate, running up to the surface of the Haram by a gentle incline. The two corridors to which the double gateway leads are divided by a row of pillars, and the walls are constructed of large stones, which were originally bevelled, but have since been pared away, in order to produce (somewhat barbarously) a flat and even surface.

At the entrance of the Huldah Gate is a vestibule, supported by a thick column $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter and 21 feet high, with a foliated capital of a Jewish character, and what is most remarkable about it is this singular coincidence: the southern cloister consisted, as we have said, of four rows of heavy columns, 162 in number, and deducting the odd pair, which were for carrying the wall over the bridge, there were 40 in each row, which, as the length was 600 feet, would give an intercolumniation of 15 feet. As each side aisle was 30 feet wide, one of these rows of columns must have stood at the distance of 30 feet from the southern wall; but, as the wall itself was 12 feet thick, the distance of the row of columns from the exterior of the southern wall was 42 feet, but the column which stands in the vestibule below is just 42 feet from the entrance; that is, the columns in the vestibule stood exactly under the second row of columns in the cloister above, and no doubt supported one of the columns of the grand nave.^b

With respect to the gates on the west side of the Temple, it is commonly assumed that, according to Josephus, there were four gates on the west side of the square of 600 feet; but, on examining the language of the historian minutely, I do not find this to be exactly the case. He begins by saying generally that Herod rebuilt the Temple, and enlarged the sacred inclosure (*περίβολον*, *Antiq.* xv. 11, 1) by incorporating Fort Antonia by means of connecting cloisters running between the two. See *Bell.* i. 21, 1. He then describes in detail the Temple proper of 600

^a *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

^b For this argument the author is indebted to the *Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem*, p. 15.

feet (*Ant.* xv. 11, 3), and then Antonia, situate to the north of the Temple (*Ant.* xv. 11, 4); and then proceeds thus: "But on the western side of the *inclosure* (τοῦ περιβόλου) stood *four* gates, one leading to the palace (viz. of Herod, in the upper city, the intervening ravine being bridged for a roadway), and two to the suburb, and the remaining one to the other city (viz. that inclosed by the second wall.)" (*Ant.* xv. 11, 5.) The inclosure, therefore, or περιβόλος, is not that of the square of 600 feet, but the area generally of the sacred precinct, as comprising the Temple proper and also the cloisters running from the north-west corner of the Temple proper to Antonia. We have therefore to look for four gates along the western side of the Haram, and there we find them all.

The *first* and principal gate was, of course, that which opened upon the bridge, and, as we know the position of the bridge from the fragment of it that remains, we know the position of the gate above. The *second* gate was discovered by Dr. Barclay, and stands at the distance of 270 feet from the south-west corner of the Haram.^a Part only of the lintel is visible above ground outside the Haram, and the rest is occluded by the house of Abu Seud Effendi and by the accumulation of soil. In the interior of the Haram the gateway is still visible, and is the little recess in which Mahomet, according to the legend, tied up his mule before taking his heavenly flight. It is also not to be lost sight of that the masonry and turn of the arch of this gateway correspond exactly with the style and character of the Huldah or Double gate on the south of the Temple, and are evidently both of them parts of one uniform design. It has since been ascertained by the recent explorations that this gateway was approached by a causeway which crossed the hollow of the Tyropæon,^b and then, piercing the wall of the Haram, made a turn to the right in ascending to the surface. It may now be referred to as the *Prophet's Gate*, as being contiguous to the modern gate so called. The *third* gate led to the northern cloister in the same manner as the first gate did to the southern cloister, and is identical with the present principal entrance to the Haram, which stands just where the northern cloister would be on the supposition that the 600 feet square of the Temple inclosure occupied the south-west corner of the Haram. This part of the Haram wall has been so broken up from time to time that the only remains of the third gate now discoverable are the bevelled stones

^a Barclay, p. 489; *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 111.

^b "It appears that the road to the Prophet's Gate from the Tyropæon Valley may have been by means of a causeway raised forty-six feet above the rock. Whether it may have been solid or supported on arches is not apparent." *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 115.

of a fallen arch.* The *fourth* gate led up to the cloister which continued the western cloister of the Temple proper to Antonia. It lies twenty feet to the south of the modern Gate of the Bath, and has been converted into and is now used as a cistern. It closely resembles the Huldah Gate on the south, and also the second gate, in being vaulted in a similar manner, and of the same width, and running just the same distance with the second gate through the Haram wall into the sanctuary, but with this variation, that it does not, like the second gate, make a turn to the south at the eastern extremity.^b Captain Warren adds, "I am under the impression that this may be one of the suburban gates."^c It was not a suburban gate, but what Josephus calls the gate leading "to the other city,"^d viz. to the quarter inclosed by the second wall.

We have thus the four gates mentioned by Josephus, viz. the first or Bridge Gate, the second or Prophet's Gate, the third or David's Gate (for so we may call the third gate as leading to David Street), and the fourth the Bath Gate adjoining the modern gate so called. The four gates have a mutual relation, as the Bridge Gate and Prophet's Gate, the two southern, are at the same relative distances from each other as are David's Gate and the Bath Gate, the two northern.

4. We may draw another argument from the water supply to the Temple upon which recent discoveries have lately thrown much additional light. The Temple is represented by Josephus as honeycombed with aqueducts,* and this feature is found in the area we have assigned to the Temple at the south-west corner of the Haram. The aqueduct which conveyed the water from the Pool of Solomon to Jerusalem, a distance of seven miles, still exists, and winds its way round the High Town, now called Sion, and crosses the Tyropæon by the raised embankment leading to the Sinsileh Gate, the principal entrance to the Haram at the end of David Street. It may fairly be presumed that, as the service of the Temple was the main object, the aqueduct on reaching the sacred inclosure would run directly to the Temple before it supplied the precincts adjacent. This aqueduct was investigated by Pierotti (who, whatever his short comings in other

* "At twenty-four feet came in contact with a mass of masonry, apparently the voussoirs and drafted stones of a fallen arch and wall." *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 76.

^b "It runs east and west, and is shewn as piercing the sanctuary wall on plan. It is singularly like the vaulted passage leading from the Prophet's Gate. It is of the same width, and runs the same distance into the sanctuary, but it does not appear to turn round as the other passage does." *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 116.

^c *Ibid.* p. 117.

^d εἰς τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν. *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

^e Τοὺς ὑπονόμους τοῦ Ἱεροῦ. *Bell.* v. 3, 1; and *see* vii. 2, 3.

respects, has greatly advanced our knowledge of the ancient waterworks), and it has been found that the aqueduct on reaching the western side of the Haram at a point about 600 feet to the north of the south-west corner turns directly south by an ancient channel within the Haram, and then runs eastward across the very area which we have assigned to the Temple. The largest subterranean reservoir or cistern would naturally be under some part of the Temple square of 600 feet, and so it is; for under what would be the Court of the Women (so called as the only court to which the women had access, and the most frequented part of the Temple), lies the Great Sea, first discovered by Dr. Barclay, excavated from the solid rock and supported by massive columns of living stone, and capable of holding nearly two million of gallons.^a The aqueduct feeds this vast tank and then distributes the surplus water over the other parts of the Haram.

5. We may further test the accuracy of our hypothesis as to the site of the Temple by an anecdote recorded by Josephus:—The palace of Agrippa was on the High Town, on the brow of Sion, just over the Xyst, and looked towards the Temple.^b In order to command a view of what was passing in the Temple, and more particularly the sacrifices,^c Agrippa raised the roof of his palace, but this was resented by the hierarchy of the Temple, so that by way of counteracting the designs of Agrippa they erected a counterwall upon the ἐξέδρα or alcove of the western wall of the inner Temple.^d This ἐξέδρα, as there was only one, must have occupied the middle of the western wall, so that the altar where the sacrifices were offered, and the ἐξέδρα, and the raised roof of the palace, must thus all have been in the same straight line; and this would be the case if the Temple square be located at the south-west corner of the Haram, but not otherwise.

6. The position of the wailing-place of the Jews is perhaps the strongest argument of all in confirmation of our view. The Jews, after the total overthrow of the nation under Barchocab, in the time of Adrian (A.D. 135), were prohibited from planting a foot upon the site of the Temple itself, but they were allowed, on making a small payment, to lament their country's woes round the precincts of the Temple. The custom of wailing has been practised for certainly more than fifteen centuries, as it is mentioned both by the Bordeaux Pilgrim and Eusebius. As the great object of Jewish veneration was the Holy of Holies, we must conclude that they would pour out their laments on the spot, wherever it was, which had the nearest proximity to the Holy of Holies. The wailing-place at present

^a Barclay, 527.

^c Τὴς ἱερουπόλει. *Ant.* xx. 8, 11.

^b *Bell.* ii. 17, 6; vi. 6, 2.

^d *Ant.* xx. 8, 11.

(and there is no reason to suppose any change) lies along the western wall of the Haram, beginning at about 300 feet from the south-west corner and reaching along it for about 40 yards. It is manifest, therefore, that as the inner Temple, in which was the Holy of Holies, was not in the middle of the outer Temple, but according to the rabbins considerably more to the north, the spot now frequented by the Jews is exactly that which would be opposite the Holy of Holies, and be the nearest approach to it.

I shall now consider such objections to the site of the Temple at the south-west corner of the Haram as appear most deserving of notice, and all of them can, to the best of my judgment, be answered satisfactorily, while to some the replies will serve to further strengthen our position.

(A.) First then it is said, that, by fixing the site of the Temple at the south-west corner of the Haram, the Temple is placed upon the lowest part of the Haram, whereas in fact it should stand upon a *mount*. But what authority is there for asserting that it stood upon a mount? I believe none. The notion is attributable to the misunderstanding of a passage in Josephus. He begins one of his chapters thus: "But the Temple was erected, *as I have said*, upon a strong hill" (ἐπὶ λόφου καρτεροῦ, *Bell.* v. 5, 1), whence the mistaken idea that the Temple was built upon an isolated eminence. The referential words "*as I have said*" have not been observed or not been attended to, for on looking back we find that the "hill" or λόφος of which Josephus had been speaking was merely the more eastern of the two ridges on which the city was situate. So far from the Temple having occupied the highest ground, it is particularly noticed by him, to the contrary, that it was overlooked by the Acra,^a and that those who passed from the Acra to the Temple went down to it,^b and that Antonia also rose above the Temple,^c and those who passed from the Temple to Antonia went up to it.^d No doubt the Acra, which is thus described as towering above the Temple, was afterwards cut down so that the Temple *building* thenceforth was made to overtop it,^e and hence the inference that the Temple *site* from that time was higher than the Acra *site*. But Josephus states only that the *Temple itself*, *i.e.* the fabric of the

^a ἐπέκειτο τῷ Ἱερῷ. *Ant.* xii. 9, 3. ὑπερκειμένη τὸ Ἱερόν. *Ant.* xii. 5, 4.

^b καίοντι ἐκ τῆς Ἀκρας. *Ant.* xii. 10, 5.

^c φρούριον γὰρ ἐπέκειτο . . . τῷ Ἱερῷ ἢ Ἀντωνίᾳ. *Bell.* v. 5, 8. τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἱεροῦ φρούριον. *Ant.* xiii. 16, 5.

^d ἀναβαίνοντες. *Ant.* xv. 11, 4.

^e τῆς Ἀκρας κατεργασάμενοι τὸ ὕψος, ἐποίησαντο χθαμαλότερον, ὡς ὑπερφαίνοντο καὶ ταύτης τὸ Ἱερόν. *Bell.* v. 4, 1.

Temple, was so made higher than the rock of the Acra when thus reduced. It was a great profanation that the sacrifices should be watched by a stranger, and one main object in lowering the height of the Acra was that the outer wall of the Temple should be an effectual screen against espionage.

The only sense in which the Temple could be said to stand upon an eminence is this. The ridge of Moriah slopes from the north-west corner of the Haram in a south-easterly direction to what is called the Triple Gate, about two-thirds along the southern wall of the Haram from the western corner.^a In order therefore to form the outer court of 600 feet square it was necessary to embank three sides, viz. the south, east, and west, and to cut down the fourth or northern side. The site of the inner Temple in the centre was already a level, as being the threshing-floor of Araunah, but to the north of it, where the ground ascended, it required not to be built up, but to be pared away. All this is what Josephus relates as having been actually done.^b He even tells us what has only lately become intelligible, viz. that the deepest foundations were laid on the south-west,^c for it is now known that the ground descends rapidly from the south-eastern corner of the Temple square of 600 feet, in a westerly direction down to the Tyropæon Valley, so that the lowest point was at the south-western corner, while the eastern wall of the Temple would require no other embankment than for raising the southern portion of the eastern wall to a level with the northern portion. In one place only is there anything said which would lead to the inference that the site of the Temple, as regards the natural rock, rose above the level of the outer court, viz. where Josephus speaks of the wall of the inner Temple as hiding the rock;^d but, if the Inner Temple was seated on a terrace of natural rock, how could there have been (as there was in fact) just before the commencement of the Great Jewish War a subsidence of thirty feet in the foundations?^e for this implies that the terrace on which the Temple stood was artificial. If there were any elevated rock it could only be the rock left in the centre when the south, east, and west sides were filled up and the north side was cut away. Josephus in his more accurate work, *The Antiquities*, gives us an account, which is the most probable, viz. that Solomon by filling up the hollows within the com-

^a *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 314.

^b Τειχίσαντες δὲ ἐκ ῥίζης τριχῇ κύκλῳ τὸν λόφον. *Bell.* v. 5, 1. διακόψαντες δὲ τὸ προσάκτιον τεῖχος τοσούτον προσέλαβον, &c. *Ibid.*

^c κατὰ λίβα. *Ant.* xv. 11, 3.

^d *Bell.* v. 5, 2; and see vi. 5, 1.

^e *Ant.* xv. 11, 3.

pass of the four foundation walls brought up the whole area to a level with the very summit on which the Temple was built,^a and this was no slip of the pen, for in a subsequent part of the same work he repeats the same thing.^b This exactly tallies with the present state of the ground at the south-west corner of the Haram, and may be assumed as the more accurate representation.

I doubt whether persons may not have caught the idea that the Temple stood on a separate mount from the expressions used by the writer of the Maccabees, "The mount of the House,"^c and "The mount of the Temple;"^d and in order to obviate any such error it may be as well to explain what is meant by these passages. When Simon established the independence of the Jews by the capture of the Acra, he "further strengthened the Mount of the Temple by the side of the Acra and dwelt there, he and his."^e In the first place then the mount of the Temple was not the Temple itself, for then Simon could not have inhabited it. Neither was it the Acra, for the mount of the Temple lay by the side of the Acra. The only stronghold adjacent to the Acra besides the Temple itself was Antonia, and by the mount of the House is clearly meant the elevated rock, afterwards called Antonia. Hyrcanus, the son of Simon, must have occupied the same palace as his father, and he is said to have resided in the Baris,^f and Josephus is careful to tell us that this Baris when further improved by Herod was called by him Antonia.^g Thus, the mountain of the House or of the Temple was that which was occupied by Simon and his successors as their palace, and was the Bireh, or in its Greek form the Baris, and afterwards Antonia. Josephus adds, that the Baris was near the Temple;^h but how far it was from the Temple, and why Simon and his successors rejected the Acra which joined the Temple, and gave a preference to the Baris, which was some way from it, will be fully explained hereafter.

(B.) Another objection is thus taken by Captain Warren: "The portion of the southern wall of the Haram to the west of the double (or Huldah) Gate is (he says)

^a ἰσοπέδους (τὰς φάραγγας) τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους, ἐφ' ἧς ὁ ναὸς φιλοδόμητο κατασκευάσθη. Ant. viii. 3, 9.

^b τὰ κοῖλα τῶν περὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐμπλήσας ἰσοπέδον τοῖς κατῶ (not κατὰ), τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τὴν ἄνω καὶ λεῖον ἐποίησε. Ant. xv. 11, 3.

^c ἐν τῷ ὄρει τοῦ οἴκου. 1 Macc. iv. 46.

^d τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Ἱεροῦ τὸ παρὰ τὴν Ἀκραν. 1 Macc. xiii. 52.

^e οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ. 1 Macc. xiii. 52.

^f The Hebrew for castle, and identical with the Bireh of Nehemiah, ii. 8.

^g Ant. xviii. 4, 3.

^h πλησίον τῷ Ἱερῷ Βάριν. Ant. xviii. 4, 3.

of a different construction to, and more recent than, that to the *east*.”^a The fact here suggested as an objection to placing the Temple at the south-west corner is quite consistent with the history of the Temple. The account of Josephus in *The Wars* differs somewhat from that in *The Antiquities*. In *The Wars* he tells us that Solomon erected only the eastern cloister of the Temple, and that the other sides were built up by means of the Corban or Sacred Treasury in the reigns of the subsequent kings.^b If this were so, it would account at once for the difference of style observed in the western portion of the wall, which was the work of the subsequent kings. However I do not rely on this explanation, as, in the more mature and accurate history, *The Antiquities*, Josephus informs us that the entire Temple, with its cloisters, was the work of Solomon,^c and, assuming this to be so, we have still no difficulty. On the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar the walls of the city and of the Haram, and even of the Temple, were levelled with the ground, the foundations only being left. On the return of the Jews from the captivity the walls of the *Temple* were rebuilt by Ezra and the walls of the *city* by Nehemiah. The tyranny of the Seleucidæ succeeded, and the walls of both city and Temple were again thrown down. In the time of the Maccabees the walls both of the city and of the Temple were restored, but in great haste, and under extraordinary difficulties, and consequently in a rude and uncouth style. Herod, therefore, resolved on rebuilding the Temple, with its cloisters and walls, on a scale of the utmost grandeur, and, instead of a simple colonnade on the south side, he proposed to erect what was afterwards known as the Royal Cloister, consisting of a central nave and two side-aisles. He had now to consider whether the ancient *foundations*, which still remained, were sufficient to carry this immense superstructure; and the result was that from the Triple Gate to the Huldah Gate, that is along the central portion of the southern wall of the 600 feet square, where the descent of the ground was gradual and the rock was only a little below the surface, the original foundations were deemed adequate; but from the Huldah Gate to the south-west corner, or near it, where the declivity was rapid,^d it was found that the existing foundations would not bear the extra weight. Herod therefore, according to Josephus, *took up* the

^a *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 118.

^b *Bell.* v. 5, 1.

^c *Ant.* viii. 3, 1; xv. 11, 3; xx. 9, 7.

^d “Towards the west from the Triple Gate the rock falls more gently. At the Double Gate, whose sill is on a level with that of the Triple Gate, it is probably at a depth of 30 feet. It then falls more rapidly to about 90 feet from the south-west angle, where appears to be the bed of the Tyropæon Valley. This point is 90 feet below the sill of the Triple Gate. The rock now rises again rapidly to the west, having risen about 30 feet at the south-west corner.” *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 119.

foundations, not of the inner Temple only,^a but also of the outer Temple.^b The recent explorations accordingly show that the foundations of the eastern wall of the Haram, which were never disturbed, are the work of the Phœnicians employed by Solomon, as attested by their building-marks on the stones and the fragments of their pottery;^c and the portion of the southern wall from the south-east corner to the Huldah Gate is of the same workmanship as the eastern wall.^d But from the Huldah Gate to the south-west corner, and from this point northward to the Prophet's Gate in the western wall, the architecture is more recent,^e and is ascribed by Captain Warren himself to the time of Herod.^f The fact, therefore, of this difference between the architecture of the eastern portion of the southern wall of the Haram and that at the south-west corner, instead of overturning, serves in reality very strongly to confirm, the hypothesis that the Temple stood at the south-west angle.

The excavations, which have been carried to a great depth at the south-west corner, have disclosed some curious particulars, which show the general truthfulness of Josephus's History, and show incontestably that the Temple stood there. At 23 feet below the present surface was found the pavement used in the time of the Crusades,^g and at 20 feet below that was the pavement laid down by Herod.^h Below that the foundation stones, though bevelled, were rough-picked and not smooth-faced,ⁱ and therefore not intended to be exposed to view. In other words, when Herod relaid the foundations the *débris* of the Tyropœon Valley had risen to this height. Upon this Herodian pavement lay the fallen *voussoirs* of Herod's bridge from the Royal Cloister to the Xyst, which was destroyed by Titus.^k At 23 feet below this pavement they came upon the *voussoirs* of the bridge constructed by Solomon or one of his successors,^l viz.

^a ἀνελών δὲ τοὺς ἀρχαίους θεμελίους. *Ant.* xv. 11, 3.

^b ἃς μὲν (the cloisters of the outer Temple) ἀνικοδόμησεν ἐκ θεμελίων. *Bell.* i. 21, 1.

^c "Found Phœnician characters imprinted on the stamp (on the pottery). One inscription was read by an authority as 'The King.'" *Recovery of Jerusalem*, i. 152. "Mr. Deutsch's discovery of Phœnician characters, similar to those on the walls of Sidon, enables us to ascribe the execution to that race." *Ibid.* ii. 390.

^d "I found this large course continued to the south-east angle, and thence running north along the east wall for 24 feet. The course is unbroken between the Huldah and Triple Gate. Thence to the single gate there is one stone *in situ*, and, from a point 70 feet from the south-east angle to the angle itself, the course again is in a good state of preservation." *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 120.

^e "It is apparent that this great course did not reach so far as the south-west angle, or, in other words, that the western portion of the wall is of a different construction to the eastern." *Ibid.* p. 122.

^f "Herod built the present south-west angle of the sanctuary." *Ibid.* p. 110.

^g *Ibid.* p. 123.

^h *Ibid.* p. 123.

ⁱ *Ibid.* p. 122.

^k *Ibid.* p. 101.

^l *Ibid.* p. 104.

the bridge which Josephus mentions to have been broken down by Aristobulus when he was besieged in the Temple by Pompey.^a Immediately under these *voussoirs* was an aqueduct cut in the rock, and running north and south,—the most ancient of all in Jerusalem, and evidently constructed before the foundations at the south-west corner of the Haram were laid, for the aqueduct itself had been diverted, to make room for the great western wall.

(C.) Another objection made to placing the site of the Temple at the south-west corner of the Haram is, that, admitting a solid square of 600 feet to exist there, yet the Temple could not have stood upon that spot, inasmuch as the *eastern* wall of this square is found not to be in unison with the foundation walls on the south and west.^b Now, even if the present eastern wall of the 600 feet square were the ancient wall, it might very well differ in style from the walls on the south and west, just as we have seen that the wall at the south-west corner of the Haram differs from the wall at the south-east corner; for we learn from Josephus that while Herod restored the walls of the Temple generally he made the eastern wall an exception; and the reason is obvious enough from the recent explorations. The ridge or crown of the hill on which the Temple stood travels along the line of the eastern wall of the 600 feet square, shelving down both on the eastern and western sides.^c The foundation walls therefore on the south and west sides were necessarily laid to an enormous depth, and at the south-west corner to the depth of nearly 90 feet. But on the *east* side of the 600 feet square the wall was laid on the rock itself, which here rises nearly to the surface. The foundations, therefore, of the eastern wall, being based upon the rock at little depth, remained firm and needed no restoration. Indeed, they appear to have continued until the destruction of the city by Titus, for in the year 65 A. D., just before the commencement of the Great Jewish War, fears being entertained lest the Temple treasure if allowed to accumulate would be seized upon by the Romans, the Jews pressed Agrippa the Younger, who had charge of the Temple, to take down and rebuild the *eastern* wall, a remnant of the work of Solomon, but he was alarmed at the project of so vast an undertaking, and the money was laid out instead in paving the streets of the city.^d This explains why the eastern cloister was called, *par excellence*, Solomon's

^a *Ant.* xiv. 4, 2; *Bell.* i. 7, 2.

^b *Recovery of Jerusalem*, page 230.

^c "The rock which is found within a foot of the site of the Triple Gate shelves down rapidly to the south-east angle, falling 100 feet in 300. Towards the west, from the Triple Gate, the rock falls more gently. &c." *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 119.

^d *Ant.* xx. 9, 7.

Porch, viz. it was the only part where there was any remnant of the old Temple of Solomon. This eastern wall then from its antiquity might well differ in point of style from the southern and western walls, which were restored by Herod.

In fact, however, the old eastern wall of the 600 feet square was long ago demolished to make room for the sweeping changes introduced by Justinian. It is now established that the substructions at the south-east angle of the Haram are comparatively modern,^a for all the retaining walls round them are modern, and the pillars in the interior could not have stood by themselves. They were the great work of Justinian described by Procopius. The whole south-eastern portion of the Haram was then remodelled, and the eastern wall of the 600 feet square became part of the general plan. All that we could possibly expect to find at the present day would be some faint traces of the old wall, and these we do find. Thus Captain Warren writes: "The remains of engaged columns in the (Triple) gateway and the west wall of a passage appear to show that there was originally a vestibule here somewhat similar to that at the Double (or Huldah) Gate."^b And at 60 feet more to the north is another remnant of the old wall, "the remains of an engaged column, which is apparently *in situ*."^c "These remains of engaged columns tend to show that it was a gateway of about the same style as the Double Gate, and as very likely at that time to have exactly corresponded to it in having only two passages."^d And, what is very remarkable, this passage at the Triple Gate extends up in a northern direction for about the same distance as the passage leading from the Double or Huldah Gate.^e Thus we have a double passage along the eastern wall, corresponding to the double passage from the Huldah Gate; and, as the latter led up from the Low Town to the southern side of the Temple, we may well infer that the double passage from the Triple Gate led up from the Low Town to the *eastern* gate of the Temple. The Huldah Gate was the gate "at the King's House,"^f which Josephus renders "the gate leading to the King's House" or palace.^g And the other gate was "the gate of the foundation."^h

(D.) Another objection to placing the site of the Temple at the south-west corner of the Haram, and which seems to have much influenced Captain Warren's

^a "All the masonry and arches above the level of the Single and Triple Gates are comparatively modern." *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 134; and see Remarks, *ibid.* p. 126.

^b *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 229.

^c *Ibid.* p. 230.

^d *Ibid.* p. 231.

^e *Ibid.* p. 231.

^f 2 Chron. xxiii. 4.

^g *Ant.* ix. 7, 2.

^h 2 Chron. xxiii. 4.

judgment is this: According to Josephus the first wall running up from Siloam joined the *eastern cloister* of the *Temple*; and, as the wall of Ophel has been ascertained to run into the eastern wall of the *Haram*,^a the inference has been drawn that the Temple must at least have extended to the south-east angle of the Haram.^b Let us first look to the very words of Josephus in order to make sure of his meaning. He describes the first wall as commencing from the *western cloister of the Temple*, and extending to Hippicus, now the Jaffa Gate, and then running southward to Siloam, and then, "reaching as far as a certain place called Ophlas, it unites itself to the cloister of the Temple *which faces the east*." This has commonly been taken to mean that the first wall running up from the south joined the eastern wall of the Haram in the same straight line, viz. on the south side. But Josephus says nothing of the sort. The language is not that *having* reached Ophlas it *there* joins the eastern cloister, but only that "reaching to a place called Ophlas it unites itself to the cloister *facing the east*." This Ophlas (which, perhaps, gave the name of Ophel to the southern part of the eastern hill,) was some public building which was afterwards burnt by Titus, and though near the Temple was quite distinct from it. There are clearly then two steps to be taken into account, first the reaching to Ophlas, and then the junction to the Temple by a deflection to the west. The southern cloister was the famous Royal Cloister of four rows of columns, viz. a nave and two aisles (the three other cloisters to the west, north, and east having only two rows); and if the first wall had run up to the *southern* cloister, the historian would so have described it. Instead of that, he tells us that on reaching Ophlas it united itself to the cloister which *faced the east*. The wall itself, therefore, must have been running, not from the south, but from the east, *i.e.* on reaching Ophlas it made an angle westward towards the Temple.

This is clearly the meaning from another part of the description, where Josephus speaks of the three walls of the city—the *first*, or "old wall" (*ἀρχαῖον τεῖχος*, *Bell.* v. 4, 2), and the *second* wall (which ran across the interior of the city from the Jaffa Gate to the Temple, and need not be further noticed), and the *third* wall; and in tracing the outer circuit, he begins with the *first* wall, which, starting from Hippicus on the west, runs round the southern portion of the city up to Ophlas,

^a *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 289.

^b "The southern side of the Temple must have coincided with the present south wall of the sanctuary, because we find the wall of Ophel coming in at the south-east angle," &c. *Ibid.* p. 311.

^c τῇ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν στοῦ τοῦ Ἱεροῦ. *Bell.* v. 4, 2.

^d *Bell.* vi. 6, 3. See *Williams, H. C.* 2nd ed. ii. 365, note.

and thence to the Temple; and he then takes up the third wall, commencing also from Hippicus, and carries it round the northern portion of the city, and then southward until it met the *old wall* (τῇ ἀρχαίῳ περιβόλῳ, *Bell.* v. 4, 3). Now, as Josephus is here defining the *outer* defences, he means that the *third* wall united itself at its termination to the *first* wall, for otherwise there would be left a gap in the outer circuit. But, if the *first* wall ran into the eastern cloister of the Temple at the south-east corner of the Haram, how possibly could the third wall have united itself to the first wall, when the Temple itself intervened? In that case the third wall would have joined the northern cloister of the *Temple*, and not the *old wall*; but if, as we have shown, the first wall ran as far as Ophlas, and then made an angle to the west toward the Temple, all is clear, for then the third wall, coming down from the north, would pass the Temple at a little distance to the east of it, and unite itself to the first wall at Ophlas.

(E.) The next objection is, that, according to Josephus, "the Porch of Solomon in the time of Herod overlooked the Kedron," and therefore must have extended to the east wall of the present Haram.* The passages relied upon for this statement are two. In the first of them Josephus, speaking of the Royal Cloister at the south, describes it as reaching "from the western to the eastern ravine, for it was not possible to extend it farther."^b All therefore that is here asserted is, that the cloister reached the point where began the descent into the Cedron Valley, and, if the ground were restored to its original state, it could not be disputed that the fall of the Cedron Ravine commences from the eastern wall of the Temple square of 600 feet. Take away the substructions erected by Justinian many ages afterwards (now the Stables of Solomon), and then the eastern wall of the Temple square of 600 feet stands on the very brink of the ravine, for precisely from the eastern end of the square of 600 feet begins the precipitous declivity. "The Rock of Moriah," says Captain Warren, "which is found within a foot of the Triple Gate (the eastern end of the square of 600 feet), shelves down rapidly to the south-east angle, falling over 100 feet in 300."^c Thus a person standing on the roof of the Royal Cloister, whether he looked south, east, or west, would, by the combined effect of the height of the cloister and the depth of the fall of ground below, find his eyes swim with the sight.^d If any doubt

* "Josephus tells us that the Porch of Solomon, in the time of Herod, overlooked the Kedron," &c. *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 317.

^b διαύσαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑφας φάραγγος ἐπὶ τὴν ἰσπείριον, ὅν γὰρ ἦν ἐκτείνειν προσωτέρῳ δυνατόν. *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

^c *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 119.

^d *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

could remain as to the historian's meaning, it would be removed by the next passage, which speaks of the prospect from the *northern* end of the eastern cloister; for we must conclude that the northern and southern ends of the eastern cloister both overlooked the same ravine, so that, if the northern did not impend over the Cedron, then neither did the southern. The passage referred to is this: in the progress of the siege by Titus the Romans set fire to the northern cloister, and the whole was burnt "as far as the eastern cloister," where the angle of junction was built over the *so-called Cedron Ravine*.^a Here the eastern cloister is expressly stated to impend over the "so-called Cedron Ravine," that is, the ravine so called, but not really such, for, when Josephus refers to the great valley of the Cedron at the east of the city,^b he designates it as

^a Τὴν βόρειον στοῶν ἐνέπρησαν μέχρι τῆς ἀνατολικῆς ὁλῆν, ὣν ἡ συναπτοῦσα γωνία τῆς Κεδρῶνος καλουμένης φάραγγος ὑπερδεδάμητο. *Bell.* vi. 3, 2.

^b The Cedron is here called, somewhat irregularly, a *valley*, but in perusing the Old Testament it must be remembered that the two valleys of Hinnom and Jehoshaphat are invariably distinguished. The valley of Hinnom is always referred to as נַחַל (valley), and the Valley of Jehoshaphat as לְחָן (torrent), and so in the New Testament the Cedron is called the Torrent (τοῦ χειμάρρου τῶν Κεδρῶν). *John* xviii. 1. This distinction is often important as determining localities. Thus Nehemiah went out by the Valley Gate (נַחַל), we know, therefore, that he went down the Valley of *Hinnom*. *Nehem.* ii. 13. On the other hand the Fountain of Gihon was in the Torrent (לְחָן), and, therefore, in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. *2 Chron.* xxxiii. 14. Gihon was thus the Fountain of the Virgin. Thus Hezekiah "stopped the upper water-course of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the *west side* of the city of David." *2 Chron.* xxxii. 30. The city of David was certainly the eastern hill, and the water of the Fountain of the Virgin runs to this day by the cut of Hezekiah from the eastern side of the hill to Siloam at the foot of the western side. These two fountains were formerly the upper and lower Gihon, but the name of Gihon has perished, and the Upper Gihon, now the Fountain of the Virgin, was in the time of Josephus the Pool of Solomon (who was anointed king there), and the Lower Gihon was the Pool of Siloam. The passage above referred to in *Chron.* xxxiii. 14, has been translated "and (Manasseh) built a wall without the city of David on the west side of Gihon, in the valley even to the entering in at the Fish Gate." But Gihon was not near the Fish Gate, and the words should be translated "on the west side of Gihon in the valley, and at the entering in at the Fish Gate." This is the text both in the Hebrew and in the Septuagint.

Captain Warren has come to the conclusion that the Cedron is the veritable Valley of *Hinnom*. But the idea is untenable. The very first mention of the Valley of Hinnom (*Josh.* xv. 8) amounts to a confutation. Thus the northern border of the tribe of Judah is traced from the mouth of the Jordan westward, "and the goings out thereof (or termination) were at *Enrogel*, and the border went up by the valley of the Son of Hinnom unto the south side of the Jebusite. The same is Jerusalem." *Josh.* xv. 8. Enrogel was at the King's Gardens below Siloam, *Ant.* ix. 10, 4 (where Ἐρωγή (Enrogel) is placed at the King's Gardens, παραδείσου τοῦ βασιλικού); and compare *1 Kings* i. 9, with *Ant.* vii. 14, 4. Afterwards, in an inverse order, the southern border of the tribe of Benjamin is traced as "descending to the Valley of Hinnom to the side of Jebus on the *south*, and descending to Enrogel." *Josh.* xviii. 16. These passages show clearly that the boundary line between the two tribes ran along the Valley of Hinnom at the south of

the Cedron simply ;^a but the *so-called Cedron* was a little slip of ground which was quite distinct. We can make this plain by another extract from the same work. In explaining how the *city* when besieged by Titus was divided between the two factions of Simon and John, he writes that Simon held the High Town and the greater part of the Low Town, and that John held the Temple "and the parts about it, both Ophlas and the *so-called Cedron Ravine*."^b Josephus is here speaking of the *interior* of the city exclusively, for, of course, all the exterior was in the hands of the Romans. The *so-called Cedron Ravine* was, therefore, within the walls, and it was next the Temple. It could not be on the north, for there was an ascent and not a fall, nor on the west, for there was the Tyropæon Valley, nor on the south, for there was Ophlas. It was, therefore, clearly and incontestably on the east, and was the intramural hollow between the eastern wall of the Temple and the eastern wall of the city. It was this hollow or slope which was overlooked by the northern end of the eastern cloister, and, consequently, overlooked also by the southern end. It follows, of course, that the Temple did not extend to the eastern wall of the present Haram, but only to the *so-called Cedron Ravine*, which lay between it and the eastern wall of the Haram.

THE SITE OF ANTONIA.

The Temple and Antonia are so blended together that the site of the one being known that of the other must follow. If the Temple be admitted to stand at the south-west corner of the Haram, Antonia must be placed at the north-west corner; and if Antonia be placed at the north-west corner, the Temple must

Jebus, or, in other words, that the Valley of Hinnom lay to the south and not to the east of the city. All Jerusalem was therefore in the tribe of Benjamin, and the portion of this tribe was the smallest, because, says Josephus, it comprised the two leading cities of Jerusalem and Jericho. *Ἱεριχώ τε γὰρ καὶ τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἔλαβον. Ant. v. 1, 22.* Captain Warren has allowed himself to be misled by the mistranslation of our Bible, "go forth into the valley of the Son of Hinnom, which is by the entry of the East Gate." *Jerem. xix. 2.* But the word *תְּהוֹמֹת* is derived not from *תְּהוֹ* (*sol*), and so meaning the *east*, but from *תֵּשֶׁת* (*testa*), and signifies the Pottery Gate, which was in the south wall and opposite the Potters' Field. Gesenius and Simon and all the best authorities agree that is the true rendering. The Cedron or Eastern valley was the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and it is so called by Eusebius about A.D. 300. (*Onomast. Κολάς*): and by Antoninus Martyr (c. 24) about A.D. 600; and has borne the same name down to the present day.

^a *Ant. viii. 1, 5; ix. 7, 3. Bell. v. 2, 3; 7, 3; 12, 2.* This distinction between the Cedron simply and the Cedron ravine so called was first pointed out by the author.

^b *τὸ τε ἱερὸν καὶ τὰ περὶ ἑπ' οὐκ ὀλίγον, τὸν τε Ὀφλάα καὶ τὴν Κεδρώνα καλουμένην φάραγγα. Bell. v. 6, 1; and see Bell. v. 4, 2.*

stand at the south-west corner. To prove this we must descend to details. It was long supposed that Antonia immediately adjoined the Temple; but the error was exposed in the author's *Siege of Jerusalem*, and the mistake is now admitted. Antonia is described by Josephus as "near to the Temple;"^a and not very near, for when Titus had taken Antonia it still cost him seven days' labour to make his approaches to the Temple itself.^b The junction between Antonia and the Temple was effected by two parallel cloisters called limbs or legs, which, starting from the north-west corner of the Temple, ran in a northern direction.^c The western of the two connecting cloisters was actually a continuation of the *western cloister of the Temple*.^d If, therefore, we can ascertain the length of these connecting cloisters we shall know also where Antonia commenced.^e This we can elicit from an accidental notice by Josephus, viz. that the cloisters which inclosed the original square of the Temple were four *stadia*, but that with the addition of the two connecting cloisters they were six *stadia*.^f The two connecting cloisters were, therefore, a *stadium* or 600 feet each. As Antonia was defended on all sides by a fosse, which was probably crossed by a drawbridge, the termination of the connecting cloisters at the northern end must have been at the fosse; and so precisely we find it, for at the distance of just 600 feet from the northern wall of the Temple of 600 feet square has been discovered the fosse itself, running east and west. It is excavated on the south side from the native rock, but the breadth towards the north still remains to be ascertained. The cutting has been followed for about 70 feet from east to west, and no doubt it runs the whole 600 feet across the Haram.^g Where, then, was the *eastern* fosse? for if we can find this also we shall know the dimensions of the fortress. The Temple was an exact *square*, but Antonia is not so described, but only as *rectangular*.^h The eastern fosse would, like the southern, be in a straight line, and lie north and south, and it is probably the *souterrain* or cutting discovered at the western end of the Pool of Bethesda, and running off southwards. The account of Captain Warren is as follows: "The

^a ἁγίον τῷ Ἱερῷ. *Ant.* xviii. 4, 3.

^b *Bell.* vi. 2, 7; see vi. 2, 1.

^c *Ibid.* v. 5, 8.

^d This I take to be the meaning of the passage: τῆς γὰρ καὶ κατὰ δύσιν στοῦς τὸ συνεχὲς πρὸς τὴν Ἀρτωνίαν. *Ibid.* vi. 2, 9.

^e I once thought it possible that these connecting cloisters, which increased the cloisters of the Temple from four *stadia* to six *stadia*, might have run round Antonia either on the exterior or interior. But clearly the cloisters abutted upon the castle, for there were stairs from the castle down to the roof of the cloisters, καθὰ δὲ συνῆπτο ταῖς τοῦ Ἱεροῦ στοαῖς εἰς ἀμφοτέρας εἶχε καταβάσεις. *Ibid.* v. 5, 8.

^f *Ibid.* v. 5, 2.

^g *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 219.

^h Ἐγγώνιος. *Ant.* xv. 11, 4.

substructure, now used as a tank, is 63 feet from north to south, and 57 feet from east to west, thus being nearly square. Its northern wall is 23 feet 6 inches from the south side of Birket Israel (Pool of Bethesda).^a There is an opening on the northern side (of the *souterrains*) about two feet in height and one foot wide, on a level with the top of the cement, which lets in light, and on examining the Birket Israel (Pool of Bethesda) I find a grating in the south wall two feet square, exactly opposite the opening in the substructure, and which undoubtedly communicates with it, but whether directly through the thickness of the wall or whether through another chamber in the wall has yet to be determined.^b These vaults are unlike any known tanks in Jerusalem, and very different from the substructions at the south-east angle of the Haram area. I do not think that such a structure as this was built for a tank, and if it was simply built to support the present surface there is probably *more of it* to be found to the south-east."^c This *souterrains* has been traced from the Pool of Bethesda, about 86 feet southward, viz. 23 feet from the grating in the Pool of Bethesda and 63 feet in the *souterrains* itself, and there is a strong probability that it once continued southward until it joined the *souterrains* which formed the southern fosse, for both these *souterrains* resemble each other, as both of them consist of a series of arched bays or blind arches, those in the southern fosse being excavated from the solid rock and those in the eastern fosse being constructed of masonry.^d The transformation of the original fosses into these vaults appears to have been the work of the Saracens.^e

We may or may not be right as to the precise limits of Antonia on the south and east sides, as defined by these two *souterrains* on the south and east; but we cannot be wrong in regarding Antonia as occupying the *rock* at the *north-west*

^a *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 211.

^b *Ibid.* p. 213.

^c *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 213. Captain Warren adds, "On lighting up the magnesian wire and looking about me I was astonished, my first impression being that I had got into a church." *Ibid.* p. 210. And so he had, as the following explanation will show. This *souterrains* consists, according to Captain Warren's plan, of three arched passages running parallel to each other towards the Pool of Bethesda, and no doubt formerly communicating with it. From the same pool, at the western end, ran out two other parallel arched passages, and which are proved to have been porches, for Captain Warren observes with respect to them that "the floor has a slope towards the entrance (to Bethesda) where there are four stone steps 16 inches broad and 7 inches in height. The bottom step is nearly flush with the west wall of the pool. The Birket Israel (Bethesda) never extended further to the west than its present limit at its present depth." *Ibid.* p. 194. We have thus the five porches spoken of in John's Gospel; and in one of them, in the time of Antoninus Martyr, was the church of Saint Mary: "Venimus ad piscinam natatorium quæ quinque porticus habet et in una earum est basilica Sanctæ Mariæ." *Anton. Mart.* c. 27.

^d *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 211 and p. 219.

^e *Ibid.* p. 220.

corner of the Haram. The fortress, according to Josephus, was erected upon a rock 50 cubits or 75 feet high and precipitous on all sides.^a The only rock on the Haram that will at all answer this description is that at the north-west corner. We have seen that on the south and east sides are two *souterrains* apparently the fosses, the breadth and depth of which remain to be ascertained; and on the west of the rock is the Asmonean or Mill Valley; and on the north we can trace the depth to nearly the extent stated by Josephus. Thus, the rock rises in the interior 35 feet above the level of the Haram.^b And on the exterior to the north it was discovered in the course of excavations made in 1836 that the ground was artificial to the depth from 26 to 30 feet.^c The rock, therefore, is isolated and shelving on all sides, and on one side at least has been cut away for 35 feet above the present level, and from 26 to 30 feet below the present level, making together 65 feet, which is within 10 feet of the 75 feet mentioned by Josephus.

If further proof were needed, we have it in the account of Titus's first assault upon Antonia. A bank was cast up against Antonia by the fifth legion at the middle of the pool called the Struthion.^d As the object of the bank was to reach the top of the wall of Antonia it seems strange that Titus should have commenced the work in the middle of a pool. But this can now be explained. The Struthion pool has been found, not on the north or on the west side of this part of the Haram, but in a slanting position exactly at the north-west corner. It runs from north-west to south-east, and abuts upon the rock at the north-west angle of the Haram. It is 165 feet long and 50 feet wide, and is divided down the middle by a wall of partition, with arches on each side which form two parallel *souterrains* resembling the double passage at the Huldah Gate.^e At the southern end is a stair leading up to Antonia, which was probably for drawing water.^f The bank of Titus therefore was not begun in a hollow at all, but upon the arches which inclosed the pool, and which consequently rather presented a 'vantage ground. The bank would not exceed 25 feet in breadth at the most, and would thus occupy

^a Bell. v. 5, 8.

^b Pierotti, p. 63.

^c Pierotti, p. 20; and see *Recovery of Jerusalem*, pp. 94 and 195.

^d Κατὰ μέσον τῆς Στρουθίου καλουμένης κολυμβήθρας. Bell. v. 11, 4.

^e *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 198 et seq.

^f These parallel pools are the *piscinæ gemellares* referred to by the Bordeaux Pilgrim, A.D. 333, and are the *aquæ putridæ* of Antoninus Martyr. "Exinde venimus ad arcum (arch of Ecce Homo) ubi antiqua porta fuit civitatis. In ipso loco sunt aquæ putridæ, in quas missus est Jeremias." *Anton. Mart.* c. xxiv.

about one-half of the southern end of the pool, which was 50 feet wide. The reason why this spot was selected is obvious enough. Had the bank advanced at right angles to the wall either on the north or west sides the shot of the besieged would have been launched direct, but as the pool was at the very corner the shot from the wall would only reach the Romans obliquely.

The position of Antonia at the north-west corner of the Haram, and the peculiar connection between it and the Temple by means of the intervening cloisters, enables us to appreciate the full force of two passages in Josephus which have hitherto presented a difficulty. The first is this:—During the siege by Titus there was a prophecy current that when the Temple became a *square* the city and sanctuary would fall; and this came to pass, says Josephus, when Antonia fell into the hands of the Romans.^a The meaning, no doubt, is this. Until the time of Herod the Temple had been a simple square of 600 feet; but when Herod carried out the two parallel cloisters from the north-west corner of the Temple to Fort Antonia, so as to incorporate Antonia itself, both the connecting cloisters and Antonia were regarded as parts of the Temple, which as thus enlarged was of an irregular figure, comprising, 1. the original square of 600 feet at the south; 2. the long slip inclosed between the connecting cloisters; and 3. the rectangular area of Antonia on the north. But on the capture of Antonia by the Romans the two parallel cloisters were burnt, and thus the Temple was again cut off from Antonia, and reduced once more to the original square, by which the prophecy was fulfilled.

The other passage referred to is this:—"Herod," says Josephus, "both repaired the Temple itself and walled round the space about it, so as to make the area *double* of what it was before, employing infinite expense and unsurpassed munificence, and the proofs of it are the *cloisters* round the *Temple* and the *castle* on the north (Antonia); for the former he rebuilt from the foundations, and the latter he repaired at a prodigious cost."^b It is here implied that the sacred area, by the incorporation of Antonia, was double of what it had been, and the statement is quite correct. The original Temple, as it was a square of 600 feet, would contain 360,000 square feet. The cloisters running between the Temple and the southern fosse of Antonia, recently discovered, were 600 feet long, and they are described by Josephus as near to each other, but it is not said how near. But we can form some judgment as to this; for when Titus had captured Antonia he cast up three mounds against the northern wall of the Temple, and all of these

^a *Bell.* vi. 5, 2.

^b *Ibid.* i. 21, 1.

must, from the nature of the case, have been to the *east* of the two parallel cloisters. But the most *westerly* of the three mounds was due north of the north-west corner of the *inner* Temple,^a which was not far from the western wall of the outer Temple, and therefore the most eastern of the two parallel cloisters could not have been far from the western wall of the outer Temple. Again, no one can read the account of the desperate struggle of the Romans when in possession of Antonia to force their way along the connecting cloisters into the Temple,^b without being convinced that the connecting cloisters were on the same level as the Temple. The distance of the *western wall of the Haram* from the *inner plateau* on which stands the Mosque of Omar is about 100 feet, and, assuming the eastern of the two connecting cloisters to have rested against the western side of the plateau, the space inclosed between the two connecting cloisters would be 600 feet by 100 feet, *i.e.* 60,000 feet. Again, from the northern end of the connecting cloisters, 600 feet long, where the fosse of the fortress of Antonia commenced, to the southern end of the Struthion Pool, which abutted on the northern wall of Antonia,^c is about 500 feet, and from the western wall of the Haram to the supposed eastern fosse of Antonia is about 600 feet, which, multiplied by the 500 feet, gives 300,000 square feet; and adding the area of the connecting cloisters, *viz.* 60,000 feet, to the area of Antonia itself, *viz.* 300,000 feet, we have just the area of the Temple as it originally stood, *viz.* 360,000 feet. Thus, in a general way, the incorporation of Antonia doubled the area of the Temple.

THE SITE OF THE ACRA.

The site of the Acra has been contested as warmly as that of the Temple, with this distinction, that by common consent the Temple stood somewhere within the four corners of the Haram, but as regards the Acra it has been disputed, not only whether it was situate on the Haram, and if so, on what part, but whether it stood on the eastern ridge of Jerusalem at all. Captain Warren seems to have arrived at the conclusion that it occupied the lower part of the *western* hill near the centre of the quarter inclosed by the second wall,^d a theory which in the author's judgment cannot be supported.

Where there is so much variance of opinion it will be necessary to lay a solid foundation, and I shall therefore begin with a general sketch of the four hills

^a *Bell.* vi. 2, 7.

^b *Ibid.* vi. 1, 8.

^c "The northern escarped face of Antonia is 10 feet from the Via Dolorosa." Wilson's *Notes*, p. 30.

^d *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 303.

of Jerusalem as laid down by Josephus, a description which will be found to have a material bearing upon the site of the Acra. Jerusalem, according to the great Jewish authority, spread itself successively over four hills. The *first* was anciently known as Jebus, and in the time of Josephus was called the Castle (*φρούριον*) or Upper Market or High Town. When the Bordeaux Pilgrim was there at the beginning of the fourth century, this hill passed, as it still does, by the name of Sion. It had one peculiar feature which earmarks it, and was the cause of its original prosperity, viz. it was defended on *all* sides by ravines. It is said by Josephus to have been of a regular shape, and was in fact a kind of parallelogram. On the north and east ran the Tyropæon Valley, rather shallow at its commencement at the Jaffa Gate, but deepening as it wound its way along the northern and eastern sides of Jebus down to Siloam. On the west and south was the formidable ravine of the Valley of Hinnom. At the northern side the valley is still distinctly visible from the roof of the Serai, but has otherwise almost disappeared from the accumulation of rubbish, and on this account its existence even, until recently, was repeatedly denied. The Palestine explorations, however, have set the question at rest, and the course of a valley along the northern side of Sion is now an established fact.*

The *second* hill described by Josephus was that occupied by the *Low Town*, and was divided from the High Town by the Tyropæon, which is expressly stated by Josephus to have run down to Siloam.^b There can be no doubt therefore of the relative position of these two hills, as they were divided by the valley which descended from north to south, and terminated at Siloam, the site of which is universally admitted. The reason why these two hills were called respectively the High Town and Low Town is obvious enough to one who looks at them from the south, as from the Hill of Evil Council; for thence the eastern hill is seen to lie at a much lower level than the western. The boundary of the second hill which supported the Low Town, was, on the *north*, the great trench, now called the Pool of Bethesda, which separated it from the *fourth* hill on the north.^c The *second* hill or Low Town therefore extended from Siloam on the south in a northern direction beyond the limits of the *first* hill or *High Town*, which did not reach beyond the boundary of its own northern wall, called the First Wall, which ran due east from the Castle at the Jaffa Gate to the western cloister of the Temple.

* *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 268. The author had adduced proofs of this long previously in the paper, *Archæologia*, xli. 116, where will be found a plan of the city, to which the reader is referred for better understanding the description which here follows.

^b *Bell.* v. 4, 1.

^c *Bell.* v. 4, 2.

The *third* hill, says Josephus, was *opposite* (ἀντικρὺν) to the second hill, *i.e.* was to the west of the second hill. Just as he speaks of the whole city as *opposite* (ἀντικρὺν) to the Temple, *i.e.* to the west of it.^a The third hill had been originally divided from the second hill by another *broad* ravine (ἄλλη πλατεία φάραγμα); but the Maccabees, from a desire to connect the streets of the city on the *third* hill with the Temple on the *second* hill, filled up or nearly so the intervening valley.^b

We have here to remark, First, that the ravine which originally separated the third hill from the second is described as *another* valley, and therefore it was not the Tyropæon before referred to as separating the first hill from the second hill. Secondly. The object of filling up the valley was to connect the *streets* of the city with the Temple, and, as the Temple was certainly on the eastern hill and the streets were certainly to the west of the Temple, the valley in question could only have been that which is now known as the Asmonean or Mill Valley.

Originally the third hill had been bounded on the *west* by a deep trench or hollow (either natural or artificial), which still remains, and runs in the line of the bazaars, the *roofs* of which are only on a level with the surface of the adjoining ground both east and west. In the time of Hezekiah however, "who built another wall without,"^c the Pool of Hezekiah was also brought by him within the second wall, by carrying a wall like an elbow from the north side of the first wall round the Pool of Hezekiah to the west side of the second wall.^d

The *fourth* hill, called Bezetha or Cænopolis, or New Town, lay to the north of the *second* hill, and was divided from it by the deep cutting now called the Pool of Bethesda. This fourth hill had not been inclosed by any wall up to the time of the Crucifixion; but as the population, which naturally clustered about the Temple, continually grew in that direction, King Agrippa in A.D. 43 *commenced* a wall which inclosed the fourth hill, and comprised also a considerable tract to the west of the Asmonean or Mill Valley, which had been excluded from the second wall. Josephus in his description of the city takes little notice of that part of Bezetha which lay to the west of the Asmonean or Mill Valley as it was very little inhabited.^e The third wall, which was begun by Agrippa, A.D. 43, was not completed until many years afterwards, viz. in the course of the Jewish war, sometime between A.D. 66 and A.D. 70.

^a ἀντικρὺν γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἔκειτο τοῦ Ἱεροῦ. Ant. xv. 11, 5.

^b τουτουδὲ ἀντικρὺν τρίτος ἦν λόφος, ταπεινότερός τε φύσει τῆς Ἀκρας, καὶ πλατεία φάραγμα, διεργόμενος ἄλλη πρότερον . . . συναΐαι βουλόμενοι τῷ Ἱερῷ τὴν πόλιν. Bell. v. 4, 1. ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ ἔχωσαν τὴν φάραγγα ἀνισοῦν βουλόμενοι τοὺς στενωποὺς τοῦ ἄστεως. Ibid. v. 5, 1.

^c 2 Chron. xxxii. 5.

^d See *Siege of Jerusalem by Titus*, p. 284.

^e Bell. v. 6. 2.

Now comes the question, On which of these hills was seated the Macedonian fortress called "The Acra?" Was it on the third hill, as Captain Warren suggests,^a or on the second hill, as I hope to prove? Its position, according to Captain Warren's theory, on the *third* hill, is open to the following several objections.

The Acra was said to *overhang* the *Temple*,^b but if seated on the third hill it would be divided from the Temple by the *broad* ravine mentioned by Josephus now the Asmonean or Mill Valley. Again, the Acra, according to the Maccabees, lay alongside of the Baris, afterwards Fort Antonia, but which could not be the case if it was separated from it by this broad ravine.^c Again, the Acra was called by the Maccabees the City of David (1 *Maccabees*, i. 33), as being situate *in* the City of David; but the third hill was never comprised under the name of the City of David, which unquestionably lay on the second or eastern hill. And, again, the Acra, according to Josephus, was erected in the Low Town;^d but no single instance can be produced in which Josephus speaks of the *third hill* as part of the Low Town.^e There can be no doubt that the quarter of the city called the Acra was so named from the Macedonian Acra erected upon it, and we have the repeated testimony of Josephus that the eastern hill which supported the Low Town was called the Acra.^f We may conclude there-

^a *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 303.

^b ἐπέκειτο γὰρ τῷ Ἱερῷ ἡ Ἀκρά. *Ant.* xii. 9, 3. ὑπερκειμένη τὸ Ἱερόν. *Ibid.* xii. 5, 4. κατίοντι ἐκ τῆς Ἀκρας εἰς τὸ Ἱερόν. *Ant.* xii. 10, 5. 1 *Macc.* vii. 33.

^c τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Ἱεροῦ (the Baris or Antonia) τὸ παρὰ τὴν Ἀκραν. 1 *Macc.* xiii. 52.

^d ἐν τῇ κάτω πόλει. *Ant.* xii. 5, 4.

^e It may be suggested that Josephus applied the expression Low Town to the third hill, where he speaks of the four towers erected by John at the four corners of the Temple, viz. one at the north-east corner, another at the south-west corner, a third over against the Low Town, and the fourth over the παστοφῶρια, whence the priest proclaimed, by the sound of trumpet, the commencement and end of the Sabbath. *Bell.* iv. 9, 12. But I am satisfied that the παστοφῶρια were at the north-west corner, which was in the direction of the main part of the city; and consequently the *other* corner, which was over against the Low Town, would be at the south-east corner of the Temple which overlooked the Eastern Hill, which was the Low Town. The παστοφῶρια would thus be at the gate leading from the northern cloister, and the writer of the Maccabees connects the παστοφῶρια with the gates τὰς πόλιν καὶ τὰ παστοφῶρια (1 *Maccabees*, iv. 57); but there was no gate at the south-east corner of the Temple.

^f Ἀγερὸς δὲ (the second hill) ὁ καλούμενος Ἀκρά καὶ τὴν κάτω πόλιν ὕψιστός. *Bell.* v. 9, 1. τρεψάμενοι τοὺς ληστὰς ἐκ τῆς κάτω πόλεως τὰ μέχρι τοῦ Σιλωὰμ πάντα ἐνέπρησαν. *Ibid.* vi. 7, 2. τῶν Ἑλλήνων βασιλείων, αἱ δὲ κατὰ μέσσην τὴν Ἀκραν ἦν. *Ibid.* vi. 6, 3. ἐκβαλὼν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄνω πόλεως συνωθεῖ τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τὴν κάτω τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ ἄστεως τὸ μέρος Ἀκρά κέκληται, &c. *Ibid.* i. 1, 4.

fore that the Acra, at all events, stood on some part of the eastern hill, *i. e.* somewhere between the Pool of Siloam on the south and the Pool of Bethesda on the north. As the Acra was above the Temple, and overhung it, and as the second hill descends in a regular slope from Bethesda to Siloam, we must look for the Acra to the *north* of the Temple. And, again, the Acra lay *alongside* of the Baris or Antonia, and, as to the east of Antonia was the descent into the valley of the Cedron, and on the west was the Asmonean or Mill Valley, we are driven to the conclusion that the Acra lay on the north of the Temple, between it and Antonia, and here accordingly we find it. We know that the Acra was a first-class garrison, and, therefore, covered a considerable space. We know also that it stood upon a rock, but which had been partially cut down by Simon so as no longer to overlook the Temple. Now between the Temple at the south-west corner of the Haram and Antonia at the north-west corner of the Haram rises the inner plateau, a rock 550 feet long by 450 feet broad and about 15 feet high. Here, then, we have unmistakeably the base of the rock on which the Acra once stood. It must, before it was cut down, have overhung the Temple, and was next the Baris or Antonia, and stands in the City of David* and in the Low Town, and thus answers all the requisites.

The reader has probably often asked himself, as I have often asked myself, such questions as the following: If this site was so advantageous for the Macedonians when they erected the Acra, why had it not been occupied as a fortress by the Jews long before? Again, when Simon the Maccabee captured the Acra, why did he not continue it as a stronghold, instead of cutting down the Acra and then fortifying the mount of the Temple, that is, the Baris at the north-west corner of the Haram which was much further from the Temple? Again, when Simon cut down the Acra, why did he leave the square block of rock, now the Sakhra, in the middle of it? Again, when Herod found it necessary to overawe the Temple by a garrison in its immediate vicinity, why did not he adopt the Sakhra, which adjoined the Temple, rather than enlarge the Baris or Antonia at the north-west corner of the Haram, and incur the expense of erecting two parallel cloisters for the purpose of bringing the Temple within the grasp of Antonia, when a site immediately adjoining the Temple was ready at hand? Why, when Jerusalem

* Nehemiah, in tracing the procession along the southern wall from west to east, says they went up by the stairs of the City of David. *Nehemiah*, xii. 37. And, again, Hezekiah brought the water from the Fountain of the Virgin, on the east side of the second hill, to Siloam, on "the west side of the City of David," *i. e.* on the second hill. *2 Chronicles*, xxxii. 30. The City of David, therefore, was the Eastern Hill.

was taken by Titus, did the Romans construct a Temple to Jupiter, now represented by the Mosque of Omar, on the very spot which the Jews had so carefully avoided? The same key will be found to solve all these difficulties; but for a full and satisfactory explanation we must commence from the very earliest period.

The platform now called the Haram was formed by Solomon under the name of Millo, or the "Embankment." The workmen employed were Tyrians, and their marks have been discovered by the recent excavations all along the eastern wall from the north-east corner down to the south-east corner,^a and the same style of architecture extends along the southern side in a western direction from the south-east corner to the Huldah Gate, two-thirds of the way along the southern wall. The Palace of Solomon stood just below that part of the Haram or Millo which was occupied by the Temple,—that is, just below the south-west corner of the Haram; and, being thus immediately south of Millo and next it, was called Beth-Millo, or the House of Millo. To the east of the palace, partly below Millo and partly within it, were the Stables of Solomon, whence the eastern gate of the city in that part was called the *Horse Gate*, and the adjoining prison was called the *Hippodrome*, or Horsecourse.

The *Royal* or *King's* Gardens were below Siloam, at the confluence of the two valleys of Hinnom and Jehoshaphat; but, besides these, mention is made of the Garden of Uzza,^b which is also referred to as the Garden of the King's House or Palace.^c The Garden of Uzza was thus the home garden, and consequently in the immediate vicinity of the palace; but it was not on Ophel, which is shown by the recent explorations to have been densely populated, and is crossed and re-crossed on all sides by ancient walls. Millo and Bethmillo, and the gardens attached, were parts of one great design; and we should place the home garden, or Garden of Uzza, in Millo itself, just above the Stables of Solomon, on the east side. A garden in the East implies a constant supply of water, and all the eastern portion of the Haram is honeycombed with tanks. Indeed we know that this part of

^a "The present east wall of the sanctuary has Phœnician characters on it, and has all the appearance of being a portion of the oldest work, so that if it were not Solomonic it would have formed part of the old wall spoken of by Josephus, which I suppose to have been the work of the Kings of Judah." *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 317. "At both the north-east and south-east angle characters in paint have been found at the foot of the walls, which are pronounced by *savans* to be Phœnician." *Ibid.* p. 318; and see the pottery described at p. 152. It is also to be noted that there is no depth of *débris* at the foot of the wall to the north of the Haram; that is, the Haram wall is very ancient, but the wall to the north of it is comparatively modern. The wall of Agrippa, therefore, or third wall, commenced from the Haram.

^b 2 Kings, xxi. 18, 26.

^c 2 Kings, xxi. 18.

the area was from the earliest times planted with olive-trees and shrubs,^a and is so still.

To the *west* of the Garden of Uzza, and just *north* of the Temple, rose a bare rock which never could have been cultivated, but was admirably adapted for the excavation of sepulchres according to the Jewish fashion. It lay next the Temple, and was highly revered. And we read that Manasses, a King of Israel, was buried in the garden of his own house in the Garden of Uzza;^c and that his son Amon was also buried "in his sepulchre in the Garden of Uzza."^d Both of them, unrestrained by any scruples of conscience, had probably in their lifetime prepared their own tombs, as was a common practice amongst the Jews.

It is to these interments that the prophet Ezekiel alludes in the following passage, which well deserves attention. "My holy name shall the house of Israel no more defile, neither they nor *their kings* by their whoredom, nor *by the carcases of their kings* in their high places; in their setting of *their threshold by my thresholds and their posts by my posts and the wall between me and them*. They have even defiled my holy name by their abominations that they have committed; wherefore I have consumed them in mine anger. Now let them put away their whoredom and the *carcases of their kings far from me*, and I will dwell in the midst of them for ever." The prophet here is evidently inveighing against the pollution of the sanctuary by the interment of the carcases of kings next to the Holy Temple, which would be the case if Manasses and Amon were buried on the spot assigned to their sepulchres. But, further, these interments are spoken of as in the "*high places*." Now on three sides of the Temple, viz. the south, east, and west, was a rapid declivity. The sepulchres complained of therefore must have been on the north, *i. e.* excavated in the rock, now the Sakhra, in the centre of the Haram. The bodies of Manasses and Amon alone would satisfy the words of Ezekiel, but it is not impossible that other kings also (not however David and Solomon)^f were interred in the same locality, for they are

^a Mejr-ed-din. Williams's *Holy City*, vol. i. Supplement, p. 150.

^b Williams's *Holy City*, ii. 298.

^c 2 Kings xxi. 18.

^d 2 Kings xxi. 26.

^e Ezek. xliii. 7.

^f David and Solomon were both interred in the same mausoleum. *Ant.* xvi. 7, 1. The traditional tomb of David is on Sion, the south-west hill, the ancient Jebus. But this cannot be, for Nehemiah in tracing the line of the wall along the south of the city from west to east enumerates in order, "the gate of the fountain" and "the wall of the Pool of Siloah by the king's garden and unto the stairs that go down (to the fountain) from the city of David," and then "the place over against the sepulchres of David and unto the pool that was made, and unto the house of the mighty." *Nehem.* iii. 15. Thus the place over against the

said to have been buried "in the city of David,"^a and even "at Jerusalem in the city of David;"^b and it is certain that, on the capture of Jerusalem by David, the eastern hill, as opposed to Jebus on the western hill, was called the city of David.^c In the time of the Maccabees the "city of David" had a more contracted meaning still, and the very rock which then supported the Macedonian Acra was called *par excellence* the city of David. According to the Book of Maccabees therefore, the royal interments, if made in the city of David, would be in the Sakhra itself.

What became of these royal sepulchres on the return of the Jews from the captivity? They were found ransacked and rifled, and the tombs remained in this state until the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. This prince, as is well known, entered upon the desperate project of extirpating the very worship of Jehovah, and with this view he first prepared himself against a rebellion by rendering the people utterly defenceless, throwing down the walls of the city,^d and erecting the celebrated Acra on the site of the royal tombs as the most eligible spot for overawing the Temple. A place of burial, so dreadful a pollution in the eyes of a Jew,^e presented no obstacle to the mind of a Greek. "They built the City of David with a great wall and stout, with strong towers, and it served them as an Acra" or keep;^f and it was this stronghold that became "a sore snare and

sepulchres of David was certainly to the east of the Fountain of Siloam, and the sepulchres being described as opposite to this part of the wall must have been on the other side of the valley at or close to the village of Siloam. It is remarkable that Josephus in describing the wall of circumvallation by Titus, at the south-east of the city, tells us that it ran southward along the foot of the Mount of Olives "as far as the rock called Peristereon (*περιστερεών*), and the crest next it which faces the Valley of Siloam." *Bell.* v. 12, 2. There can be no doubt that the word *περιστερεών* is to be derived from *περιστερά*, a pigeon, and means a columbarium, so that we find Josephus making mention of a columbarium or burial-place at the exact spot indicated by Nehemiah as the Sepulchres of David. Search therefore should be made for the Sepulchres of David on the east side of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, a little to the south of the village of Siloam.

^a 1 Kings ii. 10; xi. 43; xv. 8, 24; xxii. 50. 2 Kings viii. 24; xii. 21; xv. 38; ix. 28; xiv. 20; xvi. 20. 2 Chron. ix. 31; xii. 16; xiv. 1; xvi. 14; xxi. 1, 20; xxiv. 16, 25; xxv. 28; xxvii. 9; xxviii. 27.

^b 2 Kings, xiv. 20.

^c See ante, p. 46, and *Siege of Jerusalem by Titus*, p. 241.

^d 1 Macc. i. 31.

^e As to the abhorrence of a place of burial by a Jew, see in particular *Ant.* xviii. 2, 3, where it is stated that to dwell upon a place polluted by sepulchres was a violation of Jewish law; and that Herod Antipas in consequence could only people Tiberias, which was thus defiled, by absolute compulsion.

^f 1 Macc. i. 33. The City of David had three meanings. (1.) In its largest sense it signified Jerusalem.

a place to lie in wait against the sanctuary and an evil adversary to Israel."^a The flame of rebellion soon burst forth under the auspices of Mattathias, the aged priest, and his valorous sons. Judas Maccabeus, the lion of the family, led the way, and, collecting a small but gallant band about him, overthrew successively all the forces that dared encounter him. He now marched to Jerusalem itself, and, as the walls had been thrown down, he made his way without difficulty to the site of the Temple (called Mount Sion), and found it utterly deserted and full of abominations.^b His first object was to remove the defilements; and the stones of the altar, which had been polluted by the Macedonians, were carried out of the sacred precincts, and lodged in the Mount of the Temple, *i. e.* the Baris or Antonia.^c This purgation of the sanctuary was commemorated thenceforth by an annual festival of eight days, called the Encænia (the Feast of Dedication spoken of by the Evangelist^d). The next step was to secure the Temple, *i. e.* Mount Sion, against future profanation, and Judas surrounded the *outer court* by a strong wall with towers.^e Thus the Temple and the Acra (for Judas could not take the Acra,) were two hostile garrisons adjoining each other, and henceforth when the Jews were victorious they besieged the City of David, *i. e.* the Acra, and when the Macedonians were victorious they besieged Mount Sion, *i. e.* the Temple.^f Antiochus Eupator, the successor of Antiochus Epiphanes, advanced with an overwhelming force to Jerusalem, and shut up Judas in the Temple; but not being able to master it by force he offered terms, viz. that, if Judas would surrender, the Temple should be intact, and the Jews should live under their own laws. Judas assented, and Antiochus was admitted into Mount Sion; but when he saw the strength of the Temple he violated his oath, and ordered the walls of the *outer court* to be razed to the ground.^g Alcimus, the minion of Eupator, and who had been appointed high priest by him, proposed that the walls of the *inner court* also should be razed; but he dropped into the grave before the design could be carried out.^h

Thus ἐκβαλὼν δὲ τοὺς Ἰεβουσαίους ἐκ τῆς Ἀκρας (now the Castle of David or Citadel) καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνοικοδομήσας τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, πόλιν αὐτὴν Δαυΐδου προσηγόρευσε . . . τὴν τε κάτω πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἀκραν συνάψας. *Ant.* vii. 3, 2. (2.) In its less comprehensive sense the City of David was the eastern hill as opposed to Jebus. See *ante*, p. 46, note ^a. (3.) In the most limited sense, as used by the Maccabees, it was simply and exclusively the Acra or Macedonian fortress. Whoever would understand the topography of the Maccabees must note three things: 1. That the City of David was the Acra, and the Acra only; 2. That Mount Sion was the Temple (*i. e.* the outer court of the Temple and what it inclosed) only; and 3. That the Mount of the House or the Mount of the Temple was neither the Acra nor the Temple, but the Baris or Castle, afterwards called Antonia.

^a 1 Macc. i. 35.

^b 1 Macc. iv. 38.

^c 1 Macc. iv. 46.

^d John, x. 22.

^e 1 Macc. iv. 60; vi. 7.

^f 1 Macc. vi. 18.

^g 1 Macc. vi. 62.

^h 1 Macc. ix. 55.

Judas was slain in battle, and was succeeded by his brother Jonathan, who was no less successful than Judas, both as a general and a politician. By cleverly trimming his course between the contending competitors for the throne of the Seleucidæ, he gradually consolidated his power, and at last was strong enough to recover all Jerusalem (which had been wrested from them on the death of Judas) with the exception of the Acra. He now applied himself to the restoration of the walls of the outer court (which had been thrown down by Antiochus Eupator) and to the rebuilding of the walls of the city (which had been razed by Antiochus Epiphanes),^a and at a subsequent period he carried the walls of Jerusalem to a still greater height, and, in order to shut up the Acra on all sides, he restored the wall along the western side of the Haram, from the south-west corner of the Baris or Antonia, to the north-west corner of the Temple.^b The Acra had always been kept well victualled against a siege,^c and previously to these counterworks of Jonathan had also maintained free communication on the west with the markets of the city, which were close at hand, and are now represented by the Bazaars, and on the east with the country at large. But by the heightening of the city walls the Macedonians were effectually excluded from drawing provisions from without, and, by the high wall on the east of the Haram, were debarred from reaching the markets within. Jonathan now laid siege to the Acra, but, before he could reduce it, he also was slain by treachery.

The Maccabean brothers (though four of them had fallen) were not yet extinct, for there still remained Simon, the ablest of them all in council, and equal to any in arms. He called his countrymen together, and Jewish independence was now formally proclaimed.^d His first measure was to complete the walls of Jerusalem throughout their whole circuit,^e and to press the siege of the Acra.

The Macedonians, being cut off from all supplies either from within or from without, implored assistance from Antioch, but the throne of the Selucidæ was in contest, and no one came to the rescue, and thus, after a long struggle, the Acra surrendered and Simon took possession of it "with thanksgiving and with harps and cymbals, and with viols and hymns and songs."^f

Now that the Jews were masters of the Acra what was to be done with it? As the *quondam* mausoleum of their kings, it was a polluted place and could not be inhabited. As it rose above the wall of the outer court of the Temple it commanded a view of the sacrifices, which it was profane for any stranger to over-

^a 1 Macc. x. 11.^b 1 Macc. xii. 36.^c 1 Macc. i. 35.^d Ant. xiii. 6, 7. 1 Macc. xiii. 41.^e 1 Macc. xiii. 10. Ant. xiii. 6, 7.^f 1 Macc. xiii. 51.

look. Besides, if left standing, it might again fall into the hands of an enemy and again become a snare. Simon called a council of deliberation, when it was resolved to raze the castle of the Acra, and, not only so, but to cut down the very rock also on which it was built. In one place Josephus states that they razed it to the ground in order that the Temple might be higher.^a But in another place he states that they *lowered* the height in order that the *Temple* might appear above that also.^b In either case the Acra was so far cut down that the Temple, that is, the wall of the outer court, rose above it. Some, with a foregone but erroneous conclusion that the Temple was seated on a mount, have understood Josephus as stating that the Temple *mount* was made to overlook the Acra *mount*, but he could not have meant this, and certainly does not say it.^c

What was actually done may be inferred from the present state of the ground. In the centre of the Haram is the inner plateau, 15 feet high, and reaching 550 feet from north to south, and 450 feet from east to west. This was the rock which supported the Acra, and was formerly much higher, but the Maccabees cut it down generally to this level. Nearly in the middle of the inner plateau is the Sakhra, 60 feet by 50 feet, and about 5 feet above the surface of the inner plateau. Had the Maccabees cut away this also, they would have laid open and exposed the sepulchres of their kings. They therefore left just so much of the rock standing as would suffice for the protection of the tombs below. At present the only vault visible under the Sakhra is that at the south-east corner; but the walls of the vault are artificial, and on striking the north side the hollow sound indicates that this cave is only the vestibule of other excavations. As the rock must have been left with reference to the vaults, we may pretty safely conclude that the vaults below are co-extensive with the rock above, and further search should be made for ascertaining how far this surmise is correct. Captain Warren mentions a singular fact which he

^a *eis ἑδαφος αὐτὴν καθεῖλεν.* Ant. xiii. 6, 7. *eis ἑδαφος καὶ πεδινὴν λειώπητα, &c. ὅπως ὑψηλότερον ἢ τὸ Ἱερὸν.* Ibid.

^b *κατεργασάμενοι τὸ ὕψος ἐποίησαντο χθαμαλότερον, ὡς ὑπερφαίνοντο καὶ ταύτης τὸ Ἱερὸν.* Bell. v. 4, 1. In a summary of the transactions of Simon, in the Book of Maccabees, it seems to be stated that Simon continued the Acra as a garrison: *κατέκτισεν ἐν αὐτῇ ἄνδρας Ἰουδαίους καὶ ὠχύρωσεν αὐτὴν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς πόλεως.* 1 Macc. xiv. 37. This, if so, must have been before the resolution came to by the council to raze the Acra. I should say, however, that there is a confusion in the passage cited between the Acra and the Baris, and that what is said of the Acra was intended of the Baris, for it is certain from the same book that Simon further strengthened the Baris and dwelt in it, *προσώχυρωσε τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Ἱεροῦ καὶ ἦκεν ἐκεῖ.* 1 Macc. xiii. 52. We must believe with Josephus, that the rock of the Acra was lowered if not levelled.

^c See *ante*, p. 27.

cannot explain, but which, after what we have said, is intelligible enough. On the western upper surface of the Sakhra is a channel or gutter, running from the south in a northern direction, and toward the south it is cut out of the rock, but then continues northward about 5 feet over heavy flagging, and under the flagging is a cutting in the rock 5 feet long and 2 feet wide. At the southern end of the cutting is the solid rock, but on the north the gutter holds on its course northward, though it cannot at present be followed. The visible depth of the cutting under the flagging is three feet, but it is filled with rubbish, and the real depth is not known.^a For what possible purpose could a gutter have been made on the top of a rock 60 feet by 50 and 5 feet high? The answer is that here originally rose the Acra to a much greater altitude, and the channel or gutter in question was one of the sewers of the fortress above, and the cutting under the flagging is connected with the sepulchral vaults below.

As Simon on his capturing the Acra was prevented by religious scruples from himself occupying the Acra itself, he added to and further strengthened the Mount of the Temple, afterwards Antonia, which lay alongside the Acra^b and was near the Temple,^c and there fixed his palace.^d He ruled for eight years as High Priest, and was then succeeded by his son John Hyrcanus as High Priest; and the latter was followed by his son Aristobulus, who was the first to assume the title of King; and both John and Aristobulus continued to reside in the Baris, as Simon had done before.^e Aristobulus reigned only a year, or even less, and was succeeded by King Alexander, of whom we have something to say.

Alexander reigned long, viz. for twenty-seven years, and we may add prosperously upon the whole, though he experienced great vicissitudes. In the course of his chequered life he made many enemies, and amongst them were numbered more particularly the Pharisees. In his dying moments he was alarmed lest his remains should be denied a burial, and even be treated with ignominy. He therefore summoned his wife Alexandra to his bedside, and gave his parting admonition: "When I am no more, call in the Pharisees as your counsellors, and place the government in their hands. You will thus secure your own power, and procure for me more imposing funeral obsequies than any private person could bestow."^f Alexander died, and his wife confided herself to the Pharisees; and

^a *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 221.

^b *παρὰ τὴν Ἀκρὰν*. 1 Macc. xiii. 52.

^c *παλαιόν τῶν Ἱερῶν*. *Ant.* xviii. 4, 3.

^d 1 Macc. xiii. 52.

^e As to Hyrcanus, see *Ant.* xviii. 4, 3. As to Aristobulus, see *Ant.* xiii. 11, 2.

^f *Ant.* xiii. 15, 5.

the result which had been predicted followed. The Pharisees were conciliated, and Alexandra by their aid kept possession of the throne for herself and her sons, and the body of Alexander was interred with unusual splendour.^a Josephus does not here tell us in what this unusual splendour consisted, but we may collect it by inference, as follows. The five Maccabean brothers, Judas, Jonathan, Simon, John, and Eleazar, and their parents Mattathias and his wife, were all interred at Modin, near the sea,^b and here Simon, the surviving brother, had invested the family mausoleum with a degree of splendour by surrounding it with a colonnade, and by erecting seven pyramids in honour of the seven Maccabeans, viz. Mattathias and his wife and their five sons, Simon himself included.^c John, the successor of Simon, was buried, as we know, just without Jerusalem, near the tomb of our Lord, viz. in the angle without the city formed by the north wall of Sion, the ancient Jebus, or High Town, and the western face of the second wall which encompassed the "other city" on the third hill. This tomb of John the High Priest is repeatedly alluded to in the siege by Titus.^d Aristobulus, the successor of John, reigned so short a time that we cannot suppose that his funeral would be attended with any extraordinary splendour, and no reference is anywhere made to it. But Alexander, who was not only a king nominally, but restored in some measure the *éclat* of the ancient monarchy, why should he not receive a funeral worthy of their former kings? His remains were therefore deposited with all due display in the royal vaults under the Acra (*i. e.* the Sakhra), and from this time forth these vaults went by the name of "The Tombs of King Alexander."^e It is particularly mentioned that Aristobulus, the son of Alexander, was also buried "in the royal sepulchres,"^f and, as he was no doubt interred in the same mausoleum with his father, we must infer that Aristobulus and Alexander were both consigned to the royal sepulchres under the Sakhra.

We pass on to Herod, who it is well known rebuilt the Temple from its foundations. The outer court with its massive cloisters was at all times a strong fortress, and was now made more formidable than ever, and, as the Temple was the hotbed of Jewish rebellion from the vast multitudes collected at the festivals within its walls, it was necessary to hold it in check by the constant presence of a

^a λαμπρότερον ἢ τινα τῶν πρὸ αὐτῷ βασιλέων αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσαν. *Ant.* xiii. 16, 1.

^b 1 Macc. ii. 70; ix. 20; xiii. 25.

^c *Ant.* xiii. 6, 6.

^d *Bell.* v. 6, 2; v. 7, 3; v. 9, 2; v. 11, 4; vi. 2, 10.

^e Τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως μνημείων. *Bell.* v. 7, 3.

^f τοῖς Βασιλικαῖς μνημείοις ἐνταφισμένος. *Bell.* i. 9, 1.

military force. Herod must have looked wistfully at the site of the Acra, which was immediately contiguous to the Temple, and though much reduced in height was still the most eligible site for a citadel. But the prejudices of his countrymen would not permit the desecration of a place of sepulchre, and, abandoning the idea, he enlarged and further strengthened the Baris of the Maccabees at the north-west corner of the Haram, and in honour of his friend Mark Antony called it Antonia. In order to effect a junction with the Temple so as completely to command it, he very ingeniously carried two parallel cloisters from the northern wall of the Temple to Antonia, one of them a continuation of the western cloister of the Temple and the other very near to it. He was thus at all times the absolute master of the Temple, for the soldiery could pass along the roofs of the connecting cloisters to the roof of the Temple cloisters, and could relieve guard and make the necessary movements not only without interruption but even without the knowledge of the assembled worshippers below. As Antonia was so far distant from the Temple, he was also at the expense of erecting a tower half as high again as the others at the south-east corner of Antonia, in order that he might command a view of the doings in the Temple, and thus be ready to act at any moment as circumstances required.

Nothing material to the history of the Acra occurs from this time until we come to the siege of Jerusalem by Titus. The city was then divided between the two hostile factions of Simon and John; Simon holding possession of the High Town on the Western Hill, and John occupying the Temple and the precincts about it, now the Haram, on the Eastern Hill. Josephus, in describing the defence by John, introduces a statement which has hitherto passed unobserved. "The followers of John," he says, "kept the enemy at bay both from Antonia and from the northern cloister of the Temple, and from *before the Tombs of King Alexander*."^a Here, then, the tombs of King Alexander are coupled with the rampart of the northern cloister of the Temple, and with Fort Antonia, and must have been some 'vantage ground from which to assail the enemy. It must have been some eminence, and at the same time an eminence of sufficient breadth for receiving a body of troops however small. Now, as the Temple stood at the south-west corner of the Haram, and Antonia at the north-west corner, and the cloisters connecting the two together ran along the western side of the Haram,

^a ἀπό τε τῆς Ἀντωνίας καὶ τῆς προσαρκίου στοῦς τοῦ Ἱεροῦ καὶ πρὸ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως μνημείων. *Bell.* v. 7, 3. It was in reading this passage that the idea first struck me that the Tombs of King Alexander must be identical with the Sakhra.

and as on the eastern side was the slope of the "Cedron Valley, so called,"^a the 'vantage ground in question could only have been in the centre of the Haram, and there we find to this day what we look for, viz., a rectangular rock 60 feet by 50 rising about 5 feet above the ordinary level of the plateau; and, what is a further coincidence, having under it certainly one vault, and as we have reason to believe a series of vaults of a similar character, and which would answer to the description of "the tombs." The Sakhra, therefore, so much worshipped by the Mahomedans (but rightly disregarded by the Jews, who have no reverence for it), is neither more nor less than "the Tombs of King Alexander." Josephus does not say the *tomb* but the *tombs*. When he speaks of the sepulchre of a single person he calls it the tomb, in the singular, as the Tomb of the High Priest John;^b but when he refers to the mausoleum of a family he calls it the *tombs*, as for instance the Tombs of Queen Helena, now known as the Tombs of the Kings.^c Assuming that the Sakhra is the Mausoleum of King Alexander, there must assuredly, as was long ago conjectured, be other vaults in connection with the existing one which remain to be explored.

I do not know that the subsequent history of the Acra will furnish any further proofs in confirmation of the hypothesis that here was the mausoleum of the Maccabean kings, as it had been before of some of the ancient kings; but, as we have traced the history of the Acra thus far, it may not be unacceptable to continue the account of it until we come to the time when it fell into the hands of the Mahomedans.

In A.D. 131, and therefore sixty-one years after the capture of Jerusalem by Titus, Adrian made the circuit of the subjugated provinces, and, on arriving at Jerusalem, he, according to Dion, erected a Temple to Jupiter on the very site of the Temple of Jehovah;^d and, according to Jerome, he erected in this temple not only the image of Jupiter, but also a statue of himself,^e just as shortly afterwards he erected his own statue in the Temple of Jupiter at Athens.^f The Temple to Jupiter at Jerusalem however was very short-lived, for no sooner had Adrian withdrawn to a distance, than the Jews, A.D. 132, broke out into open

^a See *ante*, p. 20.

^b *Bell.* vi. 2, 10; v. 9, 2; v. 11, 4; v. 7, 3; v. 6, 2.

^c *Bell.* v. 3, 3; v. 4, 2.

^d ἐς τὸν τοῦ βασιλῆος τοῦ Θεοῦ τόπον καὶ τῷ Διὶ ἕτερον ἀντεγείλαντος. *Dion.* lxi. 12.

^e Ubi quondam erat templum et religio Dei, ibi Hadriani status et Jovis idolum collocatum. Hieron. *comm.* in *Esaiam.* ii. 8.

^f *Dion.* lxi. 16.

rebellion, and it is almost needless to say that, as the dedication of the Temple to Jupiter was the very cause of the war, one of the first acts of the insurrection was to throw it to the ground and to commence the restoration of the Temple to Jehovah. The war lasted three years and a half, and at the close of A.D. 135 Adrian was everywhere triumphant, when he pulled down the Temple which the Jews had erected to Jehovah, and resettled Jerusalem as a Greek colony under the name of *Ælia Capitolina*.^a As the erection of the Temple to Jupiter on the very site of the Jewish Temple had led to a national outbreak, Adrian thought it prudent not to repeat an unnecessary cause of irritation, and contented himself with the assertion of his power by placing an equestrian statue of himself on the very site of the Holy of Holies.^b Adrian, says Epiphanius, was minded to restore the City, but not the Temple.^c

^a καθελών τὸν ναὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις . . . ἐπέθηκε τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει, Ἰαλίαν αὐτὴν ὀνομάσας. *Chron. Pascal.* p. 254 A., A.D. 119 (an erroneous date) cited by Clinton, F. R., A.D. 131.

^b De Hadriani equestri statua quæ in ipso sancti sanctorum loco usque in presentem diem stetit. Hieron. comm. in Matt. xxi. 15.

^c Τὴν πόλιν κτίσαι, οὐ μὴν τὸ Ἱερόν. *Epiphan. de Pond. et Mens.* s. 14.

The testimony of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, who was at Jerusalem in A.D. 333, deserves especial notice. "In the sanctuary itself," he says, "where was the Temple that Solomon built (in æde ipsâ ubi Templum fuit), on the marble before the altar, you would say that the blood of Zacharias had only just been spilt. The marks also of the nails of the soldiers who slew him appear over the whole area as if impressed upon wax. There also are two statues of Adrian. Not far from the statues is the worn-through stone (lapis pertusus) to which the Jews come year by year and anoint it, and lament with groans, and rend their garments, and so retire." Here we have brought together in juxta-position to each other three things: 1. The sanctuary of the Temple of Solomon; 2. The statues of Adrian; and 3. The wailing-place of the Jews. We know the site of the wailing-place, viz. at the south-west corner of the Haram. Here, therefore, were also the statues of Adrian, and on the same spot had stood the Temple of Solomon. Thus the Bordeaux Pilgrim entirely confirms the view that the position of the Temple was at the south-west corner of the Haram. The words "in æde ipsâ ubi Templum fuit" implies that the Temple was no more; and that the blood of Zacharias was shown amongst the ruins we learn from Jerome (A.D. 400): "Simpliciores fratres inter ruinas Templi et altaris, sive in portarum exitibus quæ Siloë ducunt, rubra saxa monstrantes Zachariæ sanguine putant esse polluta." *Commentary on Matthew* cited by De Saulcy, *Mémoires de l'Institut*, vol. xxvi. p. 67 (1867).

But the worthy pilgrim has fallen into one error, which we can easily account for. There was only one statue to Adrian, viz. the equestrian statue referred to by Jerome, and the other statue was erected subsequently in honour of the Emperor Antoninus. But as the inscription at the base bore the full title of Antoninus, viz. "Tito Æli. Hadriano Antonino Aug. Pio," the pilgrim was misled by the opening words "Tito Ælio Hadriano," and erroneously imputed the statue to Adrian. The inscription itself still exists, and has been built into the south wall of the Haram. Barclay, *City of the Great King*, p. 492.

The site of the Jewish Temple was evidently well known in the time of the Bordeaux Pilgrim; and his

Fortunately a passage in the Paschal Chronicle, though somewhat enigmatical, enables us to elicit what important alterations in the site of the Acra were introduced by Adrian. In describing the various edifices erected by the Emperor at Jerusalem, it tells us that he constructed "the two Baths" (δημόσια), and the Theatre, and the Three Arches (τρικάμερον), and the Tetranyphum (τετράνυμφον), and the Twelve-Gates, before called the Steps (τὰ δωδεκάπυλον τὸ πρὶν ὀνομαζόμενον Ἀναβαθμοί), and the Quadra (Κόδραν). As to the *Theatre*, De Sauley thinks that he found vestiges of it at the north-east of the city,^b and Captain Warren would place it on Ophel, a little below the Haram.^c By the *Three Arches* is meant the Arch of the Ecce Homo, which has a central arch, and had until lately two side-arches. The *Tetranyphum* was what the Bordeaux Pilgrim calls the *quadriporticus*, or four-sided colonnade, about the Pool of Siloam, and the columns were still standing in the time of Antoninus Martyr, and a fragment of them was found by Captain Warren.^d But what were the Twelve-Gates, (formerly called the Steps,) and the Quadra? However little apparent it may be at first sight, they may be set down, the one as the inner plateau of the Haram, and the other as the Sakhra. If a person familiar with Jerusalem were asked to name what place in Jerusalem would be called emphatically "The Steps," I think he would at once answer, "The inner plateau of the Haram," which is ascended at the present day on all its sides by flights of steps. But further, at the top of these flights of

contemporary, Eusebius, asserts the same thing. Eusebius, *Theophan.* B. iv. c. 18, cited by Williams, *Holy City*, ii. p. 414; and see *Mémoires de l'Institut Imperial*, xxvi. 64 (1867). And the ruins, as we have seen, are referred to by Jerome, A. D. 400; and so still later by Antoninus Martyr, A. D. 600. *Ante Ruinas Templi Solomonis*, &c. c. xxiii.

We may here remark that, in the time of Constantine the Great, the Jews made a second attempt to rebuild their Temple, and were barbarously punished for their insolence. Chrysost. *Karà 'Ioudaίων*, B. vi. 333, cited by Williams, *Holy City*, ii. p. 334. And under the Emperor Julian a third attempt was made, under the imperial auspices, to restore the Temple of Jehovah, when, as is well known, the works were stopped by the eruption of balls of flame. *Ammian. Marcel.* xxiii. 1, 3. See Clinton's *Fasti Rom.* A. D. 363. Chrysostom alludes to these three fruitless endeavours to rebuild the Temple, αὐτοῖς (the Jews) δεικνυμι οὐκ ἅπαζ, οὐδὲ δις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρίς ἐπιχειρήσαντας. . . . (1.) ὁρᾷς τὴν πρώτην ἐπιχείρησιν (under Adrian). (2.) Βλέπε δὲ καὶ τὴν μέτ' ἐκείνην ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίνου πάλιν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιχειρήσιν, κ.τ.λ. (3.) καὶ τοῖς σφόδρα νεοῖς (the attempt under Julian) δῆλον καὶ καταφανές. loc. cit. Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 335; and adds that the site down to his own day (A. D. 400) still remained vacant καὶ νῦν ἐὰν ἔλθῃς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, γυμνα ὕψει τὰ θεμέλια. loc. cit. Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 335.

^a *Chron. Pasch.* A. D. 119.

^b *Voyage en Terre Sainte*, ii. 18.

^c *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 297.

^d *Ibid.* p. 267, where will be seen a sketch of one of the capitals.

steps are slight portals or gateways, opening upon the plateau itself. There are still three of these flights of steps on one of the four sides of the plateau, and, though on the other sides the number varies, we have reason to conclude that there were originally, to preserve a uniformity of design, three flights of steps and gateways on each side, and then we shall have the Twelve Gates in all. Here then are the Twelve-Gates formerly called "The Steps," and thus we learn from the Paschal Chronicle that the present form of the plateau is due to the Emperor Adrian. But further, the Chronicle connects with the Twelve-Gates the Quadra, or Square, and in the centre of the plateau we find the square of the Sakhra. It was long ago described as "quadrangular, like a shield, nearly cubical,"^a and it still preserves, in a general way, the same configuration. This Quadra could have served but for one purpose, viz. for the erection upon it of the image of Jupiter. It was a rule of Roman architecture that the image of Jupiter should be erected on the highest and most commanding point,^b and such was unquestionably the Sakhra. It is remarkable that the Paschal Chronicle, though it enumerates the works of Adrian at Jerusalem quite in detail, yet makes no mention of any Temple. We may conclude, therefore, that the only Temple left by Adrian was the δωδεκάπυλον of the inner plateau as the Τέμενος or Templum, with the Quadra or Sakhra, surmounted by the image of Jupiter, as the ναός, or *ædes*.^c

As Christianity silently but surely permeated the Roman empire, and leavened the whole population, the worship of idols fell into disrepute, and the temples became neglected. But Paganism was not to be supplanted without a struggle, and under Diocletian, at the commencement of the fourth century (A.D. 303), a violent persecution against the Christians was set on foot. The bitterness of it had died away, when to the world's surprise Diocletian resigned the supreme power, and retired as a private citizen to Spalatro. Here he had erected a splendid palace, and, as Jupiter was his tutelary god, he dedicated there a temple to Jupiter. It stood near the centre of a rectangular platform, was octagonal (which was unusual), and of the Corinthian order, and had a vault under it, and was approached by a golden gate built in the wall of the outer platform. On the

^a Edrisi cited by Pierotti, i. 289; and so Antoninus Martyr. *Petra autem ibi est quadrangula*, c. 23.

^b See Vitruvius, i. 7.

^c A coin of Adrian has the head of the Emperor with a tetrastyle Temple on the obverse, and the inscription "Col. Æl. Cap." on the reverse. Eckhel, iii. 442. This Temple, if the one at Jerusalem be referred to, must have been the Temple destroyed by the Jews at the time of the insurrection. It is more probable however that, as Jerusalem was restored by the name of *Ælia Capitolina*, the Temple meant to be represented on the coin was that of Jupiter *Capitolinus* at Rome.

retreat of Diocletian the empire devolved on Constantius and Galerius as the two Emperors or Augusti, and on Severus and Maximinus Daza as the two Cæsars. These four were of different temperaments, and they agreed to parcel out the empire between them, and Syria, Palestine, and Egypt fell to the lot of Maximinus Daza. He was a man of low origin, illiterate, and a bigoted heathen, and set himself to the work of extirpating Christianity. The persecution, begun some years before, was revived with all its fury, and, in the words of Gibbon, Maximinus Daza was the last and most implacable enemy of the Church throughout his dominions; the Christians were branded with infamy and suffered martyrdom in Judea and elsewhere, the images of the heathen gods were reinstated, and their temples restored. Jupiter was the tutelary god of Maximinus Daza as well as of Diocletian; and Maximinus Daza now erected over the image of Jupiter on the Sakhra a magnificent temple modelled after the temple erected to the same god by Diocletian at Spalatro. Thus he made it octagonal, and of the Corinthian order, with a cave under it (originally one of the vaults of the Tombs of King Alexander); and, to complete the parallel, the approach to the temple on the eastern side of the Haram was by a golden gate, still so-called in imitation of the Golden Gate at Spalatro. The minute details of architecture in both the temples were also precisely similar. Eusebius informs us in general terms only that Maximinus restored the temples in Judea, but does not mention the Temple of Jupiter at Jerusalem in particular; but the voice of competent architects has pronounced that the fabric which is now standing, and has since been converted into the Mosque of Omar, must certainly be ascribed to the last half of the third century or the first half of the fourth century; and, if so, it was probably the work of Maximinus Daza. It was certainly not one of the edifices of Constantine the Great, for Eusebius, who wrote the life of Constantine, has carefully enumerated all the buildings erected by him, and this is not one of the number.*

* For further details on this subject see the author's paper on "The Mosque of Omar," read before the Society of Antiquaries, and published in the *Archæologia*, xli. 135. I have since doubted whether the mosque was not erected by Diocletian himself, for the following reasons: The mosque in its design and architecture is the exact counterpart of the Temple to Jupiter, erected by Diocletian at Spalatro, so that we should naturally refer them both to the same founder if other circumstances rendered it not improbable. So far from any improbability, the supposition may be shown to be highly probable. Thus, in A.D. 296, Diocletian was at Antioch and passed through Palestine, and therefore it is likely through Jerusalem, on his way to Egypt (Photius, *Codex*, 256, p. 1405; Euseb. *Vita Constantini*, i. 19), and afterwards returned through Palestine to Antioch, and enacted the part of Jupiter, his patron god, in the Mystery or Religious Drama at the Olympia of Antioch, in October of the same year: ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τῶν Ὀλυμπίων κατέφθασεν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανὸς ἐλθὼν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου. Malala, lib. xii. As the Olympia were celebrated every fourth year, and A.D. 296 was one of the periodical returns of the festival, this fixes the date to that year. In

In A. D. 313 the persecution ceased, and Christianity triumphed under the auspices of Constantine the Great. The temples of the idols were unroofed or defaced so as to interrupt the accustomed idol worship;^a and twenty years afterwards, viz. A. D. 333, when the Bordeaux Pilgrim visited Jerusalem, the Temple of Jupiter, which had, no doubt, been neglected, seems to have been pointed out to wandering travellers as the traditional palace of Hezekiah; at least the Bordeaux Pilgrim, in describing the objects of curiosity in the Haram, mentions the house of King Hezekiah (*Est ibi et domus Ezechiae Regis Judææ*), and there was at that time no other building on the Haram which could have passed under that name. Besides, the Temple of Jupiter was certainly then standing, and it is not likely that the pilgrim could pass it over in silence, but which would be the case unless it be referred to as the House of Hezekiah.

From this time to A. D. 600 there is no mention of the Temple itself; but allusion is made to the Golden Gate which led to it in the apocryphal Gospel of St. Matthew, written probably about the middle of the fourth century.^b And the gate at that time was a public thoroughfare, for the angel is represented as saying to Anna, "Go to the gate which is called the *Golden Gate*, and meet your husband on the way, for he will come to thee."^c

About A. D. 600 Antoninus Martyr visited Jerusalem, and, after describing Justinian's church of St. Mary and the hospital attached, which, he says, contained 3,000 beds for the use of the sick, he proceeds to the church of St. Sophia, which, according to the tradition then current, was the Prætorium of Pilate, but in which we cannot fail to recognise the Temple originally erected to Jupiter over the *Quadra*, now the Mosque of Omar over the Sakhra. "We prayed," he

A. D. 297 Galerius made an expedition against the Persians and was defeated; but in A. D. 298 renewed the war and gained a victory. Clinton's *Fasti Rom.* During this time Diocletian remained at Antioch and employed himself in the erection of public buildings, so that he acquired the nickname of Φιλοκτίστης, the Builder. As the name of Diocletian was traced from Διός, Jupiter, the emperor devoted himself to the honour of that god, and was called Jovius, and played the part of Jupiter, as we have seen, at the Olympia at Antioch, and built a temple to Jupiter at Daphne, in the suburbs of Antioch, 'Ἱερὸν Ὀλυμπίου Διός. Malala, *ibid.* What then more likely than that, finding Adrian's image of Jupiter at Jerusalem without a temple over it, he should have proceeded to erect a temple to Jupiter at Jerusalem in imitation of the temple to Jupiter at Spalatro. Malala, being a native of Antioch, confines himself to the works of Diocletian at Antioch, and it would not fall within the scope of his history to mention the Temple at Jerusalem.

^a Euseb. *Vit. Constant.* c. 54.

^b See Tischendorf's *Evang. Apocryph.* p. xxv.

^c Vade ad portam quæ dicitur *Porta Aurea*, &c. Tischendorf's *Evang. Apocryph.* p. 59.

says, "in the Prætorium, where our Lord was heard, and it is now the church of St. Sophia. In the church itself is the seat on which Pilate sat when he heard the Lord. But there is there the *square rock* which stood in the middle of the Prætorium, upon which the accused who was being heard was set, that he might be heard and seen by all the people. The Lord was raised upon that when he was heard by Pilate, where also his *footmarks have remained*. Also of that rock where he stood many virtues are manifested. Taking the measure from the prints of his feet, they tie it on for their various disorders, and are cured. The rock itself, also, is adorned with both gold and silver."^a Monkish lore, which had thus converted the Temple of Jupiter first into the House of Hekeziah and then into the Prætorium of Pilate, had also by this time transformed the *Golden Gate* into the *Beautiful Gate of the Temple*, for Antoninus speaks of it as the *Porta Speciosa*, c. 17, and Prudentius, who wrote about the same time, attests the same tradition.^b

Not long after the visit of Antoninus, Jerusalem fell under the dominion of the Mahomedans, and the church of St. Sophia then became a mosque, and the footprints of Jesus were metamorphosed into the footprints of Mahomet.

Such is the varied history of the Acra: First a bare rock in the garden of Uzza, then the mausoleum of the Kings of Judah, then a Macedonian fortress, then the tombs of King Alexander, then a temple to Jupiter, then a church to St. Sophia, and now a Mahomedan mosque.

Anton Martyr. c. xxiii.

Porta manet Templi, Speciosam quam vocitarunt. Prudent. *Diptych.* xlv.

IV.—*Remarks on an Inscription on a Copper Dish found at Chertsey: in a Letter from WILLIAM RALSTON SHEDDEN RALSTON, Esq. to C. S. Perceval, Esq. LL.D. Director.*

Read June 8th, 1871.

MY DEAR SIR,

The Thirtieth Volume of the *Archæologia* contains, at page 40, a letter by Mr. John M. Kemble on a so-called Runic inscription, "cut in basso-relievo upon the rim of a pure copper dish, which was dug up nearly a century and a half ago, on the site of the once celebrated monastery of St. Peter" at Chertsey. Mr. Kemble's reading of the inscription (here engraved of the actual size) is GÆTEOHURECKO,



FROM A COPPER DISH IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

which he divides into the two words GÆTEOH and URECKO. As these words offer certain difficulties, as for instance—the o final, and "the archaic character of the u for w and ck for cc," he suggests that the dish, which he thinks may date "in its present form from the eleventh or even the twelfth century," is a copy of one, the first carving of which "may be referred to a period little short of the foundation of the monastery itself, in other words to the close of the seventh century."

"My hypothesis then," he proceeds to say, "is, that there was once another

vessel, of somewhat similar form and material, used to collect the alms of the faithful in the very ancient church of the monastery of St. Peter; that the inscription and the vessel itself having by lapse of time become worn out, a copy was made of them, the form of the dish varying a little, in accordance with the altered taste of the time, but the inscription being reproduced *literatim* to the best of the copyist's ability; that this took place towards the close of the Anglo-Saxon power in England, when the runes had ceased to be intelligible; and, lastly, that Mr. Wetton's dish is a copy so made. I need hardly remind you of the superstitious reverence paid, in even later times, to books containing runic characters. . . . There was in this tendency ample reason for causing the inscription to be imitated upon the new vessel, especially as tradition had probably preserved its meaning—OFFER SINNER!—a warning more than usually awful from the mysterious guise in which it met the eye."

A short time ago I sent a rubbing from the inscription to St. Petersburg, and Professor Sreznevsky, of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, has favoured me with a very simple solution of the mysterious words of which it is composed. They are in all probability, he says, modern Greek, reading XATZH ΠΑΡΑΣΚΟ, or Χατζη Παράσκο = The Pilgrim Parasco's. The word χατζής, gen. χατζή, is a modern word for a pilgrim,^a taken from the Turkish Hadji, and forming a title borne by such pious Greeks as have visited Jerusalem. The name Parasco is one of Græco-Italian or Græco-Roumanian form, like Bergamasco and many others. It seems likely, therefore, that at some not very distant time a pilgrim named Parasco had his name and his title cut upon the dish in question, which was afterwards brought to Chertsey by some traveller in the Levant, and is now preserved in the British Museum.

Yours very truly,

W. R. S. RALSTON.

British Museum, May 25, 1871.

^a See "A Lexicon of Modern Greek-English," by N. Contopoulos, 1868, 8vo.

V.—*Observations on the hitherto unnoticed Expedition of the Emperor Augustus into Britain.* By WILLIAM HENRY BLACK, Esq., F.S.A.

Read February 9th, 1871.

It is the common and inveterate opinion of modern writers, and it seems to be accepted by all antiquaries in the present day, that Britain remained unvisited by the Romans, and free from subjection to the Roman empire, from the time when Julius Cæsar left our shores to the expedition of Claudius and his conquest of the south-eastern part of the island, almost a century afterward. That is a long interval, extending from B.C. 54 to A.D. 43, a period of not less than ninety-five years; and, if the common opinion be true, there is a great and terrible blank in our national history, immediately following the events which had made our nation known to the Roman world.

But it has often occurred to me as unlikely that Great Britain, the reduction of part of which by the first Roman Emperor added so much to his fame, should have been quite neglected (as is commonly supposed), when the utmost regions of the East were sought in the reign of the second Emperor. I have therefore been induced to examine, with scrupulous care, the grounds on which the common opinion rests, and the ancient authorities which still exist, relative to the earlier part of that long interval of ninety-five years, and I have come to a different conclusion.

The authorities quoted by those who hold the negative position, namely, that there was no Roman occupation or subjugation of Britain during that interval, are chiefly two Roman biographers, Cornelius Tacitus and Suetonius Tranquillus; of whom the one wrote the life of his relative Julius Agricola in A.D. 97, the other wrote his life of the Emperor Claudius in or after the same year. Neither of these authors, therefore, lived within the interval of ninety-five years now in question, but they flourished more than half a century after it had expired: they therefore wrote, not from personal knowledge, but only from information, belief, or opinion. Negations such as theirs ought to have little or no weight against positive testimony to the contrary from contemporaneous authors.

In the well-known passage of Tacitus it is said that "although Julius [Cæsar], first of all the Romans, entered Britain with an army and frightened the inhabitants, and obtained possession of the shore, yet he may seem to have shown it, not to have delivered it, to posterity. Afterward were civil wars, the arms of princes turned against the republic, and a long forgetfulness of Britain, even in peace (*longa obliuio Britannicæ, etiam in pace*). Augustus called it a purpose (*consilium*), Tiberius a command or duty (*præceptum*). It is well known that Caius Cæsar [Caligula] agitated about entering Britain, if he had not been quick in inventing and easy in changing his plans, and his vast efforts against Germany failed. Claudius was the author of the work, carrying over both legions and auxiliaries, and taking Vespasianus as a partner in it."^a

Suetonius, writing of this fourth Emperor, says, "One single expedition he [Claudius] made, and that a moderate one. When triumphal ornaments had been decreed to him by the Senate which he thought inferior to the majesty of a prince, and he desired the honour of a just triumph, he chose as the special means whereby he should gain it Britain, which had not been tried by any one after Julius (*Britanniam potissimum elegit, neque tentatam ulli post dicum Iulium*), and which was then in a state of uproar by reason of the non-restitution of refugees (*et tunc tumultuantem ob non redditos transfugas*). Hither when he sailed from Ostia he was twice almost drowned in a vehement gale, near Liguria and by the Hières (*Stæchades*) islands. Wherefore, having gone by land from Marseilles to Boulogne (*Gessoriacum*), he passed over thence, and, without any battle or blood, within a very few days he took part of the island by surrender, returned to Rome in the sixth month after he had gone forth, and triumphed with very grand array."^b

This author is consistent with himself; for all that he says of Britain in the life of Julius is only that "He attacked the Britons, unknown before, and, having overcome them, he commanded or imposed moneys and hostages;" also that "in Britain his fleet was almost destroyed by force of a tempest."^c But this writer makes no mention of Britain under Augustus or Tiberius; and under Caligula he briefly tells the story of the submission of a son of Cunobelinus with his companions to that Emperor in Gaul, and of the fictitious triumph in which that Emperor led them, as if he had taken the whole island.^d As this ridiculous affair happened in or about A.D. 40, and the actual and undoubted expedition of

^a De vita Agricola, c. 13.

^c De vita Iulii, c. 25.

^b De vita Claudii, c. 17.

^d De vita Calig. c. 44.

Claudius is assigned to the year A.D. 43, it is easy to account for the tumults in Britain about the non-restitution of British refugees by the Romans, which gave a colour to the invasion of the island by Claudius only three years afterward.

Any argument derived from the silence of those other Latin historians which have come down to our times is of little weight against positive evidence to the contrary, especially if we consider the loss of the larger and contemporary historians, and the studied brevity of those *epitomators* with whom we are obliged to content ourselves, since the Goths and Vandals destroyed libraries and public monuments and records, and forced a foreign tongue on the west and south of Europe, in the fourth and following centuries, as their German descendants are doing again in Gaul at the present time. Let us inquire, therefore, what evidence is afforded by the poets and fragmentary monuments of the Augustan age.

First of all I must quote the well-known lines of Virgil's first Eclogue, because the meaning of the passage seems to have been misunderstood. Take for example Dryden's translation, where he makes Melibœus complain thus:—

But we must beg our bread in climes unknown,
Beneath the scorching or the freezing zone;
And some to far Oaxis shall be sold,
Or try the Libyan heat, or Scythian cold;
The rest among the Britons be confin'd,
A race of men from all the world disjoin'd.
Oh! must the wretched exiles ever mourn,
Nor after length of rolling years return?
Are we condemn'd, by fate's unjust decree,
No more our houses and our homes to see?
Or shall we mount again the rural throne,
And rule the country kingdoms, once our own?
Did we for these barbarians plant and sow,
On these, on these, our happy fields bestow?
Good heav'n! what dire effects from civil discord grow?

Here our great English poet suggests that the Mantuan hinds were wantonly driven from their homes and fields to beg their bread, or to be "sold" into slavery; whereas the careful reader of the original perceives only a change of rural occupation by the vicissitudes of military tenure and service. The ample Commentary of Maurus Servius Honoratus, written in the fourth century, thus explains the occasion of the poem:—"And the cause of writing the *Bucolics* is this: When, after Cæsar was slain in the Senate, on the third day of the ides of March, Augustus his son stirred civil wars against his father's murderers and

Antony. Having obtained victory he gave the lands of the men of Cremona, who had opposed him, to his own soldiers; which when they sufficed not, he commanded those of the Mantuans to be distributed, not for fault but for vicinity. Whence is that verse, *Mantua, vae! miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ!* Therefore, having lost his land, Virgil came to Rome, and by the favour of mighty men he merited alone to take again his own land; going to take back which he was almost killed by Arius a centurion, who held it, if he had not thrown himself into the Mincio, whence is that allegorically said, *Ipse aries etiam nunc vellera siccant.* Afterward the triumvirs, sent by Augustus, delivered both his own land to him and to the Mantuans in part.”^a

The joyful, grateful, flattering Tityrus represents Virgil; poor unhappy Melibœus represents a peasant turned out from his holding to serve in the army, instead of some veteran, to whom his land was allotted. He sees no prospect before him but transportation to foreign wars and garrisons to serve in the Roman army. Hence he cries out,—

At nos hinc alii sitientes ibimus Afros,
Pars Scythiam, et rapidum Cretæ veniemus Oaxem,
Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos,

referring to some of the localities of the foreign wars of Augustus in Egypt, Pannonia, Mesopotamia, and the distant island of *Britain*. But how could this be, if neither war was carried on nor a Roman garrison existed at that time in Britain, or was then contemplated? How, if there was the *longa obliuio*

^a The following is the Latin text of this passage :—“ Et causa scribendorum Bucolicorum hæc est : Cum post occisum iii. iduum Martiarum die in Senatu Cæsarem, Augustus ejus filius contra percussores patris et Antonium, civilia bella movisset : victoria potitus, Cremonensium agros, qui contra eum senserant, militibus suis dedit : qui cum non sufficerent, etiam Mantuanorum jussit distribui, non propter culpam, sed propter vicinitatem. Unde est, ‘Mantua vae! miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ.’ Perdito ergo agro, Virgilius Romam venit, et potentium favore meruit ut agrum suum solus reciperet. Ad quem accipiendum profectus, ab Ario centurione, qui eam tenebat, pene est interemptus, nisi se præcipitasset in Mincium. Unde est allegoricòs, ‘Ipse aries etiam nunc vellera siccant.’ Postea ab Augusto missis Triumviris, et ipsi integer ager est redditus, et Mantuanis pro parte.” (Servius Comm. in Virg. Ecl. i. *inter Prolegomena*, p. 2.) [Donatus, in his *Life of Virgil*, gives the same facts more in detail, following probably the same ancient authority.]

In the celebrated verse “Et penitus,” &c. the text and commentary of Servius read *diversos* for “divisos;” and his notes on it are as follow :—“*Penitus.*] Id est, omnino. *Diversos.*] Quia olim juncta fuit orbi terrarum Britannia. Est enim insula sita in Oceano Septentrionali; et, a poetis, alter orbis terrarum dicitur.” (Ibid. ed. Col., p. 7.)

supposed by Tacitus? The Parthians and Germans, with whom there was actual and undoubted war, had just before been mentioned by Tityrus. And at the close of the first book of the Georgics, the poet, mentioning the triumphs of Augustus, names both the Euphrates and Germany as seats of his wars in the following beautiful lines, which deplore the disastrous effect of those wars upon agriculture:—

———— tot bella per orbem ;
Tam multæ scelerum facies ; non ullus aratro
Dignus honos : squalent abductis arva colonis,
Et curvæ rigidum falces conflantur in ensem.
Hinc movet Euphrates, illinc Germania bellum.

(Georg. i. 505-9.)

Thus happily expressed by Dryden, in language befitting the present day:—

Ye homeborn deities, of mortal birth !
Thou, father Romulus ; and mother Earth,
Goddess unmov'd ! whose guardian arms extend
O'er Tuscan Tiber's course, and Roman tow'rs defend ;
With youthful Cæsar your joint pow'rs engage,
Nor hinder him to save the sinking age ;—
O let the blood, already spilt, atone
For the past crimes of curst Laomedon !
Heav'n wants thee there ; and long the gods, we know,
Have grudg'd thee, Cæsar, to the world below,
Where fraud and rapine right and wrong confound,
Where impious arms from ev'ry part resound,
And monstrous crimes in ev'ry shape are crown'd.
The peaceful peasant to the wars is prest ;
The fields lie fallow in inglorious rest ;
The plain no pasture to the flock affords,
The crooked scythes are straighten'd into swords ;
And there *Euphrates* her soft offspring arms,
And here the *Rhine* rebellows with alarms.
The neighb'ring cities range on sev'ral sides ;
Perfidious Mars long-plighted leagues divides,
And o'er the wasted world in triumph rides.
So four fierce coursers, starting to the race,
Scour through the plain, and lengthen ev'ry pace ;
Nor reins, nor curbs, nor threat'ning cries, they fear,
But force along the trembling charioteer.

It is in this highly finished poem, the *Georgics*, that I find direct and satisfactory proof of an expedition actually made by Augustus into Britain. The passage may be somewhat obscure, but when carefully examined, especially in the light of other ancient authors, the fact is undeniable. That poem is plainly and notoriously inscribed to his patron Mæcenas; yet it alludes to and even apostrophises Augustus, as we have seen, and it contains a notable passage in his honour at the opening of the third book; where, having invoked the rustic goddess Pales and Apollo Nomius (*Te quoque magna Pales! et te memorande, canemus, Pastor ab Amphryso!*) he says, that he shall avoid common themes and fables, and shall try a new way to universal fame. Then he proceeds thus:—

Primus ego in patriam mecum (modo vita supersit),
Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas, etc.

(*Georg.* iii. 10, 11, &c.)

“ I shall be the first to do what none other Mantuan (as the ancient commentator explains it) hath ever yet done. I shall carry the Muses into my own country, if I live long enough to return from the classic regions of Greece. I'll build a temple on the banks of the Mincio; there I'll found ceremonies and games and sacrifices and shows in honor of Augustus; and there I shall have captive Britons to carry embroidered scenery in which his triumphs shall be represented.

Vel scena ut versis discedat frontibus; utque
Purpurea intexti tollant aulae Britanni.

Ibid. iii. 24, 25.

The whole passage is thus rendered, in glowing verse, by our poet Dryden:—

I, first of Romans, shall in triumph come
From conquer'd Greece, and bring her trophies home;
With foreign spoils adorn my native place,
And with Idumæ's palms my Mantua grace.
Of Parian stone a temple will I raise,
Where the slow Mincius through the valley strays;
Where cooling streams invite the flocks to drink,
And reeds defend the winding river's brink.
Full in the midst shall mighty Cæsar stand,
Hold the chief honors, and the dome command.
Then I, conspicuous in my Tyrian gown,
(Submitting to his godhead my renown,)
A hundred coursers from the goal will drive;
The rival chariots in the race shall strive

All Greece shall flock from far my games to see;
 The whorlbat, and the rapid race, shall be
 Reserv'd for Cæsar, and ordain'd by me.
 Myself, with olive crown'd, the gifts will bear;
 (Ev'n now methinks the public shouts I hear,
 The passing pageants and the poms appear).
 I to the temple will conduct the crew,
 The sacrifice and sacrificers view;
 From dance return, attended with my train,
 Where the proud theatres disclose the scene,
 Which interwoven Britons seem to raise,
 And show the triumph which their shame displays.
 High o'er the gate, in elephant and gold,
 The crowd shall Cæsar's *Indian* war behold:
 The Nile shall flow beneath; and, on the side,
 His shatter'd ships on brazen pillars ride.
 Next him, *Niphates*, with inverted urn
 And dropping sedge, shall his *Armenia* mourn,
 And *Arian* cities in our triumph borne.
 With backward bows the *Parthians* shall be there,
 And, spurring from the sight, confess their fear.
 A double wreath shall crown our Cæsar's brows,
 Two diff'ring trophies, from two diff'rent foes.
Europe with *Afric* in his fame shall join,
 But neither shore his conquest shall confine.
 The *Parian* marble, there, shall seem to move,
 In breathing statues not unworthy *Jove*;
 Resembling heroes, whose ethereal root
 Is *Jove* himself, and Cæsar is the fruit.
Tros and his race the sculptor shall employ,
 And he, the god, who built the walls of *Troy*.
 Envy herself, at last grown pale and dumb,
 (By Cæsar combated and overcome,)
 Shall give her hands, and fear the curling snakes
 Of lashing furies, and the burning lakes:
 The pains of famish'd *Tantalus* shall feel;
 And *Sisyphus* that labors up the hill
 The rolling rock in vain; and curs'd *Ixion's* wheel."

Here we find the most famous and distant localities of the historic victories of Augustus prescribed to be represented in the poet's temple and shows. Were those victories unreal or actual? Was Britain then forgotten or feigned? Why then, if the *Britons alone* are mentioned as taking any actual part in the Mantuan

pageants, should it be supposed that Augustus exercised no dominion, or obtained no victory, over our countrymen? Fortunately for us the couplet in which they are named is elucidated by the ancient commentator whom I quoted before, with statements of fact, thus introduced:—

“*Vel scena ut versis.* Amongst the antients there were only the steps (*gradus*) of a theatre. For the scene was made of boards, only for a time; whence at this day also hath remained the custom, that *pegmata* are put together for the setters forth of theatral plays. But the scene which was made was either *versilis* or *ductilis*. It was then *versilis*, when suddenly the whole was turned about by certain machines and shew another face of picture. It was then *ductilis*, when with boards drawn hither and thither an inner appearance of picture was laid bare. Wherefore skilfully he [the poet] hath touched both, saying *Versis discedat frontibus*, comprising each sort by proper words. Which thing Varro and Suetonius commemorate.

“*Purpurea intexti tollant aulæa Britanni.* This he hath said ACCORDING TO HISTORY. (*Hoc secundum Historiam est locutus.*) For Augustus AFTER HE CONQUERED BRITAIN gave to theatral duties very many of THE CAPTIVES WHOM HE HAD BROUGHT. He gave also *aulæa*, that is, *velamina*, in which he had depicted his victories, and how THE BRITONS GIVEN BY HIM should carry the same *vela*, which in fact they had been accustomed to carry. Which thing with wonderful ambiguity he hath expressed, saying *intexti tollant*. For, in the *vela*, they were painted who bore the same *vela*. But *aulæa* are so called from the *aula* of Attalus, in which were first found vast *vela*, after that he wrote the Roman people his heir.”*

* The Latin text of the whole passage is as follows:—

“*Vel scena ut versis.*] Apud majores, theatri gradus tantum fuerunt. Nam scena de lignis tantum ad tempus fiebat; unde hodieque permansit consuetudo, ut componantur *pegmata*, a ludorum theatralium editoribus. Scena autem quæ fiebat, aut *versilis* erat, aut *ductilis*. *Versilis* tunc erat, cum subito tota machinis quibusdam convertebatur, et aliam picturæ faciem ostendebat. *Ductilis* tunc, cum, tractis tabulatis hac et illac, species picturæ nudabatur interior. Unde perite utrunque tetigit, dicens, *Versis discedat frontibus*, singula singulis complectens sermonibus. Quod Varro et Suetonius commemorant.

“*Purpurea intexti tollant aulæa Britanni.*] Hoc secundum Historiam est locutus. Nam Augustus, postquam vicit Britanniam, plurimos de captivis, quos adduxerat, donavit ad officia theatralia: dedit etiam *aulæa*, id est, *velamina* in quibus depinxerat victorias suas, et quemadmodum Britanni, ab eo donati, eadem *vela* portarent, quæ re vera portare consueverant. Quam rem mira expressit ambiguitate, dicens, *intexti tollant*: nam in velis ipsi erant picti, qui eadem *vela* portabant. *Aulæa* autem dicta sunt ab *aula* Attali, in qua primum inventa sunt *vela* ingentia, postquam is Populum Romanum scripsit hæredem.”
Servius, *ad Georg. lib. i.* ed. Basil. 1544, pp. 97, 98; Basil. 1618, col. 270; Col. Allob. 1620, p. 126.)

After many other minute explanations, the great commentator comes to the passage—

——— diverso ex hoste trophæa,
Bisque triumphatas utroque ab littore gentes,
Ibid. vv. 32, 33.

which he thus explains:—"diverso ex hoste. We take [them to be] of the east and of the west. Whence he says, *utroque ab littore*, of the east, because of the *Gangaridæ*, ['peoples (Servius explains) between the Indians and Assyrians, about the river Ganges, whence also they are called *Gangaridæ*. These Augustus overcame,' &c.] of the west, because of THE TRIUMPH OF THE BRITONS, *propter Britannorum triumphum*." A like note, but very short one, occurs in the *Scholia* of Julius Philargyrus, printed at the end of Peter Daniel's edition of Servius, thus: "*Utroque ab litore*, that is, of the eastern ocean, and of the western; that it may be [understood] of Egypt and the Cantabri, or of *India and BRITAIN*."

Both these ancient critics, who thus explicitly ascribe a conquest of Britain, followed by a triumph, to the reign of Augustus, were believers in the mythology which they explained, were full of curious information, and lived in a time when classical literature, monuments, and traditions flourished, before the destructive incursions of the Goths. They cannot therefore be later than the third or fourth century; and Servius is distinctly quoted by Macrobius, who was an officer of state under the emperor Theodosius II., and who is placed by Saxius under the year A.D. 410.

Leaving Virgil now, let us proceed to his intimate friend and survivor Horace, who repeatedly mentions Britain and the Britons. As therefore the supposed "oblivion" of Britain did not exist in their individual cases, neither could it be forgotten by their devoted patrons Augustus and Mæcenæ. The first notice, in the order of the Horatian poems, is in his Ode to Diana and Apollo, which contains a most unfriendly wish towards our ancestors, that "Apollo would drive this tearful war, this wretched famine and plague, away from the people, and from Cæsar the prince, to the Persians and Britons, *in Persas atque Britannos*." (Carm. i. 21, 13—16.) This implies a state of hostility with both, agreeable to the histories of the time. The next is a prayer to Fortune, that she would "keep Cæsar, who *was about to go among or against the Britons*, the farthest [*inhabitants*] of the world, and his fresh swarm of young men, feared in

* [Servius is not only quoted by Macrobius, but is introduced as an interlocutor, and styled "doctissimus doctor," "doctorum maxime," in *Saturnalia*, lib. vi. c. 8.]

the eastern parts and in the Red Sea. *Serces iturum Cæsarem in ultimos orbis Britannos.*" (Carm. i. 35, 29—32.) This expression *ultimos*, perhaps, was written at the very time when Virgil's first eclogue was written, and reminds us of Virgil's wish to Augustus, "*tibi serviat ultima Thule.*" (Georg. i. 30.)

The next Horatian testimony only characterises the Britons as "fierce to strangers," whom nevertheless, among other distant and dangerous places and peoples, the poet would visit if he had the sure protection of the muse Calliope. *Visam Britannos hospitibus feros.* (Carm. iii. 4, 33.) Immediately follows a poem which recites not merely wishes and flattery, but also an important *matter of fact*, under the title of "Augusti laudes," and it begins thus:

Coelo tonantem credidimus Jovem
Regnare: præsens Divus habebitur
Augustus, *adjectis* *Britannis*
Imperio, gravibusque Persis.

(Carm. iii. 5, 1—4.)

When it thundered, the poet says, we believed Jupiter was governing the world; so Augustus was to be reputed a present deity, "HE HAVING ADDED TO THE EMPIRE THE BRITONS, and the troublesome Persians" or Parthians, names sometimes confounded together and sometimes distinguished.* Clearly then this our island became a part of the Roman empire under Augustus.

In another ode to Augustus, reciting some of his victories, the poet names Alexandria, the Cantabri, Medes, Indians, and Scythians, the Nile, Danube, and Tigris, *the British Ocean*, Gaul, Iberia, and the Sicambri as all "hearing" and "venerating" the emperor, to whom, "in his third lustrum," Fortune had given prosperous successes of his wars, so that their arms were laid aside.

Te belluosus qui remotis
Obstrepat Oceanus *Britannis*,
• • •
Compositis venerantur armis.

(Carm. iv. 14. 47—52.)

This ode appears to be a little prior in date to the *Carmen Sæculare* of Horace, but yet of the same year, U.C. 737, = A.C. 17, being the fourteenth imperial year of Augustus. In the latter poem the Medes, Albanians, Scythians, and "lately the proud Indians," are represented as having been brought into subjection and

* [Acron, nearly contemporary with Servius, comments thus on this passage:—"Adjectis *Britannis*, etc. Per has gentes, ab ultimo occidente usque ad orientem continuasse imperium, provincias acquirendo, confirmat Augustum," *ed.* Hauthal. Berolini, p. 278. Porphyron's note, *ibid.* is to the same effect.]

peace. These public events are recorded under his sixth, tenth, and eleventh years (U.C. 729, 733, 734), by Dio Cassius; and they may be traced with great distinctness in the "*Chronographia Augusti*," printed with this emperor's *Fragmenta* (which were collected and edited by J. A. Fabricius, at Hamburg, 1727, 4to.), pp. 41—45.

There remains one mention of our ancestors by this interesting poet in his ode "*Ad Populum Romanum*," where he remonstrates against a popular tumult as suicidal, and as tending to the very thing which the enemies of Rome wished, especially naming the Britons and Parthians in that capacity, thus :

Non, ut superbas invide Carthaginis
 Romanus arces ureret,
Intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet
 Sacra catenatus via ;
 Sed ut, secundum vota *Parthorum*, sua
 Urbs hæc periret dextera ?

(Epod. 7, 5—10.)

Whatever be the date, it smells of the triumvirate, and must have been written before the first submission of the Parthians, which is chronologically placed in the first imperial year of Augustus (Fabricius, p. 39), when certainly Britain *had not been touched by this emperor*, though his predecessor had both touched it and professed to have handled it severely. The meaning is, "What you Romans are doing is, not to extend your dominions or to bring about a triumph over your enemies, so that a Briton should (for the first time) be led in chains along the *Via Sacra*, the triumphal way in your city of Rome; but it goes rather to destroy the power and existence of Rome itself." Yet, strange as it seems, this epithet *intactus* has been quoted and urged for proof that the Britons were never touched by Augustus among those writers who believe the "long oblivion" supposed by Tacitus, in opposition to these repeated testimonies of the emperor's intimate friends and favourite authors, Virgil and Horace, with whom he was in constant communion or correspondence until their respective deaths in the twelfth and twenty-third years of his empire, for Virgil died in U.C. 735 = A.C. 19, and Horace in U.C. 746 = A.C. 8.

Among the other poets of the Augustan age frequent notices of Britain and the Britons occur; some of which may indeed be understood as referring to Julius Cæsar, and derived from the knowledge of our island which he imparted to the Romans. Especially this must be the case with Catullus, whose thirtieth *carmen* is addressed to "Cæsar" in gross terms; but the allusions clearly desig-

nate Julius the first Emperor (*imperator unice*) rather than Octavianus, the second. Beside that example, in two other of his poems are named "the horrible and farthest Britons," and "*Britains*" (*Britannias*) plurally, as he plurally designates the different divisions of Syria, "*Syrias*." These passages only prove that Britain was not forgotten.

In Tibullus is a remarkable poem, addressed "Ad Messalam," that is, to Marcus Messala Corvinus, who was Consul with Octavianus (before he was Emperor) in the early part of the year U.C. 723, in which year the battle of Actium was fought. Beside those four lines, which are quoted in the meagre extracts of the Augustan Poets, among the "*Excerpta de Britannia*," in our great national work the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*,^a the whole context ought to be read in order to understand the sense of the expression "*invictus Romano Marte Britannus*." Surely Julius had invaded our island twenty-three or twenty-four years before; and, whatever credit or effects be attributed to his victories here, the poet can only be understood comparatively as meaning that not the whole island had been subjugated to the Romans at that time; wherefore he says,—

Te manet *invictus* Romano marte *Britannus*,
Teque interjecto mundi pars altera sole;

signifying that further conquests awaited the Consul, (and of course his colleague Octavianus,) in Britain, in Africa, and in various parts of the East. The British hounds, celebrated as expensive and valuable for hunting, by Gratius Faliscus, and the "green" or rather "*sea-blue Britons*" (*virides . . . scilicet æquoreos . . . Britannos*), in two places of Ovid's poems, if they directly teach us little, yet afford additional evidence that Britain was *never* "*forgotten*" by the Romans, in peace or war, as the moderns have been induced to believe it to have been forgotten, on the authority of a casual expression of Cornelius Tacitus, written a century after the period to which he refers.

But there is somewhat more to the purpose in Propertius; who, addressing "Mæcenas, the envied hope of our youth, and a just glory to my (the poet's) life and death," begs of him to visit his (the poet's) tomb, and even to stop or turn aside *his carved British chariot* for that purpose."

Si te forte meo ducet via proxima busto,
Esseda cælatis siste Britanna jugis.^b

The greatest Roman orator and epistolographer had jocularly recommended his

^a 1849, folio, pp. xxxviii-ix.

^b *Eleg.* xi. 1.

friend Trebatius when he was with Julius in Britain, that if it were true that no gold or silver could be got there, he should "take some *British essedum* and come home."^a But here, in Propertius, we find the actual adoption of the British car in Rome itself *under Augustus*, by the Emperor's fashionable friend Mæcenas, the patron of the Augustan bards. This, I apprehend, was *after* the second Emperor's expedition, other fruits of which are already described in the words of the commentator Servius; and it is confirmed by a passage quoted by Suetonius from a letter of the Emperor Augustus, who used to ride in one himself:—"Verba ipsius ex epistolis sunt, *Nos in essedo panem et palmulas gustavimus.*"^b

There are three other passages in the Elegies of Propertius, in one of which he merely alludes to a vicious practice of imitating the stained or painted Britons (*infectos demens imitare Britannos*).^c In another he speaks of the perils to which adventurous Romans exposed themselves, "*Seu pedibus Parthos sequimur, seu classe Britannos,*"^d in expeditions by land or sea; where again we find these two nations, against which Augustus had expeditions, coupled together by this poet, as by his contemporary Virgil.

But in a fourth passage of Propertius, where a Roman wife is supposed to mourn her husband who was absent on a distant military expedition, the poet suggests that, in the very time of Augustus himself, both eastern and western nations *had lately seen* the Roman soldier.

Te modo viderunt iteratos *Bactra* per ortus,
Te modo munito *Sericus* hostis equo;
Hibernique *Getæ*, pictoque *Britannia* curru.
(Eleg. iv. 3, 7-9.)

She complains, "the northern *Getæ* and Britain (*i. e.* Britons) in painted chariot have lately seen thee; while I see nothing of thee, by night or by day, and constantly am consulting the painted maps, to contemplate the courses of the rivers and seats of war in which thy campaigns lie, and the direction of the wind thence to Italy." This is a good proof of the state of geography in the reign of Augustus, when private persons were able to study maps of the world, or at least of distant countries, so as to ascertain their respective positions and their bearings from Rome.

It was this exact kind of geographic knowledge which caused the choice of so remote a place as *Ancyra* to be the site of a temple to Augustus, where the public

^a Cicero *ad Familiares*, apud *Monumenta Hist. Brit.* p. lxxxvii.

^b Suet. *in vita Augusti*, c. 76.

^c Propert. *Eleg.* xi. 14.

^d *Ibid.* xi. 20.

acts and memorials of his reign should be publicly inscribed and preserved. Let us therefore turn to that monument, and inquire into the autobiographic memoirs of Augustus himself; not indeed the commentaries of his life, which he brought down to the Cantabrian war, in the sixth year of his empire and thirty-eighth of his age (Suetonius, *de vita Aug.* c. 85), for they have perished, but the fragments which remain of his grand bilingual inscription at Ancyra, the capital of Galatia, in Asia Minor, commonly called the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, which was first published among the notes of Andreas Schottus upon Aurelius Victor, at Antwerp, 1579, 8vo.; and since, more or less completely, in numerous works * down to the present time. The following are portions of some extracted, and standing foremost in the collection of "Inscriptions" published in our national *Monumenta* before quoted.^b Laying aside the capital letters, the Greek text stands thus, with supplements derived from comparison with the Latin:—

Προς εμε ικεται κατεφυγον Βασιλεις,
 Παρθων μιν Τειριδατης, και μετεπειτα
 Φραατης, Βασιλεως Φρα[ατου υιος, Μηδων
 δ]ε Αρτα
 . . . Βρεταν]ων Δομ[ων Βε]λλαυνος [τε]
 και Τιμ

The Latin text stands thus, as far as it can now be read or filled up:—

Ad me supplices confugerunt Reges Partho-
 rum Tiridates et postea Phrates, Regis
 Phratis filius, Medorum Arta
 Reges Britannorum Damno, Bellaunus-
 que et Tim

"To me," says Augustus, in this his autobiographic monument, "Kings have fled as suppliants;—of the *Parthians*, Tiridates, and afterwards Phraates, son of King Phraates; of the *Medes*, Arta; *Kings of the Britons*, Damno and Bellaunus and Tim" Here the Greek text and the Latin text are both broken, but *Cimbri*, *Marcomani*, and *Parthians* follow in the record. With all these nations Augustus had wars, and their *flight* can be reasonably understood only as that of submission, the flight of "suppliants" submitting to the superior force of the Roman arms wielded by the Emperor Augustus.

* See an ample notice of the editions in *Saxii Onomasticon Literarium*. (Traj. ad Rhenum, 1775, 8vo.) i. 205--8, under A.D. 15.) [See also Zell's *Delectus Inscriptionum Romanarum*, pp. 358—364.]

^b *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. cvi.

To what event in that Emperor's reign can the flight and submission of those British kings refer named "Damno, Bellaunus, and Tim . . ." (as the monument imperfectly records the last name), but to that expedition which Dio Cassius mentions in the following passages, as extracted and translated in the often-quoted *Monumenta*, and dated under the years B.C. 35, 32, 27, and 26? By them it appears that in the year B.C. 26 ambassadors were sent from the Britons to Augustus in Gaul, with whom he made peace; so that perhaps his personal presence to command and complete the expedition which he had sent became needless, unless one expression (*πεπεραιωμένον*) should receive greater force than (as I think) it admits or requires.

"But he [Augustus], with a zeal like to that of his father [Julius], purposing to lead an expedition into Britain, and having already proceeded into Gaul, after that winter in which Antonius the second time and Lucius Libo were consuls, some of the recently subdued nations . . . revolted." ^a

"To be trodden under foot [said Augustus] by an Egyptian woman . . . would be unworthy of us, who have vanquished the Gauls . . . and passed over to Britain." ^b The word "us" seems to refer to the Romans generally under Julius.

"For who would put in competition [with my abandonment of the monarchy] the conquest of Gaul . . . or again Pharnaces, or Juba, or Phraates, or the expedition into Britain?" ^c This may refer either to the past invasion by Julius or that which was contemplated by Augustus.

"Augustus . . . set forth with the intention of making war against Britain, but having come into Gaul he there continued awhile, for they [the Britons] deemed it expedient to send an embassy to him." ^d

"But Augustus, when about to war against Britain, since they would not enter into treaty," (or rather "would not acknowledge," *i.e.* his authority or demands,) "was withholden by the revolt of the Salassi." ^e

Here the principal expressions in the last three sentences quoted from the Greek historian are, *τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Βρεττανὸν στρατεῖαν . . . ἐξώρμησε μὲν ὥς καὶ ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν στρατεύσων . . . ἐκεῖνοι τε γὰρ ἐπικηρυκεύσασθαι οἱ ἐδόκουν . . . Τὸν τε Αὐγούστου ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν (ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἠθέλησαν ὁμολογήσαι) στρατευσεῖοντα*. Hence it is plain that an armed force or military expedition was actually prepared by Augustus, and this event is expressed by Fabricius thus, under the year of the Emperor's life, 36;

^a Dio Cassius, xlix. 38, A.C. 35.

^b *Ibid.* l. 24, A.C. 32.

^c *Ibid.* liii. 7, A.C. 27.

^d *Ibid.* liii. 22, A.C. 27.

^e *Ibid.* liii. 25, A.C. 26.

of the city, 727; B.C. 27; the Julian year, 19; year of his imperial reign, "3," an obvious misprint for 4:—"Profectus in Gallias, bellum in Britanniam translaturus. *Dio*, p. 512."^a

The fruits of this expedition were actually brought to Rome, in the shape (at least) of prisoners of war and of *essedæ*; for if hostages only were obtained by Augustus from the "suppliant kings," he could not have disposed of them by *donation* to serve as slaves in the Roman theatres. The special knowledge of the remarkable fact that he did so is more likely to have been retained among the critics and commentators or literary historians of Rome, and so known to Servius, than to political historians and biographers. Hence I rely on the testimony of the learned, judicious, curious, and deeply read Maurus Servius Honoratus, for preserving to us this interesting and scarcely known fragment of Romano-British history. Nor can I believe but that the subject would have received the attention of British antiquaries earlier, if Camden had not in 1600, in the fifth edition of his "*Britannia*," adopted the supercilious and contemptuous rejection of this testimony which came from the pen of Isaac Casaubon (in his *Animadversiones* upon Suetonius, see Ed. 1605, 4to. p. 258.), or if the passage of Servius which I have now prominently brought to the notice of this Society had not been unaccountably omitted in the collection of *Excerpta de Britannia* from classic authors already referred to in the course of this paper. Henceforth it must, I humbly conceive, constitute the substance of another "undeservedly neglected" portion, or *omitted chapter*, of our British history.^b

* Fabricii *Chronographia Augusti*, pp. 40, 41. [A further allusion to an expedition undertaken by Augustus against Britain is to be found in Xiphilinus' *Epitome* of Dio Cassius, *lib.* lxii. It is contained in a speech of Boadicea (or Boudicca, as Dio calls her,) to her army, in which she says, "We have been ourselves the cause of all these evils in permitting them (*i.e.* the Romans) at the beginning to land on this island, and not straightway driving them away as we did Julius Cæsar, in not making the very attempt to sail hither terrible, even at a distance from our shores, as we did to Augustus and Caius Caligula."

Ἡμεῖς δὲ δὴ πάντων τῶν κακῶν τούτων αἰτιοὶ (ὥς γε τὰ ληθὲς εἰπεῖν) γεγόναμεν, οἵτινες αὐτοῖς ἐπιβῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς νήσου ἐπιτρέψαμεν, καὶ οὐ παραχρῆμα αὐτοὺς, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν Ἰούλιον ἐκείνον, ἐξηλάσαμεν, οἵτινες οὐ πόρρωθεν σφίσιν, ὥσπερ καὶ τῷ Ἀγούστῳ καὶ τῷ Γαίῳ τῷ Καλιγούλῃ, φοβερόν τὸ πειράσαι τὸν πλοῦν ἐποιήσαμεν.—Xiphilin. *lib.* lxii.

It is possible that Propertius (quoted in the text) alludes to this, when he says,

"Seu pedibus Parthos

"Sequitur, seu classe Britannos, &c."]

^b Allusion is here made to the "Neglected fact in English History," for which we are indebted to our learned and sagacious Fellow, H. C. Coote, Esq. published in 1864, 8vo.

VI.—*Further Observations on the Expedition of the Emperor Augustus into Britain.* By WILLIAM HENRY BLACK, Esq., F.S.A.

Read March 16th, 1871.

THE evidence of an important fact which I have lately made known to the Society of Antiquaries, bridging over (as it does) a whole century of our unwritten history, consists principally in the direct and positive assertion of it by the ancient commentator and critic, Servius; and the only objection that I have heard, publicly or privately, against the veracity of his statement, and the consequent view that I have taken of those passages in the Augustan Poets which relate to Britain, amounts to this, that we are required thereby to impugn or reject the opinions of two respectable historians more ancient than the commentator, namely, Cornelius Tacitus and Suetonius Tranquillus. I have thought proper therefore to vindicate in this second paper the authority of SERVIVS, against the negative opinions of those other Roman writers, and their numerous followers.

First then, with respect to Cornelius Tacitus, I have already shown, by the constant and emphatic evidence of the Augustan Poets, that his idea of "*a long oblivion of Britain*" between the Emperors Julius and Claudius was a mistake. But this is not his only error, for he has erred in other material respects concerning Britain, so that his opinions may be impugned, without calling in question any of his statements of *facts*, which were strictly within the compass of his knowledge or the scope of his narrative, in dealing with the life of his father-in-law, Julius Agricola, whose daughter was married to the biographer (then a young man) just before her father's appointment to the command of military affairs in Britain in the reign of Nero.*

After the mention of this autobiographic fact, the biographer proceeds briefly to describe Britain, not in derogation of those authors whose care and abilities had been employed in writing of it, but (as he says) because "*then first it was perdomita, fully subdued,*" he intended to make a credible relation "*rerum fide tradentur.*" Having described the shape of Britain, which Livius and Fabius Rusticus had compared to "an oblong shield (*scutula*) or to a two-edged

* *Vita Agricola*, c. 9.

axe-head,"* he says that the northern shore or coast of Caledonia was sailed around by the Roman fleet, which none would be disposed to deny; but he adds an opinion. The exact words are, "*Hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primum Romana classis circumvecta insulam esse Britanniam adfirmavit.*" This shore of the last-mentioned sea (which he had called the *vasto atque aperto mari* bounding the northern parts of Britain,) the Roman fleet, having *then first* been carried around, affirmed Britain to be an island." Thus he ascribes the first ascertaining of this geographical fact to the time of the administration of Agricola, whereas Aristotle and all classic antiquity had well known that Britain was an island long before. Strabo and the writers quoted by him in the reign of Augustus had largely treated of its insular nature. Julius Cæsar had described our island in exact and very ample terms, of which the principal are these: "The island is by nature three-sided (*triquetra*), of which one side is against Gaul. Of this side the one angle which is toward *Cantium*, whither almost all ships from Gaul go, is toward the rising sun: the lower [angle] looks to the south. This side contains about 500 miles. The other trends toward Spain and the setting sun: its length, in the opinion of certain persons, is 700 miles. * * * * The third is against the north, to which no land is opposite, but the angle of that side looks most toward Germany, and it is thought to be 800 miles in length. So all the island is in circuit 2,000 miles."†

In the same breath the biographer of Agricola makes a second mistake by adding that the Roman fleet "likewise found and subdued the islands *unknown to that time*, which they call the *Orcades*." But Eutropius, Orosius, Eusebius, Cassiodorus, Nennius, Beda, and others declare that the Emperor Claudius conquered the Orkneys soon after his own expedition and triumph, but long before the time of Agricola.

The biographer goes on to make a third and most glaring blunder when he says, "*Dispecta est et Thule, quam hactenus nix et hiems abdebat.* Thule was looked at (or discovered), which hitherto snow and winter had hidden." He says also that the sea was slow and difficult for rowers, and there were no winds to carry them, and the want of wind he ascribes to the rarity of land and of mountains in those parts. Hence it is probable that some of the flat and sandy parts of the Shetland isles may have been seen beyond the Orkneys, and mistaken

* See the explanation of *bipennis*, by Servius, p. 677.

† Cæsar *de Bell. Gall.* lib. v. c. 13.

‡ See the authorities referred to in Sir Thomas Hardy's Chronological Abstract, prefixed to the *Monumenta*, p. 135.

for *Thule*: for, if the *Thule* of the Greek geographers, through which they assert that the arctic circle passes, had been seen, what could they have perceived more remarkable than the snowy mountains and smoking volcano of Iceland?

From these passages I infer that the worthy and excellent Roman historian, whose general truthfulness cannot be too much commended, was deficient in historical geography, and so we may say of him "*aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus.*" When therefore he tells us that Britain had been *forgotten* between Julius and Claudius, and that Claudius was "the *author* of the work" of mastering Britain, I answer that it had been as entirely subdued by the Romans before the time of Claudius as it had been found and known to be an island before the time of Agricola.

The next author, Suetonius, it must be remembered, was a personal biographer of emperors and learned men, not a regular historian. For who can make out the series of public events which constitutes regular history from his pages? As he is silent about Britain under Augustus, so is he silent about many other great events of his reign, especially his foreign wars. Britain was diligently dragged into public notice by Claudius, whose only fame was cheaply acquired by a rapid and easy reduction of the island, such as could never have been effected without previous occupation, and the existence of Roman garrisons here, originally established by Julius Cæsar himself among the Trinobantes (probably at Maldon or in London); for so I have always inferred from his own words, "*Trinobantibus defensis, atque ab omni militum injuria prohibitis.*"^a Suetonius was a contemporary and friend of Tacitus; from whom he seems to have obtained the opinion expressed in his own *Life of Claudius*, to which no such weight is to be ascribed as to overbalance the positive and particular testimony of historical facts to the contrary.

Nevertheless, it is on the authority of the now controverted passages of these two biographers that the age of the elegant Latin geographer, Pomponius Mela, is commonly assigned to the reign of Claudius. Thus, by Saxius, he is placed between the years 48 and 49; by the late Mr. Petrie, and by Sir Thomas Hardy, he is said to have "*flourished A.D. 45.*"^b They and preceding critics rely on a single passage in his chapter of "*Outer Spain, and the Islands of the Northern Ocean,*" wherein he says: "*What Britain is, and what men it produceth, shall soon be told in more certain and ascertained manner. For, so long closed, behold! the Greatest of Princes openeth it;*

^a Cæsar *de Bell. Gall.* lib. v. c. 21. ^b Saxii *Onom. Lit.* i. 242—3; *Monumenta Hist. Brit.* pp. 50, vii.

not only the *Conqueror of nations unsubdued*, but also *unknown, before him*; the truth of whose own actions, as he hath attempted them in war, so he, about to declare, carrieth in triumph. *Quippe tamdiu clausam aperit ecce Principum Maximus, nec indomitarum modo ante se, verum ignotarum quoque gentium Victor, propriarum rerum fidem ut bello affectavit, ita triumpho declaraturus portat.*"^a The great critic Gerard John Vossius approved the judgment of certain authors whom he names, and by whom Pomponius had been ascribed to the times of Claudius, on the credit of this passage. But Vossius also relied upon the mention of Cornelius Nepos by Pomponius, and of the citation of the latter by Pliny the Elder, in proof of that chronological position; adding that, although some thought that Pomponius alluded to the Emperor Julius, by the title of *Principum Maximus*, yet Julius never triumphed over Britain, but Claudius did. To me, however, the title "Greatest of Princes" seems utterly inapplicable to Claudius, but to be, without flattery, most applicable to Augustus, whose actual triumph over Britain is mentioned thus by Servius, "*propter Britannorum triumphum.*"^b The pageants that were in preparation when Pomponius wrote to illustrate the Emperor's conquests well agree with what Virgil mentioned and Servius his commentator afterward explained in relation to Augustus, in the passage which was unaccountably overlooked by writers and collectors on this subject, until I lately brought it to light. I have (since my former paper) carefully reviewed the whole treatise of Pomponius, and I find his geography consistent with the early part of the reign of Augustus only, without allusion to any fact or mention of any name or changed name later than the year to which that Emperor's British expedition was assigned in my former paper, viz. A.C. 27. Even the division of Italy into regions and of Gaul into four provinces or parts under Augustus was unknown to Mela, who describes them as they were in the time of Julius Cæsar. "Cornelius Nepos" (or simply "Nepos") is twice quoted by Mela, first, as a writer "*more recent in authority*" than Homer and the philosophers who held that all the earth was surrounded by sea, and as maintaining his opinion by a fact related by Q. Metellus Celer, that certain Indians had been driven by tempests until they landed on the shores of Germany (Mela, iii. 50). Secondly, Nepos is quoted as relating that "*in the times of our grandfathers*" one Eudoxus had gone out of the Arabian Gulf and landed at Cadiz (Mela, iii. 9).

Both these quotations are consistent with the contemporaneity of the authors, Nepos and Mela, in the time of Augustus, but the latter quotation is the more convincing when compared with the same passages of Nepos, quoted by Pliny.

^a *Pomp. Mela*, iii. 6.

^b Edit. 1620, p. 126.

MELA'S QUOTATIONS.

"Et Eudoxus quidam, *avorum nostrorum temporibus*, cum Lathurum Regem Alexandriæ profugerat, (ut Nepos affirmat,) Gades usque pervectus est." (*Geogr.* iii. 9, ed. Jac. Gronovii, 1696, 8vo.; ed. Abr. Gronovii, 1748, 8vo.)

"Sed præter physicos, Homerumque, qui universum orbem mari circumfusus esse dixerunt, Cornelius Nepos, ut recentior auctor, ita certior: testem autem rei Q. Metellum Celerem adjicit, eumque ita retulisse commemorat: Cum Galliis Proconsule præset, Indos quosdam a Rege Bætorum sibi dono datos, unde in eas terras devenissent requirendo, cognosse vi tempestatum ex Indicis æquoribus abreptos, emensosque quæ intererant, tandem in Germaniæ litora exiisse." (*Geogr.* iii. 5, *ibid.*)

PLINY'S QUOTATIONS.

"Præterea Nepos Cornelius auctor est, Eudoxum quemdam *sua ætate*, cum Lathurum Regem fugeret, Arabico sinu egressum, Gades usque pervectum: multoque ante eum Cælius Antipater, vidisse se, qui navigavisset ex Hispania in Ethiopiam commercii gratia. Idem Nepos, de septemtrionali circuito tradit Quinto Metello Celeri, L. Afranii in Consulatu collegæ, sed tum Galliæ Proconsuli, Indos a Rege Suevorum dono datos, qui ex India commercii causa navigantes tempestatibus essent in Germaniam abrepti." (*Hist. Naturalis* ii. 67, ed. Harduini, 1741, fol.)

The latter part of Pliny's text corrects a chronological error in the former part of it. For Nepos was at least contemporary with or later than the Consuls whom he has named. Their consulate was in U.C. 694 = A.C. 60, when the Emperor Octavianus was only three years old. But Lathurus, better known as Ptolemæus Soter, began to reign in A.C. 116, and therefore not in the time of Nepos. Hence Pliny's expression *sua ætate* is inapplicable to Eudoxus by Nepos, and cannot have been derived from that author's words. The erroneous phrase, however, proves that the words used by Mela in denoting the time when Eudoxus made his voyage, *avorum nostrorum temporibus*, were not part of the text of Nepos (or they would have been quoted by Pliny), but were used by Mela himself to denote the age of Eudoxus in relation both to himself the quoter and to the author quoted—for Nepos wrote the life of Titus Pomponius Atticus, the friend of Cicero and contemporary of young Octavianus, and so was contemporary with the latter.* But Ptolemæus Soter ceased his second reign fifty-one years before the first imperial year of Octavianus Augustus, according to the canon of Ptolemy.^b Well, then, might it have been said by Mela, of himself and Nepos, that the event took place "in the times of our grandfathers," if they were strictly contemporary with each other; but certainly this could not have been truly said if

* Eusebius, in his Chronicle, as translated by Hieronymus, places Nepos in the first year of the 185th Olympiad, in the 4th year of Octavianus's government, before he was Emperor.

^b Calvisii *Chronologia*, 1650, fol. p. 79.

Mela lived, as is commonly supposed, in the reign of Claudius. Indeed there is a long account of Eudoxus (borrowed from Heraclides of Pontus) in the second book of the Geography of Strabo, who lived in the time of Augustus, and repeatedly mentions this emperor. By that account the exploratory voyages of Eudoxus took place in the reign of Ptolemæus Evergetes II., and after the succession of Cleopatra and her son,^a that is, about 116 years before the Christian era, and about 85 years before the battle of Actium, and in times when the grandfathers and great-grandfathers of Nepos and Mela might have lived.

Therefore the testimony of Pomponius Mela relates to the Emperor Augustus, but not to Claudius; of whom it never could be said that he was "the Conqueror of nations unsubdued, and *even unknown* before him." These words, truly applicable to Augustus, exactly agree with the praises lavished on him by the poets and writers of his time; whereas it is expressly affirmed by Suetonius, in that very passage of his Life of Claudius which I have partly controverted, that he (Claudius) undertook *only one* expedition, and that moderate (or comparatively small) *Expeditionem unam omnino suscepit, eamque modicam,*" meaning the invasion of Britain, which he proceeds to describe in the same paragraph.^b It is the only public act of Claudius mentioned by Eutropius, whom I now quote, because I had accidentally omitted, in my former paper, to say that he agreed in opinion with the two Roman biographers in saying of Britain that "none of the Romans after Julius Cæsar had touched (or reached) it;" yet he asserted, in opposition to Cornelius Tacitus, that "certain islands also situate beyond Britain, in the ocean, he (Claudius) added to the Roman empire, which are called *Orcades*."^c This is one of the testimonies already referred to in this paper as contradicting the opinion of Agricola's partial son-in-law upon the conquest of the Orkneys. My conclusion, immediately after a very careful re-examination of Pomponius Mela's work, was expressed in this form: "that it was written under Augustus, after the end of the Spanish war, in his fifth and sixth years, which followed the expedition into Britain in his fourth year, that is, in U.C. 727, 728, 729,=A.C. 29, 28, 27. No such geography could have been written by a reading and knowing man after that time." I therefore now claim this elegant writer as an additional witness with Servius, in explaining the words of Virgil, Horace, and other Augustan poets, and thus filling up a lamentable gap in our British history.

^a Strabo, ii. c. 3, ed. Casauboni, 1587, fol. pp. 67, 68; ed. 1707, fol. i. 155-8.

^b Suetonius in Claudio, c. 17.

^c Eutropius, vii. 13.

Eutropius, writing of the Emperor Julius, says that he conquered the Britons, and, "having taken hostages, he made them stipendiaries, *stipendiarios fecit*." (Hist. vi. 17.) The like is attributed to Augustus by our Nennius,* in a badly constructed sentence, containing these words: "tenente Octaviano monarchiam totius mundi, et *censum* a Britannia ipse solus accepit, ut Virgilius,—

Purpurea intexti tollant aulæ Britanni.

The same Virgilian verse is quoted by our Henry of Huntingdon, who makes the same statement, attributing the fact to the forty-second year of the empire of Augustus, which is wrong chronology; for Virgil, some years after he wrote that verse, died in the twelfth year of the *reign*, and forty-fourth year of the *age* of Augustus. These are his words: "Augustus, succeeding to Julius Cæsar, held the monarchy of the whole world. Now, he described the universal orb, and from Britain, as from other kingdoms, he took tribute, (*censum accepit*) as Virgil says: *Purpurea*," &c.^b What Julius says of himself is,—"*Obsides imperat, et, quid in annos singulos vectigalis Populo Romano Britannia penderet, constituit*." He took hostages, and appointed what revenue Britain should pay every year to the Roman people."^c Julius then constituted the yearly *vectigal*: Augustus took *census*. The former brought away hostages: the latter, as Servius declares, brought away captives. Both our own early historians identify the Virgilian verse, on which Servius commented historically, as applicable to the subjection of Britain in the reign of Augustus; and I take them to be additional witnesses (to some extent) of the fact related by Servius.

On the other hand, our historian the venerable Beda founded his own statement of the invasion by Claudius on Suetonius, whose words (or perhaps those of Jornandes) he imitated, without mentioning his name; saying of Britain, "Which neither before Julius Cæsar, nor after him, had any one dared to attack; and there, without any battle and blood, within a very few days he received surrender of most part of the island."^d Beda therefore knew nothing of Augustus: for he was an Anglo-Saxon, while Nennius was a Briton, and had the traditions of the island, which were unknown to Beda. The testimony of the latter resolves itself into the negative opinion of Suetonius, who nevertheless had no personal knowledge of the matter.

But there is a passage in Strabo, the Greek geographer, whom I have already

* Nennii Historia, inter *Monumenta Hist. Brit.* p. 59.

^b Henrici Huntend. *Historia*, *Ibid.* p. 697.

^c Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. v. c. 22.

^d Beda, inter *Mon. Hist. Brit.* pp. 85, 111.

quoted as contemporary with Augustus,^a which confirms the statement already quoted from Dio Cassius, and the monument of Augustus at Ancyra, in a sense favorable to the testimony of Servius. Having described Britain, and mentioned the expedition of Julius (as he says), who "brought away hostages, and slaves, and much other booty," Strabo proceeds thus:—"At the present time, however, some of the Princes (δυναστῶν) there having, by their embassies and services gained the friendship of Cæsar Augustus, have dedicated offerings in the Capitol; and have brought the whole island into a state little short of intimate union with the Romans. They bear moderate taxes (τέλη), laid both on what things are exported thence into Gaul and also what are imported from the latter country. These are ivory bracelets, and necklaces, amber, and vessels of glass, and such mean merchandize; so that the island needs not a garrison, for it would require at least one legion and some cavalry to enforce tribute (φόρους) from them; and the total expenditure for the army would be equal to the additional revenue (τοῖς προσφερομένοις χρήμασιν): for, if a tribute were levied, of necessity the imposts must be diminished, and at the same time some dangers would be incurred, as force must be employed."^b

This passage is explained by an earlier one in the same author's second book, which shows that the "taxes" in question were actually received by the Romans, in the time of Augustus and Tiberius (if we may suppose with Saxius that Strabo wrote this part of his work in an early year of the latter emperor); for, treating of the comparative unimportance of those parts of the world which lay too far toward the south or north of the temperate zone, he considered that for "any national benefit, it would profit nothing to know such countries and their inhabitants; more especially if they dwell in such islands as, from want of intercourse, could neither injure nor benefit us." Which opinion he illustrates by facts relative to Britain that have been overlooked by historic writers, and are most applicable to my argument, thus:—"For the Romans, having the power to possess Britain, held it in contempt, they seeing that not a single apprehension could arise from the Britons, as they are incapable of coming over to molest us; nor could any great benefit accrue from holding it; far more would seem now to be produced from imposts" (ἐκ τῶν τέλων) "than the tribute

^a Petrie makes him flourish in "A. C. 30." Born about A. C. 54, says Sir Thomas Hardy (*Monumenta*, pp. 50, iii.) Saxius dates Strabo's work in A. D. 19, = 5 Tiberii, relying on a passage in his fourth book.

^b Translation somewhat corrected from that printed with portions of the Greek text of Strabo, in the *Monumenta*, p. vii. Cf. Strabonis Geogr. lib. iv. c. 5, ed. 1587, p. 138; ed. 1707, i. 306-7.

(ὁ φόρος) *can supply*,^a deducting the expense of the soldiery which would be required to garrison the island, and to collect its tribute. And further, much inconvenience would be occasioned by the other surrounding isles."^b

I have quoted these passages to show that, whether they confirm or not the history of Augustus preserved by Servius, they cannot be quoted against him, without oppugning Virgil and the other Augustan poets; while, nevertheless, they most distinctly and completely disprove the "long oblivion of Britain," supposed by Cornelius Tacitus, and the negative declaration of Suetonius, by which our history has been for ages corrupted. For these passages contain the testimony of an accurate and a profound observer, and a scrupulous and unimpeachable man of science who lived at the time, who had actually "seen British youths at Rome, taller by half a foot than the tallest man there;" who had noticed the awkwardness of their lower limbs;^c and who must have died long before the accession of Claudius or even of Caligula. Must all this testimony of him and others be suppressed, and kept out of our history, to gratify an implicit faith in the biographers of Claudius and Agricola, and to maintain their sole credit? I think differently; and I claim Strabo, then, as an independent and most ancient witness in favour of the credibility of Servius.

Pliny the elder may also be cited to support the idea of Roman occupation of, or communication with, Britain, in the interval of the alleged "oblivion." For, writing of cherries, he says that "they were not in Italy before L. Lucullus brought them from Pontus, in U.C. 680; and in 120 years they had crossed the ocean into Britain."^d That is, they were actually in Britain in or before the year U.C. 800 = A.D. 47, which is the year of the subjection of Britain by Vespasianus under Claudius;^e where they were found growing (more probably than first introduced) by the Roman soldiers then employed in reducing the island.

Another witness seems to be Jornandes, an historical writer of the sixth century, who says that "The Germans, Gauls, Britons (*Britones*), Spaniards, after long service revolting, Augustus by himself coming to them (*per se ipse Augustus accedens*) forced them to serve again, and to live by the Roman laws."^f Yet this testimony is rendered uncertain by another passage, where the writer

^a i.e. the land tax.

^b Translation as before, *Monumenta*, p. 5. Cf. Strabonis *Geogr.* lib. iv. c. 5, ed. 1587, p. 79; ed. 1707, i. 176. [Export and import duties imply a custom house (*portus*), which itself implies a territory.]

^c *Ibid.* *Mon.* pp. vi. vii. Strabo, lib. iv. c. 5.

^d Plin. *Hist. nat.* xv. 25, 30.

^e *Monumenta*, Chronological Abstract, p. 131.

^f *Ibid.* *Excerpta*, p. ix.

adopts the expressions of Suetonius respecting Claudius, ("*quam jam nemo ante Julium Cæsarem nec post eum quisquam adire ausus fuerat*,") so that it may be doubted whether the *Britones* of Jornandes were not the Bretons of Gaul, rather than the *Britanni* of this island. Beda, and many other writers, confound the two terms, which seem to have had distinct and several appropriations in earlier times.

I proceed now to examine the terms used by Servius, in attributing to Augustus the conquest of Britain, and in declaring his capture and disposal of prisoners of war, his triumph, and his employment of those captives *in the Roman theatres*. For these facts he does not cite any historian by name, but only says that Virgil's remarkable expressions were "according to *history*." To remove all doubt on the meaning and value of this phrase it is proper to observe that the learned commentator, though he abounds with historical and geographical information, rarely gives authority for it by name; but he states facts, or appeals to them, as if they were matter of public notoriety among well-informed Romans. Being professedly a grammarian, he quotes authors plentifully by name, for words, phrases, and matters of philology, grammar, or opinion, sometimes giving their sense, sometimes exact quotations from their writings; so much so, that scarcely any other writer has preserved more fragments of lost Roman authors, except perhaps Pliny, Gellius, Charisius, Priscian, and Isidorus. Thus we owe to him one fragment of the Law of the Twelve Tables, and many fragments of the lost works of Sallust, Cato, and Ennius. His mode of quotation is sometimes with the prefix *ut*, thus:—"Ut Ennius, ut Terentius, ut Salustius, ut Sennius, ut Tullius, ut Lucretius, ut Horatius, ut Hyginus, ut Varro, ut Lucanus, ut Juvenalis, ut Plautus;" or thus, "ut docet Livius, ut dicit Varro;" or, "sic Cicero, sic Salustius." Sometimes he puts the author's name alone; or he says, "quomodo Terentius, unde Horatius;" or with a preposition, "ut in Terentio," &c. But his use of the preposition *secundum*, as in the formula which I have undertaken to explain, is so common, that, in his commentary on the first book of the *Æneid*, are found all these examples, some of them occurring more than once:—"secundum Homerum," (also once "juxta Homerum,") "secundum Hesiodum,—Salustium,—Plinium,—Æmiliū Marcum,—Probum,—Atteium alias Philologum,—Lucanum,—Tullium,—Varronem,—Lucretium." Elsewhere occur "secundum Ciceronem in Philippicis, p. 409; secundum Numæ legem, p. 464; Titianum in Chorographia, p. 323; Euripidem, p. 480; quosdam, p. 418; and, 'secundum alios,' twice in one instance, at p. 431, of the edition of 1620, which alone I quote in this paper.

Various phrases also occur in Servius containing the same preposition. Thus he says, in one place, "*Secundum fortunam* dicimus, quod *secundum nos* est," p. 184; "*Secundum artem rhetoricam*," p. 218; "*Secundum præsentem usum* . . . , *secundum autem orthographiam*, . . . *secundum vero euphoniā*," all three in one passage, p. 219; "*Secundum priscam consuetudinem*," p. 477; "*Secundum antiquum morem*," p. 488; "*Secundum antiquam licentiam*," p. 426. There is also a passage in his commentary on the first book of the *Æneid*, where "*secundum naturam*" is said to be "history," and "*contra naturam*" is called "fable," thus: "And it is to be known that there is this difference between *fable* and *argument*, that is, *history*; that *fable* is a thing said against nature, whether done or not done, as of Pasiphaë: *history* is whatsoever is said according to nature, *Historia est quidquid secundum naturam dicitur, sive factum, sive non factum*, whether stated positively or negatively, as of Phædra," (p. 191). Hence, afterward, where he explains the verse,—

Imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris,*

as relating to the Emperor Julius; he says, "Either this is said for praise (*in laudem*), or certainly it is according to history (*secundum historiam*). For indeed also he conquered the Britons, who are in the Ocean; and after his death, when funeral games were given by Augustus his adopted son, his star was seen in mid-day; whence is that,—"*Ecce Dionæi processit Cæsaris astrum*" (p. 196). In another place he says, on the words "*manus inermes*," that persons surrendering themselves, when conquered, "supplicate unarmed. Which thing is drawn from history (*tractum est de historia*)." Also, in the next sentence, "*Sane per transitum historiam tetigit*," (p. 210); and "*Tangit namque, ut frequenter diximus, latenter historiam*," (p. 263). So at p. 436, "*De historia hoc traxit*;" and at p. 417, "*Ut solet, miscet historiam*." Other forms are, "*Historia autem hoc habet*," p. 461; "*Historia autem talis est*," p. 544; "*ut Punica testatur historia*," p. 227; "*Nomen hoc de historia Romana est*: this name (Herminius) is from Roman history; for, with Cocles against the Tuscans, Lartius and Herminius stood and fought, at the time when the *Pons Sublicius* was broken," &c. p. 677. In one place he quotes history, naming Cato (whose lost books of *Origines* he often uses) thus: "*Secundum Catonem*, according to Cato, *the faith of history* has this, that *Æneas* came with his father to Italy," &c. Then, showing that Virgil departed from the historic statement, he says, it was done, "not through ignorance, but through poetic art," &c. "So all these things are feigned against this history, (*contra hanc historiam*)," proceeding to state them.

* Virg. *Æneid*, l. 287.

Servius therefore well knew the distinct bounds between truth and fiction; and he distinguishes between history proper, and books less properly called history, thus:—"Between history and annals is this difference: *History* is of those times which we either have seen or could see, called ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱστορεῖν, that is, to see. But *Annals* are of those years which our age hath not known. Whence Livy consists of Annals and of History. But they are licentiously confounded; as, in this place,* for *history* he hath said *annals*" (p. 202.) This, the learned Fellows will perceive, is the very distinction that had been made by Cornelius Tacitus, whose "*Annals*" precede his "*History*;" and they end where the latter begins, at the author's first entrance on public life. Again, SERVIVS says that the poetic art forbids too plainly to recite *history*, "*ne aperte ponat historiam*;" and that "Lucanus ought not to be reckoned in the number of the poets, because he seems to have composed *history*, not a poem" (p. 203). Again, he says that "the infinitive mood for the indicative" (used in one place by Virgil) is a figure proper to historiographers; as Salustius, *Equitare, joculari, cursu cum æqualibus certare*" (p. 237). Lastly, he says that "Among the ancients there was this sort of *history* (*historiæ hoc genus fuit*), that the elders indicated to their posterity the things done before them (*anteacta indicarent*)."

These grammatical details may to some appear unimportant; but, considering the magnitude of the fact, in its relation to our scanty antiquity, I have not thought it too much trouble thus to set beyond a doubt the meaning and (I may say) the gravity of the phrase *secundum historiam*, with which the most laborious, exact, and accomplished commentator among the ancient Romans thought fit to introduce a statement of fact, then only serving historically to explain an obscure part of his author's text, but now throwing a blaze of light on the darkest interval in the history of Britain.

* "Et vacet annales nostrorum audire laborum." (Virg. *Æneid*, 1. 373.)

The very learned author of this and the preceding paper was already attacked by what proved to be a mortal illness, when, early in January 1872, the proof-sheets were at his request forwarded to him for revision. At the time of his death in April following his corrections had not proceeded beyond the first two sheets.

The footnotes inclosed in brackets [] have been added by Mr. H. C. Coote, who had, too late, called the author's attention to these additional illustrations.—C. S. P.

VII.—*A Description of the Chapel of Saint Erasmus in Westminster Abbey.*
Communicated by J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, Esq.

Read January 27, 1870.

The chapel of S. John Baptist, the north-western of the four polygonal chapels which surround the apse of Westminster Abbey, differs from the remaining three in that it is now entered, not by a door in the middle of the screen separating it from the ambulatory, but by a kind of vestibule cut through the northern of the two great piers which fill up the spaces between the last of the rectangular and the first of the polygonal chapels. It is to this vestibule that I wish to call attention, and in doing so I shall first describe it in its present condition, and then point out the various changes which it seems to have undergone, and endeavour to draw some conclusions as to its history and the uses to which it has been put.

The entrance to the vestibule from the ambulatory corresponds exactly in position with the tomb of the Princess Catherine on the south side of the church, and consists of a very beautiful doorway of early-perpendicular character, the label of which is stopped by two angels holding shields bearing respectively Quarterly:—France ancient and England, and S. Edward Confessor. These shields indicate the reign of Richard II., a date which is confirmed by the architectural detail.

On the east side of the doorway outside is an iron bracket with staples above and below it. This may have held a collecting-box, or possibly a *benitier*; I am inclined to think the former. Above the arch are painted the words "Sanctus Erasmus," in letters of the time of Henry VII. Remains of painting—flowers, chevrons, spirals, &c.—exist all over the doorway. And on the west jamb there is the outline of a late shield; but after a careful examination I have been unable to find any trace of a bearing upon it. Above the fourteenth-century doorway appears the early-English string which runs all round the interior of that part of the church rebuilt by Henry III. And over this again is a very rich perpen-

dicular niche, also an insertion, which I shall describe more particularly further on.

The arch is closed by a pair of low doors curiously divided down the middle of a panel, and surmounted^a by a formidable double row of spikes with serrated edges. The upper part of the arch is also closely grilled. Passing through this doorway we come to a sort of lobby about five feet square, with groined roof and panelled walls, all evidently of the same date as the entrance. The central boss of the groining represents the Assumption, and those of the wall ribs are half figures of angels. In one cell a stone has been omitted, and, on examining the wall of the church above, I find a wooden peg, a line hung from which will pass through the opening thus left. The whole of the walls of this lobby are painted like the doorway, and the groining has stars on a white ground. The pavement is of Purbeck marble in triangles, eight of which in the middle are replaced by four seemingly modern stones. The walls are covered with small iron hooks, some arranged in rows and others dotted about irregularly. Some are also found in the cells of the groining.

An examination of the masonry leaves no doubt that originally the north side of this lobby was closed by a wall. But this is now removed, and, passing up a Purbeck marble step, itself an insertion, we enter the second division of the vestibule. This, like the first, is vaulted in one bay, but is much broader from west to east, and, viewed from within, the junction looks very clumsy. At the time of the alteration the north-eastern vaulting shaft of the fourteenth century-work was cut away, and its capital (or rather, I think, a new one inserted in place of it) is now supported by a shield, upon which is painted *Argent, a cross gules, I think, between four uncertain objects*. The groining of this second part is much inferior and looks at least a century later than that of the first, and the walls are plain instead of being panelled. But, strangely enough, on the north side is a large shallow niche, which is certainly of the same date as the first division. Below this is a bracket,^b and on the west side is a squint from Islip's Chapel. This, though only nine inches broad, has had an iron bar up the middle of it; it is now closed on the outside. On the south is a kind of credence, which also opens into the east side of the earlier division, mutilating^c the panelling in so doing. The walls are covered with a painted diaper. The

^a The top rail of these doors is cased with thin sheet-iron.

^b The lower part of the niche is mutilated apparently by the pulling out of a capping of this bracket.

^c At this place the fourteenth century lining is seen to be seven inches thick.

groining has stars, and the mouldings of the niche are painted with spirals, &c., as in the first part. At the back of the niche is the outline of a figure, which has been secured at the shoulders by two iron hooks still remaining in the wall. Round the head is painted a circular nimbus, from which proceed long flamboyant rays filling up the top of the niche.

On the east spandril outside the niche is painted the White Hart* of Richard the Second, and below this a pattern of fleurs-de-lis, yellow on a blue ground, at regular intervals. This wall has been repainted at some time with a brown wash.

The groining is cut away diagonally towards the east by a clumsily-formed arch through which we now enter the Chapel of S. John Baptist. But the pavement which is of Purbeck triangles, like that of the earlier part, retains the rectangular form required for the completion of the groining.

The iron hooks mentioned as occurring in the first division are also found here, but are not so numerous, and seem arranged in no order. A few larger hooks are scattered about both parts, and on the west side near their junction is an iron eye projecting from the wall.

Such is this corner at the present time; but so many different features and dates of work crowded into so small a space seem to show that it was originally intended for some more important purpose than to be a mere vestibule to the larger chapel. And I now propose, whilst describing as nearly as they can now be ascertained, the various changes which the place has undergone, to point out what seems to me to have been its use in each successive condition.

Whether any hollow was left in the pier at this place when the *chevet* was built by Henry III. it is now impossible to say; but if there was it must have been entirely remodelled, when in the time of Richard II. the doorway and what I have called the first part of the vestibule was formed. This, as I have said, was certainly closed at the north, and I think I can show reason for believing that the niche at the end of the present passage, which, though it stands in masonry belonging apparently to the beginning of the sixteenth century, is obviously itself of earlier date, originally stood in the destroyed north wall. The place would then consist of a rectangular recess open only to the ambulatory, and with a niche opposite the entrance.

* This was first pointed out to me by my friend Mr. J. Langton Barnard, to whom I am indebted for the carefully measured plan (Plate II.) which accompanies this paper. I have since found it mentioned by Brayley. I cannot account for its being set here in the time of Henry VII. which seems to be the date of the painting.

The question naturally rises, "What was the object of its formation?" It has evidently been constructed with great care and is very elaborate in its details, and further, the formidable *chevaux de frise* protecting the entrance imply that some object, to which a high value was attached, was preserved within.*

I have not yet been able to ascertain whether there was any image specially venerated at Westminster. But so much is continually being discovered from documents concerning the Abbey, that if the question is raised I have little doubt it will shortly be shown that there was—as the reception of such an image seems to be the only purpose for which this recess can have been designed. We have still remaining the half doors over which the image in its niche could be seen from the ambulatory, whilst the close grillage filling up the whole of the open part of the arch protected not only the doubtless costly ornaments of the figure itself, but the numerous votive offerings, the little hooks for the suspension of which so thickly stud the walls; and, just before where the image must have stood, we see the opening in the groining even now stained with the smoke of the lamp which hung through it from the peg, yet to be found in the wall of the church above.

This recess seems to have remained as formed at the end of the fourteenth century until the beginning of the sixteenth. But leaving it for a time, let us see what connection can be traced between the history of the Abbey and the name of S. Erasmus, which now appears over the doorway. It will be remembered that in 1470, when the tide of fortune seemed to be turning in favour of the House of Lancaster, Elizabeth Woodville, the Queen of Edward IV., took sanctuary at Westminster and there gave birth to a son, afterwards Edward V. Widmore (who I think may be relied upon, though he gives but the vague authority of "instruments and papers") states that this Queen built a chapel dedicated to S. Erasmus, in the east part of the church, near to the chapel of S. Mary. And in 1478 the King settled upon the Abbey the manors of Cradley and Hagley, in Worcestershire, for two monks to pray for the souls of the King and Queen in the chapel of S. Erasmus, which the Queen had built. Widmore further states that this chapel, together with the adjoining and more important one of S. Mary, was pulled down to make room for the large new Lady Chapel of

* In the year 1378, one Robert Haule or Hawley was murdered in the choir of Westminster during High Mass. The affair created a great sensation at the time, and the church was closed for several months. As part of their penance the murderers paid the then large sum of £200 to the Abbey. Is it possible that this money was expended upon a costly image, set up as an expiatory offering; and that the recess we are considering was prepared for the reception of the image? The dates fit exactly.

Henry VII. But, although taken down, I believe that some of Queen Elizabeth's work still remains to us.

I have already mentioned the perpendicular niche over the entrance to the passage which is the subject of this paper. This is generally set down as Islip's work, because when seen from below the most conspicuous things about it are the name and rebuses of that abbot by which it is surrounded. But on a close inspection it is seen that the niche and tabernacle work are beautifully executed in alabaster, whilst Islip's badges, together with the cresting are in firestone and of very much inferior workmanship. The date of the alabaster work is fixed^a by the occurrence of the *rose en soleil*, the badge of Edward IV., in the centres of the quatrefoils at the base of the niche. It seems probable that when the first chapel of S. Erasmus was pulled down Abbot Islip fixed upon this place for the site of an altar where the two monks might perform the stipulated services.^b And having done so he set up over the entrance this niche, reserved from the destruction of the old chapel, probably not so much for its own merits as for those of the sculpture it contained. This is now unworthily represented by an ugly eighteenth-century tablet. One stone in the base of the niche seems to have been lost in the removal, and the deficiency is clumsily supplied in the same material as the cresting and other additions made by Islip. The whole has been enriched with gilding and a little colour, and along the base are the remains of an inscription which I have been unable satisfactorily to make out. Brayley reads it "herasmus Epi." If he is right the *h* is a small one, and a large ∞ , possibly from the word "Martyr," can be deciphered.

When fitting this recess to its use as a chapel, Islip managed his alterations so as not to interfere with its original purpose. He took down the north wall of the fourteenth-century work and added beyond it a second vaulted compartment, replacing the image with its niche in such a position as to be seen from the ambulatory as before. The altar he placed so as to be scarcely visible from the outside, in a kind of bay-window projecting into the chapel of S. John Baptist at the place where we now enter that chapel. The south side of the window appears still to exist, but is hidden by the Kemble monument. As far as I can make out

^a The similarity of detail between this niche and the reredos of the high altar fixes the date of the latter also.

^b According to Nash's *Worcestershire the Manors of Hagley and Cradley* remained a very short time in the possession of the Abbey, they being returned to the family from whom they had been confiscated. "But," as Nash observes, "doubtless the religious had ample satisfaction made to them for this resumption."

it is similar to the screen-work of Islip's own chapel. The internal form is shown by the still remaining pavement and the mutilation of the groining.

When I pointed out to Mr. G. G. Scott my reasons for believing in the former existence of this window, he kindly caused a few stones of the floor to be taken up, and we then found not only foundations showing us the external shape of the projection, but built in those foundations a stone which had obviously at one time formed part of the jamb of the niche containing the image. Thus our previous supposition was confirmed that the niche had been moved when the window was thrown out. From the appearance of this stone I am inclined to think that in its former position the niche was much deeper than now. It is even possible that a side-light into it from the Chapel of S. John Baptist may have suggested to Islip the bold cutting away of the pier which he effected.

The altar itself consisted of a *mensa* only, exactly fitting the recess formed for it, and supported at the ends by iron dowels, the mortices for which may yet be seen in the walls. A credence was formed by cutting into the wall of the earlier division, and I think the painting is of the date of this alteration. The lettering of the larger inscription corresponds exactly with that on the grille round the tomb of Henry VII.

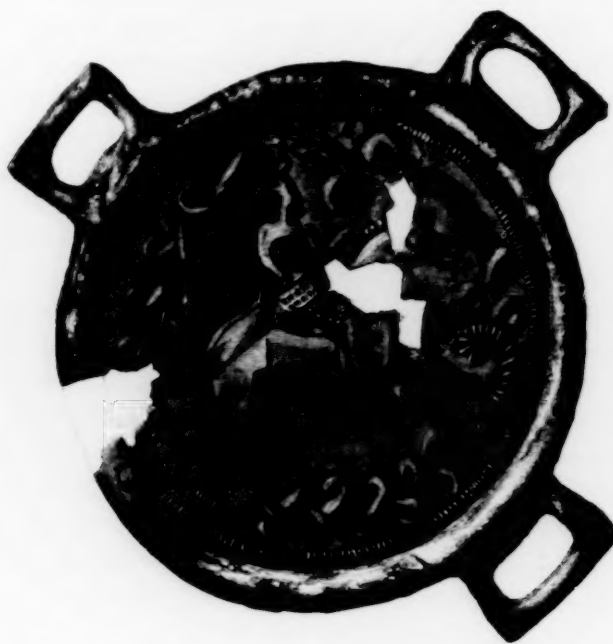
The chapel of S. John Baptist is now entirely cut off from the ambulatory by the tombs of Abbats William of Colchester and George Facet, and that of Ruthall, Bishop of Durham. Originally, however, there must have been a screen, and it is evident from its position that the tomb of William of Colchester (ob. 1420) was placed within the screen, as we see in other chapels the tombs of William de Valence, John of Eltham, Philippa of York, and Cardinal Langham. Facet's tomb was erected about 1500, in the line of the screen, of which with its canopy it was made to form a part, as we see was done with Lord Bouchier's monument in S. Paul's Chapel. Up to this date the chapel of S. John would be entered as the others still are directly from the ambulatory. But when (c. 1524) Ruthall's tomb was erected, filling up the space between those of the two abbats, it became necessary to provide a new entrance. To obtain this, the altar of S. Erasmus, set up scarcely twenty years before, was thrown down, and in place of the projecting window an ugly elliptical arch was formed, set back to the line of the early-English wall, and thus cutting off the corner of Islip's groining. This arch is very clumsily worked, and partly out of the old materials, for at the north end of the cornice we see the mouldings return in a manner unsuitable to their present situation, but at an angle corresponding with the external corner of the projecting window as shown by the foundations.

This last alteration brought the place into the form in which we now see it, and nearly a century and a half after its insertion the outer doorway became the entrance to S. John's Chapel. It is, however, probable that the image for the accommodation of which the recess was originally formed stood in its old niche for a few years longer, till King Henry removed it, and, extinguishing the lamp, piously appropriated it and such of the ornaments and offerings as were worth taking away. Since that time the place has suffered little injury except from neglect and the decay of the painting.

VIII.—*On an example of Phaleræ and other Antiquities from Switzerland.*
Communicated by WILLIAM MICHAEL WYLIE, Esq. F.S.A., Local Secretary
for Hampshire.

Read November 30, 1871.

Last autumn I had an opportunity of examining some reliques recently acquired by the Museum of Zürich, which appeared to me to possess considerable interest. I am now in a condition to place these matters before the Society, having been furnished with the necessary drawings and illustrations, through the kindness of our friend and colleague, Dr. Ferdinand Keller of Zürich. Much, also, of what I am about to say is derived from the same excellent source.



Disc of Silver in Bronze Framework from Seengen. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$ ds linear.

The objects in question were obtained from an Alamannic grave at Seengen, on the lake of Hallwyl, canton Aargau, in Switzerland.

They consist in the first place of the remarkable disc figured in the woodcut.

This relique would seem, almost certainly, to be one of those military decorations—whether of war-steeds, or their riders—which we find mentioned in Roman history under the name of *phaleræ*. The framework is of bronze, with a raised outer rim protecting a central plate of thin silver, which exhibits, in *repoussé* work, an armed knight on his steed. From the damaged condition of the plate it is not altogether easy to determine details, but the figure seems to bear a helm with lofty crest, and to be clad in a *lorica* and cuisses of scale armour. Neck, arms, and legs are uncovered, just as Sidonius^a has pictured the Franks of Sigismer, “*genua, crura, suræque sine tegmine*,” in this, as in other points, imitative of Roman costume.

The warrior's left hand guides his charger, while the right reposes on his hip. His seat on the horse is free and well-rendered, being in remarkable contrast with the barbarous execution of the horse itself. These central figures are surrounded by an ornamentation consisting of a riband pattern, somewhat in the fashion of a Runic knot. From the rim project three loops of square form—originally there was a fourth—through which passed the straps by which the disc was secured.

This is the sole example found in the interment, and it is hardly possible to determine the exact manner of its employment. It may, for instance, have been worn on the breast of the rider, serving, besides mere outward show, for defence, as a kind of *thorax*; or it may, and more probably, have been the frontlet or breast-ornament of the horse. The chief argument against this latter view of the case would be that we should have expected to find the remains of the horse in the grave, which was not the case.

In the same grave with the disc were discovered some weapons of iron which afford incontrovertible evidence of the decidedly Teutonic character of the interment. These consist of the full-sized ponderous and double-edged *spatha*, 2 feet 9½ inches in length; two examples of the *semi-spatha* or *scramasax*; and two lance-heads. In the ferrule of one of these some portion of the wooden staff still remains.

The discovery of these graves is, as usual, to be attributed to chance, that great friend of the antiquary. It is the same old story, and soon told. A proprietor of some land in the vicinity of Seengen, while digging the foundation of a barn

^a Lib. iv. Epist. xx.

on the slope of a hill, discovered some ten or twelve Alamannic interments, constructed, like those of Selzen, Bel Air, and so many other places, of large stones, covered over with stone slabs.

The pommel and cross-bar of the sword give it a somewhat late or Scandinavian look; otherwise these arms might, with propriety, be ascribed to any branch of the early Teutonic family, so general is the type of these unornamented iron weapons.

As regards our *phaleræ* example, however, the case is very different, for I am not aware of the existence of any similar memorial among the vast number of discoveries of Teuton remains that have occurred of late years both at home and abroad. We can scarcely compare it with the rude bronze ornament from another Alamannic grave at Oberglatt, near Zürich, a drawing of which is before us. This formed the central fastening of a belt, and its rude open work portrays an equestrian figure with a lance. Neither does it admit of comparison with a fine example of Jute horse-trappings from Feversham, Kent, figured in the *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. i. pl. 3, and described by Mr. Roach Smith as "having decorated the harness of a sumptuously caparisoned horse." The nearest approach I can find for any sort of comparison, in the same branch of art, is a silver plate belonging to the Standard of the fifth Roman Legion. On it is figured in *repoussé* work a Roman leader victorious on a battle-field. This was found in a Roman camp at Niederbiber, and exists in the collection at Neuwied on the Rhine.* It is but a very indifferent comparison. The Roman disc is, of course, very superior in execution to our Alamannic example, and is a trifle larger.

The idea of such a decorative work of art as this of Aargau was more than probably borrowed from Roman *phaleræ*, but the barbarous execution must be purely Teutonic.

There is no difficulty on this point, for the arts still lingered on when Rome had to submit to her conquerors, and the *Lex Alamannorum* (tit. lxxx.) expressly names the "*faber aurifex, et spatarius*," among the most important retainers of a chieftain.^b

Phaleræ are of great antiquity, and we find them named by Herodotus among other golden horse-gear of the Massagetæ.^c Among the Etruscans they were certainly in use, and probably both as personal and as horse ornaments. We

* Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer unserer Heidnischen Vorzeit*. Mainz, Band i. heft 7. taf. v.

^b See also for goldsmith's work, Eginhard, *Vita Caroli Magni*.

^c *Clio*, ccxv.

learn indeed from Florus that the Romans borrowed the use of phaleræ from the Etruscans.* They are more frequently mentioned by Latin writers as ornaments of the war-steed than of the person, but on this latter point there is also abundant proof. Thus we have in Silius Italicus^b

———— phaleris hic pectore fulget.

While, without going further, the prose writers Tacitus^c and Suetonius^d offer similar conclusive testimony. Besides all this, modern discovery has furnished us with every advantage to be derived from monumental examples and ocular demonstration.^e In fact, in the whole extent of archæology there is scarcely any point that can be so thoroughly proved; as for further reference to *phaleræ*, used as horse-trappings, it seems quite needless to cite authorities. The *equus phaleratus* constantly makes its appearance in the pages of the Latin writers from Livy to Prudentius.^f

What has been said of the use of phaleræ by the Romans may, at first sight, appear superfluous. It is however most desirable to remove all doubts from the very threshold of our inquiry, since in all matters of art or arms the Teutons were content to adopt for their models those conquered Romans whom they otherwise despised. Thus the *pilum* of the legions of Augustus eventually passed into the German ranks under the name of *angon*; while the cavalry sword and large dagger of the infantry, during the lower empire, became the Teuton *spatha*, and *semi-spatha* or *scramasax*, if indeed certain varieties of the latter weapon were not direct imitations of the *gladius*.

In like manner the scale armour of the figure before us is precisely the copy of the scale *lorica* of the Romans, as shown on their sepulchral monuments.

Virgil speaks of it as “*duplici squamâ lorica fidelis*.” It consisted of plates of iron or brass, fastened on a leather corslet, and overlapping each other. A specimen of such scale armour, found at Avenches, exists in the collection of the Baron von Bonstetten.^g The plates are of brass, and measure nearly $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in

* i. 5

^b xv. 254.

^c Tacitus, Hist. i. 57, ii. 89.

^d Aug. xxv.

^e Maffei, *Museum Veronense*, p. 121. Verona, 1749.—Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer*, vol. i. heft iv. pl. 6, and vi. pl. 5.—Otto Jahn, *Lauersforter Phaleræ*. Bonn, 1860.—*Collectanea Antiqua*, ii. p. 141.—*Proceedings of the Soc. Antiq. of London*, New Series, vol. i. p. 251.

^f

———— et phaleratum

Circumflectit equum. Prudentius, *Psychomachia*, l. 195.

^g Lindenschmit. *Alterthümer*, vol. i. heft. 12, taf. iv.

length by $\frac{6}{10}$ in width. Childeric, the Frank, is shown in a similar *lorica* on his authentic seal, the restoration of which we owe to the research of the Abbé Cochet.^a

That among the Anglo-Saxons helm and body-armour were attributes of warriors of rank we know from the laws of Cnut; and, as to the Franks, we find continued mention of mail in the pages of Gregory of Tours, and later in the Capitularies. That we never find examples of such armour in sepulchral explorations results from causes we shall presently attempt to examine. But find them we do not, and the evidence of this Alamannic effigy becomes therefore the more valuable. Now, if it be admitted that the Germans were such positive copyists of Roman progress, proof will scarcely be required of the use also of *phaleræ* among them.

It is self-evident that so essentially military a people must, together with the arms of the Romans, have also adopted their symbols of military honour. However, as there is direct evidence of this, in a very small compass, it may be as well to give it. There is a passage in the *Germania* of Tacitus, terse and concise as this writer's style ever is, and conveying a mass of information in a very few words. Tacitus states the great desiderata of the Germans to have been military equipments and military honours and decorations—"electi equi, magna arma, phaleræ torquesque." The Romans usually bestowed *phaleræ* and torques together as personal decorations for distinguished conduct. The former were worn on the breast, the latter as a collar round the neck, hanging down on the breast^b—"torque aurato circumdat bellica colla." It was this kind of torques that we find termed in *Beowulf*, l. 4999, "the breast honour"—breost-weorðunge.

The Germans were just as imitative in the matter of their horse-trappings, and in this we have the graphic testimony of Sidonius Apollinaris^c in the latter part of the fifth century. In his lively account of the *entourage* of Prince Sigismer, he tells us, "Illum equus quidem phaleris comptus, immo equi, radiantibus gemmis onusti antecedeabant, vel etiam subsequebantur." A few years since we should have further cited the rich grave of King Childeric, at Tournay, with his horse and its furniture, but it is no longer possible to do so after the fatal criticism of the Abbé Cochet.^d *Phaleræ* no doubt were there, but Chifflet^e did not understand them, and those relics to which he assigned the name of "*phaleræ regii equi*" manifestly belong to a very different matter.

^a Cochet. *Tombeau de Childeric*. Paris, 1859, p. 369.

^b Silius Italicus, xv. 256.

^c Epist. iv. 20.

^d *Le Tombeau de Childeric*. Paris, 1859.

^e *Anastasia Childerici*; Antverpiæ, M.DC.LV.

We find, too, the same custom had reached the more northern tribes. Thus in Beowulf the poet refers to—

“ Steeds
With cheek adorned,
• • • • •
On one of them stood
A saddle cunningly variegated,
With treasure ornamented :
That was the war-seat
Of the high king.”

—Thorpe's Translation, line 2075.

We may now proceed to consider some of the details of the equestrian figure, which are as rare and remarkable as the actual reliques. It is probably the only record known of a Teuton in full armour at this early date. We are naturally led to an attentive consideration of the difficulties and seeming discrepancies which attend this question of the armour of the Germans on their first appearance in the pages of history.

The numerous sepulchral researches of modern times have produced so very few examples of defensive or body-armour from German graves, that doubts have been entertained how far such armour was ever in general use among the German tribes. These doubts moreover seemed to find a certain confirmation in the words of Tacitus: “*Paucis loricae; vix uni alterive cassis, aut galea.*” “*Non lorica Germano, non galeam.*” It was not sufficiently considered that this absence of body-armour was rather to be attributed to stern necessity than to choice. The state of art in the German forests scarcely admitted of forging arms at home, while the Romans would not permit their exportation. The Kelts indeed at this period seem to have arrived at the art of forging chain-armour, and the rare examples instanced by Tacitus were probably obtained from them in barter, or from the bodies of enemies slain in battle. But the same writer tells us of the anxieties to obtain armour, and that no gifts were more acceptable among the Germans than “*electi equi, magna arma.*” Centuries later we find Agathias^b relating the same want of body-armour among the Franks and Alamanni at the battle of Casilinum, A.D. 554, while the Heruli, in the Roman ranks, were perfectly well-armed—οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἑρουλοὶ εὖ μάλα ἐξοπλισμένοι.

After reading the chatty pages of Sidonius, who lived so much among the Franks and the Goths, this statement is somewhat inexplicable; but it is sufficiently certain that any deficiency in armour experienced at this date by the

^a *De Mor. Germ.* vi. *Annal.* ii. 14.

^b *Lib.* ii. c. 5.

northern nations was speedily made good. The old *Lex Ripuaria* indeed not only furnishes a catalogue of the various pieces of armour, but also an estimate of value.^a

However, arms long continued scarce, and either from this cause or from policy, we find repeated enactments against the export of defensive armour even as late as the time of Charlemagne.

The primary and great cause then of our not finding helms, cuirasses, and the like, in graves, with the other arms of the dead, is that they were too rare and valuable to be parted with by the living. This worked itself out into the law of heriots, and, exceptionally, of family inheritance.

We gather our earliest information on this very important subject from Tacitus, who tells us that a German prince was expected to furnish his retainers with their arms and war-steeds.^b This, probably, was originally looked upon as a kind of loan returnable under certain conditions, and which by degrees grew into a fixed law. We have the great authority of the learned Jacob Grimm for the statement that, under the old German law, the arms and steed of a vassal were, on his death, directly returnable to his feudal lord whose property they were.^c Thus we find Beowulf, as a simple thane, directing his cuirass to be sent home to his royal kinsman, in the event of his falling in action.

Send to Hygelac,
If the conflict take me off,
The best of battle-shrouds
That defends my breast.—(Line 908.)

Among Kemble's remains in the *Horæ Ferales* are some very valuable pages on the Anglo-Saxon rights of heriots, which are singularly well-defined in the laws of Knut. Mr. Kemble explains these heriots as "the rendering up to the King (who was in theory supposed to have originally lent them to his retainers) of the weapons which a deceased soldier had possessed; and it was an established

- ^a *Spatam cum scogilo pro vii solid. tribut.*
- Spatam absque scogilo pro iii. sol. tribut.*
- Brunniam bonam pro xii. solid. tribut.*
- Helmum cum directo pro vi. sol. tribut.*
- Bainbergas bonas pro vi. solid. tribut.*
- Scutum cum lancea pro ii. solid. tribut.*

Leg. Ripuar. titulus xxxviii. ed. Herold.

^b *De Mor. Germ.* xiv.

^c *Ins heergevæte* gehört ursprünglich pferd, schwert, und kriegsgewand des erblassers. Diese stücke, wenn ein held gefallen war, wurden heimgesandt (klage 1288); sie eignete sich, nach des vasallen tode, der lehnherr zu; nach dem des hörigen, wenn er waffenfähig war, auch der grundherr. Wo aber das nächste blut das hergewæte erbt, da ist persönliche freiheit.—*Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer* von Jacob Grimm, 2nd ed. p. 568.

principle of all Teutonic law, that the heriots, or arms, were to be suitable to the condition of the dead." ^a

Thus in a Saxon will, A.D. 1050, we find Thurstan naming his heriot in his will. "I give to my royal lord, for my heriot, two marks of gold, and two horses and saddle-vessels, and a helm, and a coat of mail, and a sword, and two shields, and two spears." ^b Again in another Saxon will of the same date we read "I give the land at Harling to Archbishop Stigand my lord And, if I come not again, then I give him, for my heriot, a helm, and a coat of mail, and a horse and trappings, and a sword, and a spear."—*Diplomatarium*, p. 582.

In early times, we can hardly doubt the return of arms was punctually made, although at a later period a money composition may have been agreed on, and paid instead.

There were other Teuton tribes where the custom of heriots does not appear to have existed. In this case, their laws clearly define the *lorica* to be an heir-loom attached to the land inheritance, which could only pass in the male line.^c A vivid illustration of this occurs in Beowulf. The hero now dying laments he has no son to whom he could give his armour, and, in default, bestows it on his next of kin.

Line 5451—

I to my son now
would give
my war-weeds,
if so granted me
any heir were after me,
belonging to my body.

.
.

Line 5610—

Doffed then from his neck
a golden ring,
the bold-hearted prince
to his thane gave it,
to the young javelin-warrior,
his gold-hued helm,
his ring and byrnie :
bade him use them well :
"Thou art the last remnant
of our race," &c.

^a Kemble, in *Horæ Ferales*, p. 203.

^b Thorpe's *Diplomatarium Anglicum*, p. 573.

^c De Alodibus, tit. vii. Ad quemcunque hæreditas terræ pervenerit, ad illum vestis bellica, id est lorica, et ultio proximi, et solutio leudis, debet pertinere.—*Lex Angliorum et Werinorum*, ed. Herold.

Keysler,^a on the faith of a Runic inscription, asserts that the heathen Scandinavians were wont to offer up the *lorica* of a fallen enemy at the shrine of Odin.

We have surely then evidence enough before us to prove that throughout the early German period body armour was highly prized. Whether it was rendered, as a heriot, to the feudal chieftain; whether it passed from father to son, as an heirloom appertaining to the male representative of the landed estate; or whether, when won in conquest, it was transferred, as a propitiatory offering, to the shrine of the heathen war-god, we can see tolerably clearly why it did not accompany the Teutonic dead to the tomb with other possessions prized in their lifetime, and whence it comes that examples of it are so rare.

It now remains to consider the equestrian portion of our subject, which is by no means the least interesting or important. Our very earliest acquaintance with the Teuton tribes—with the Alamanni in particular—connects them closely with equestrian habits. It may be well then to take a cursory review of some of the classical evidence we possess on this point, or we can hardly do justice to this memorial from the grave of an Alamannic warrior.

Cæsar seems the first historian who mentions the German cavalry, and in terms of high praise.^b He tells us that the horses were of an inferior description, but brought under perfect command, and into high condition, by continuous exercise. The hardy riders contemned the luxury of a saddle: "*Itaque ad quemvis numerum ephippiatorum equitum, quamvis pauci, adire audeant.*" Of this he soon had a convincing proof, when a division of Roman cavalry, 5,000 strong, were suddenly attacked and routed by 800 wild riders of the Usipetes and Teuchtheri.^c

The Germans must soon have found the necessity of improving their native breed of horses. Hence, as we have already seen in Tacitus, "*equi electi*" were greatly in request.

Aurelius Victor particularly refers to the fighting qualities of the Alamannic cavalry: "*Antoninus Caracalla Alamannos, gentem populosam, ex equo mirificè pignantem, prope Mœnum amnem devicit.*"^d This I believe to be the first historical mention we have of the great Alamannic confederacy.

The pages of Procopius furnish an account of the cavalry of the Goths, and the sneer of the historian is, at the same time, the best record of the perfect horsemanship of Totila at the battle of Tagina.^e

Gulielmus Apulus, indeed, at a far later period, describes the Suevi, brought

^a *Antiquitates Septentrionales*, p. 137.

^b *De Bell. Gall.* iv. 4.

^d *De Cæsaribus*, 24.

^b *De Bell. Gall.* iv. 2.

^e *De Bell. Goth.* iv. 31.

into Italy by Pope Leo IX., as far more formidable on foot than on horseback—a fact he attributes to the imperfect training of their horses, which were not sufficiently handy in action:

“quàm lancea plus valet ensis,
Nam nec equus doctè manibus giratur eorum,
Nec validos ictus dat lancea; præminet ensis.”

We have now briefly traced historic mention of German “*reiterei*,” from the days of Cæsar to the middle of the eleventh century, and no further evidence seems required.

In England we are so apt to consider our horses as parts of ourselves that it seems a mere matter of course when we see the same feeling evinced by another nation. Yet the Germans of the present day, as a general rule, treat their horses with yet greater kindness and consideration than we do. As for the past, perhaps the legal code of no other nation than the Alamanni will be found to have visited offences to the horse and his rider with equal penalties.* I take it, however, we inherit from our Teuton ancestors our interest in our horses, and all that appertains to them. The fact of this equestrian idiosyncrasy of the ancient German race seems to have presented itself very forcibly to the mind of the late learned Professor Dr. F. Pfeiffer, who in his remarkable treatise, “*Dass Ross im altdutschen*,”^b has given a fresh instance of the patient reading and research for which his countrymen have always been so distinguished.

We may now turn from the period that probably preceded our reliques to the mediæval one succeeding it, and venture to allude to the analogy which the equestrian design would seem to have with those knightly effigies we meet with on the seals of early charters. None of these seals, indeed, appear to ascend as high as the presumed date of our phaleræ, but the design may, even then, have been adopted as a symbol of lordship, in accordance with the manifest popular taste.

The height of the helm in our design is also to be observed. As Dr. Keller

* De eo qui equum plagaverit, dum hominem plagare voluerit.

Si quis homo in equo suo cavallicaverit, et aliquis eum super ipsum plagare voluerit, et dum illum plagare voluerit, cavallum ejus plagaverit, ita plagam cavalli componat quem admodum componere debuit si dominum ejus plagasset.—*Lex Alamannorum*, tit. lxxii. Ed. Herold.

^b Breslau, 1855. This treatise is perfectly exhaustive. The innumerable citations from ancient records, poetry and romances, prove that “*reiterei*” was of old an all-important consideration in Germany. The splendid horse-gear, so perpetually referred to, sometimes leave us doubtful whether we are to regard it as an actual imitation, or merely as a traditionary reminiscence of Roman magnificence.

well remarks, it forecasts the adornments of the casque of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

As to the date to be assigned to these interesting Alamannic reliques, it is not easy to speak with precision. My own idea from the first has been that they belong to the late-Carlovingian period, and this has lately received support from a very unlooked-for quarter. Among the treasures of St. Gall is the magnificent Psalter of the ninth century, known as the *Codex Aureus*. Among the copies of some of the illuminations of this Psalter, with which Dr. Keller has just favoured me as bearing on our present subject, are two plates in which horsemen are represented in just such scale armour as appears on our disc from Aargau. We are in the habit of referring to Trajan's column, or the Bayeux tapestry, as precious records of the arms and costumes of their respective periods, and we have a right to assume that the monk-artist of St. Gall was equally as trustworthy an exponent of the military costume of the Carlovingian period, which he must have had daily before his eyes.

One of these figures, representing King Saul, is here given in outline :—



From *Codex Aureus*, St. Gall.

These graphic lines from the ancient *Waltharlied* particularly apply to our subject :—

328. "Stat sonipes, ac fræna ferox spumantia mandit,
Hunc, postquam faleris solito circumdedit, ecce

Ipseque lorica vestitus, more gigantis,
Imposuit capiti rubras cum casside cristas,
Ingentesque ocreis suras complectitur aureis;
Et levum femur ancipiti præcinxerat ense,
Atque alio dextrum, pro ritu Pannoniarum,
Is tamen ex una tantum dat vulnera parte.
Tunc hastam dextra capiens, clipeumque sinistra."



Bronze bars from Ueberlingen. Scale, $\frac{1}{4}$ linear.

The woodcut which is here introduced refers to a far earlier epoch. It represents one of two sets of bars, or strips of bronze, found in a tumulus of the Keltic period at Ueberlingen, on the lake of Constance, together with human remains. The position of these strips in the grave would show they had been employed as defensive armour. Most likely they had been affixed one below the other, like ribs, on a garment of linen, or leather, long since perished, and formed a kind of cuirass.

We have, indeed, sufficient authority for suggesting that the corslet, to which these bars were in some way attached, may have been of flax or leather, since both were in use among the ancient races.

Homer (*Iliad*, ii. 529) refers to the use of flaxen corslets in the army of the Greeks. Again, their use among the Argives must have been very general from the appellation of Ἀργεῖοι λινοθώρακες. According to Herodotus, linen corslets were an especial manufacture of the Egyptians, as instanced by the fact of their constituting royal presents to distant nations, and the shrines of the gods. Such

offerings as these must have been the most artistic production of their class. Pliny, accordingly, mentions the interest excited, even in his day, by the remains of such a gift of King Amasis, still existing in the island of Rhodes.*

It is equally clear they were also in use among the Etruscans. Among the very rare *spolia opima* in the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius at Rome was the flaxen corslet of the Etruscan monarch, Lar Tolumnius, slain by Cornelius Cossus, A.U.C. 318.^b Perhaps, indeed, such defensive armour had always been in occasional use, and so continued, by reason of its flexibility and lightness. Thus Plutarch assigns a flaxen corslet to Alexander the Great, as Suetonius also does incidentally to the Emperor Galba.

As to the use of the leather corslet, Varro (*De Lingua Latina*, l. iv.) gives "*Lorica, a loris: quod de corio crudo pectoralia faciebant; postea succuderunt Gallie ferro, sub id vocabulum, ex annulis, ferream tunicam.*" In the case before us there is every probability that the corslet was of hide, as being the simplest material for defence, and as being worn by a warrior of the Keltic nation before the introduction of chain mail.

The discovery of such reliques is the more valuable, since examples of body-armour of the early periods are so rare. Unfortunately, we have no account of the further relics met with in this tumulus of Ueberlingen, which might have afforded some evidence of its date.

* Herodotus, ii. 182; iii. 47. Pliny, xix. 2.

^b Livy, iv. 19, 20.

IX.—*An Original Appointment of Sir John Fastolfe to be Keeper of the Bastille of St. Anthony at Paris in 1421; with Illustrative Remarks*
by JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, Esq., F.S.A.

Read December 8th, 1870.

I am permitted by Robert F. Dalrymple, Esq., to exhibit to the Society of Antiquaries a remarkable and interesting document connected with the English occupation of Paris, at the time when King Henry the Fifth was recognised as the heir of his father-in-law Charles the Sixth.

It will be remembered that after the disastrous field of Agincourt, fought on the 25th October, 1415, the Kingdom of France was no longer able to resist effectually the power of its English invaders, who soon after made a truce with Burgundy independently of France. The King became a prisoner in his own house of the Louvre, the Queen and Dauphin were banished to Troyes. For four years after, France, though living in constant dread of the English armies, was torn to pieces by intestine strife, promoted chiefly on the one hand by the faction of the Duke of Burgundy, and on the other by that which took its name from the Dauphin or the Constable Armagnac. In the meantime the English in their career of conquest captured the city of Caen in the campaign of 1417, and the capital city of Rouen in that of 1419, and thus after the lapse of two centuries re-established their ancient sovereignty in Normandy. On the 29th of May, 1418, possession and control of the city of Paris was successfully asserted by the rebellious Duke of Burgundy, the ally of the English. That unscrupulous prince had some years before admitted his complicity in the assassination of the Duke of Orleans, the King's only brother, and maintained it to have been a justifiable act; and he continued to domineer in defiance of the royal authority until his own life was taken, by an act of similar treachery, whilst holding a personal interview with the Dauphin. This latter event occurred on the 10th September, 1419; and the following year saw a peace concluded with the English, whereby King Henry, on espousing the Princess Katharine of France, became the son-in-

law of Charles the Sixth, and was acknowledged at once the heir of the Kingdom of France and its present Regent. From that time until after the death, in 1435, of King Henry's surviving brother the Duke of Bedford, then Regent of France, Paris was actually in possession of the English for a period of seventeen years.

Monstrelet, in the 228th chapter of his Chronicle, mentions that during the siege of Melun, which was in progress in the summer of 1420, the fortresses of Paris were, with the consent of the Duke of Burgundy and the Parisians, placed in the hands of King Henry, namely, the bastille of St. Anthony, the Louvre, the maison de Nesle, and the castle of Vincennes. The Duke of Clarence was made Captain of Paris instead of the Count of St. Pol; and English garrisons were placed in all those fortresses.

It is to the following January that the document belongs to which I now direct the attention of the Society of Antiquaries. It is the appointment of a new keeper of the bastille of St. Anthony at Paris, and that a person of no less historical celebrity than Sir John Fastolfe, afterwards a Knight of the Garter.

The instrument is an Indenture made Jan. 24, 1420-1, between the sovereign lord Henry by the grace of God King of England, heir and Regent of the realm of France and lord of Ireland, in the name of his very dear father Charles, by the same grace King of France, and in his own name as Regent of the realm of France, of the one part, and John Fastolfe, knight, of the other part; testifying that the said John is retained towards the said Kings, to hold the bastille of St. Anthony of Paris from the date thereof to the end of an entire year next ensuing. The said John was to have constantly remaining with him for the safe keeping of the aforesaid bastille twenty men of arms, including himself, and sixty archers throughout the said year, well-mounted, armed, and arrayed for the war as appertained to their conditions. The said John was to take wages of war, to wit, for himself two shillings and for each of the other men of arms twelve pence a day with the usual reward,^a and for each of the said archers six pence a day. Fastolfe was to make musters of himself and his said gensdarmes and archers,

^a I am not aware whether any author or commentator has particularly explained the meaning of the term Reward. It was certainly something paid in addition to wages, and is of continual occurrence in the various instruments of military retainer which occur in the collection of Rymer. Thus in the letters patent addressed by King Edward the Third in 1347 to John de Coupland, who had taken King David (Bruce) of Scotland prisoner, by which that fortunate captain was raised to the rank of Banneret, with the yearly grant of five hundred pounds to maintain that dignity, and further retained to keep twenty men-at-arms in the King's service, receiving on that account another hundred pounds, it is added that he was also to receive the wages and rewards usually paid to other Bannerets of his rank being in the King's service—

and was to be always ready with his said retinue well mounted, armed and arrayed, to ride and do service to the aforesaid Kings, as he should be commanded, as often as he should be duly warned and required. And in case any of the said gendarmes when commanded to ride and do service should be found not suitably horsed fit for their rank, they were not to be paid during such time, except for the wages of men of arms on foot, that is to say, for each such person eight pence a day. It was further provided, in regard to any gains of war, that Sir John should pay to King Henry the thirds as well of those gains of war for which his retinue should be answerable to him, whether prisoners, preys, or other things captured, as of his own gains, and all the droits accustomed; and should also surrender and deliver to him all the captains and lieutenants, if any during the said time should be taken by him or any of his people; for the which the King should make reasonable recompense to him or those who took them. Sir John Fastolfe was further to have letters patents from the King of France under his great seal. Finally, the said John undertakes to keep safely, to the extent of his loyal power, the aforesaid bastille, to the honour and profit of the said Kings; and not to deliver up the same save only to our said lord the King of England, or his heirs, in the name of his said father, and to surrender his charge at their assured commandment by their letters.

Besides these stipulations, a considerable portion of the document is occupied by conditions for the times and mode of payment of the wages, and by arrangements in respect to the coin in which the payments should be made. The currency of France had already suffered considerable depreciation, and evidently further depreciation was regarded as imminent. Sir John Fastolfe was to be paid in hand for the first quarter of the year, taking the gold noble of England* at the rate of four francs of the white money then current in France, or otherwise so many as seven francs of the same white money as against the four francs

"Volentes et concedentes quod vadia et *rewards* præfato Johanni et hominibus suis, pro tempore quo ipsos in obsequio nostro morari contigerit, sicut aliis Banerettis de suo statu in hujusmodi obsequio nostro existentibus solvantur."

It appears not improbable that the reward was originally an allowance made for expenditure in travelling or otherwise. In another Latin document in Rymer's collection, of the date 1443, one Rosencrans, a merchant of Cologne, is said to have served the King in many voyages and journeyings for five years, "et de suo magnanimitèr expendit absque aliquo Regardo sive recompensatione (*any reward or recompence*) proinde de nobis habito."

* By the marriage treaty of Henry V. and Katharine of France, 21st May, 1420, the dower of the princess was fixed at 60,000 crowns, "two of which are of the value of an English noble."

named. During the residue of the time he was to be paid monthly by the hands of the Treasurer-General of France; and if it should happen that, during the said time, after the end of the first quarter, the money of France should be changed, enhanced, and put at a better alloy and value than it then was, from the time of that change the said John was to be paid monthly for himself and his retinue of the new money, taking the franc for three shillings sterling.

Monstrelet, in his 250th chapter, notices the depreciation of several current coins that was enacted by the Royal Council in Paris about two years after, and he remarks that "these continued lowerings of the coin gave great discontent among all ranks, seeing that their money property was diminished one-eighth in value."

The biography of SIR JOHN FASTOLFE has been treated at considerable length, first by Oldys in the *Biographia Britannica*, where, in the second edition, it was revised and corrected by Mr. Gough, then Director of this Society; and since by Blomefield in his *History of Norfolk*, by Anstis in his *Register of the Order of the Garter*, by Mr. Dawson Turner in his *History of Castor Castle*, and by Mr. G. Poulett Scrope in his *History of Castle Combe*. It seems that none of these writers were aware of this incident of Sir John Fastolfe's career, that he was some time Commander of the Bastille in Paris.* It has happened, however, that I have previously met with this fact in the treatise^b called *The Boke of Noblesse*, addressed to King Edward the Fourth on his invasion of France in 1475, and written by some one—possibly William of Wyrcestre, who was so intimately acquainted with Sir John Fastolfe, and the records of his military administration, as to term him, repeatedly, "mine autor."

* A note may here be made that, among the large number of original documents relating to the occupation of France by the English, which was added to the collection of Manuscripts in the British Museum by purchase in the year 1856, there are at least sixteen in which Sir John Fastolfe is a party. They range from the year 1422 to 1436, and show him to have held commands at Meullant in Provence, at Verneuil, Honfleur, Caen, Alençon, Fresnoy le Vicomte, &c. They are preserved among the Addit. MSS. 11,481 to 11,966. An original probate copy of the will of Sir John Fastolfe, which related to his foundation of a college at Castor in Norfolk, dated in November 1459, is now the Addit. MS. 22,927. It was purchased in 1859 from the library of the late Mr. Dawson Turner, and it is accompanied by remarks in MS. by that gentleman and his son-in-law Sir Francis Palgrave. A folio cartulary of evidences concerning the manors of Castlecombe and Oxendon, A.D. 1422-35, with which Fastolfe had much to do, has also found its way into the national collection, Addit. MS. 28,206.

^b Printed for the Roxburghe Club in 1860, at the expense of the late Lord Delamere, and edited by the present writer.

When the Duke of Clarence had been slain at the battle of Baugé, which was fought on Easter-eve, March 20, 1420-1,^a Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, was appointed his successor as Captain of Paris, and the anecdote to which I refer belongs to that period. It is related by Monstrelet^b that the Duke, for certain reasons, thought proper to arrest Jean de Villiers, Seigneur de l'Isle Adam—a very distinguished soldier, who was himself, at a subsequent period, Captain of Paris, after the Duke of Bedford's retirement in 1430. This measure so irritated the townsmen of Paris, with whom the lord of l'Isle Adam was very popular, that a mob of a thousand or more attempted to rescue him from those who were conducting him to the bastille of St. Anthony. He was eventually safely immured there;^c but the Duke himself (according to *The Boke of Noblesse*) was for more safety coerced to take to the Bastille with his fellowship or retinue, for their own defence. "At hys commyng the chieff questyon he demaunded of the seyd Fastolfe (was) how welle he was stored of greynes, of whete, of benys, pesyn, and aveyn for horsmete, and of othyr vitaille. He seyd, for half (a) yere and more suffisaunt. And hyt comforted gretly the Prince. Then the Duc made redy the ordnaunce wyth shot of gret gonnys amongys the rebells, and shot of arowes myghtelye, (so) that they kept her loggeyns. And the Frenche Kyng and the Quene, beyng yn the cytee, helde ayenst the rebellys; so, in short tyme, the burgeyses were constreyned to submytt them and put hem yn the Duc ys grace."

This anecdote is introduced in illustration of Sir John Fastolfe's characteristic foresight in the matter of purveyance; for "I fynde (says the writer) by hys bokes of hys purveours how yn every castelle, forteresse, and cyte or towne he wolde hafe grete providence of vitaille, of cornys, of larde, and beoffes, of stok-physhe and salt-fyshe owt of England commyng by shyppes. And that policie was one of the grete causes that the Regent of Fraunce and the lordes of the Kyng ys grete counccille lefft hym to hafe so many castells to kepe that he ledd yerly iij c. sperys and the bowes (or archers, in due proportion). And also yn semblable wyse purveyed yearly for lyverey white and rede for hubes^d for hys

^a See the date of this battle correctly ascertained in *The Herald and Genealogist*, vi. 101.

^b Vol. i. chap. ccxxxviii.

^c Monstrelet states that the Duke of Exeter, collecting six score soldiers, chiefly archers, fired on the populace, and succeeded in safely lodging the sieur de l'Isle Adam in the Bastille; but not that the Duke himself took refuge in that fortress.

^d This word is probably equivalent to the "howve," or hood, of Chaucer and Piers Plouhman. See Mr. Albert Way's notes to the *Promptorium Parvulorum* (Camd. Soc.) p. 249, in the text of which occurs, Howe, or hure, heed-hyllynge, *Tena, capedulum, sidaris*. The parti-coloured *hube* was probably something more than a mere head-covering—a light cloak or great-coat.

soudeours, and for armurs wepyns redye to a naked man that was hable to do the Kyng and the sayd Regent service."

If the statement here made, and repeated in the preface to Caxton's translation of Cicero *de Senectute*,^a that Sir John Fastolfe had at his command a total retinue amounting to three hundred spears, or men-at-arms, is not very much exaggerated, it must be admitted to convey a remarkable account of the "many castles" or garrisons confided to his care, when we find in the document before us that the number of twenty men-at-arms, with their proportion of sixty archers, was considered sufficient for the bastille of St. Anthony at Paris.

There is also mention of the Bastille, and quite in accordance with the passage above quoted, in one of Sir John Fastolfe's books of accompt:—^b

Item, in like wise is owing to the said Fastolfe for the keeping and victualling of the Bastille of St. Anthony in Paris, as it appeareth by writing sufficient, and by the creditors of Sir John Tyrel knight, late treasurer of the King's house, remaining in the Exchequer of Westminster of record, the sum of xliij li.

Those who are conversant with the past volumes of our *Archæologia*, will remember that in vol. xxi. the substance of two Rolls is printed, containing an "Inventory of the Gold and Sylver in Coyne and Plate, and other Goodes and Chattels" that had been the property of Sir John Fastolfe, a document remarkable for the large amount of silver plate in particular which the old knight had amassed. It is interesting to find among these, "Item, a saltsaler like a bastell, gilt, with roses, weiying lxxvij. unces." A note contributed by Dr. Meyrick^c

^a That translation is supposed to have been made by the well-known William of Wyrcestre, and it is directly stated to have been made before the death of Sir John Fastolfe in 1459, although not printed by Caxton until 1481. An accurate copy of the passage relating to Sir John Fastolfe, though familiar to many readers, may not inappropriately be here appended:—

—whiche book was translated and thystories openly declared, by the ordenaunce & desyre of the noble Auncyent knyght Syr Johan Fastolf of the countee of Norfolk banarette. lyvyng the age of four score yere-exercisyng the warrys in the Royame of Fraunce and other countrees, ffor the diffence and vnyuersal welfare of bothe royames of englond and ffraunce by fourty yeres enduryng, the fayte of armes hauntynge. And in admystryng Justice and polytique gouernaunce vnder thre kynges, that is to wete Henry the fourth. Henry the fyfthe. Henry the syxthe, And was gouernour of the duchye of Angeou and the couëtee of Mayne, Capytayn of many townys, Castellys and fortressys in the said Royame of ffraunce, hauyng the charge and sauward of them dyuerse yeres. occupyng and rewlynge thre honderd speres and the bowes accustomed thenne, And yeldyng good acompt of the forsaid townes castellys & fortresses to the seyde kynges and to theyr lyeutenautes, Prynces of noble recomandacion, as Johan regent of ffraunce Duc of Bedforde, Thomas duc of excestre, Thomas duc of clarece, & othir lyeutenautes.

^b Paston Letters, iii. 269.

^c *Archæologia*, xxi. 240.

explains the word *bastell* as meaning "A small tower;" but a salt-cellar weighing seventy-seven ounces may well have been actually a model of the bastille of St. Anthony, and a memorial of Sir John's good keeping thereof.

The Indenture which has suggested these remarks came into the possession of the late Arthur Dalrymple, Esq., F.S.A., of Norwich, from the collection of Mr. Turner of Gloucester. He communicated a copy to the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, and it was published in 1861 in the sixth volume of the *Norfolk Archæological Collections*; but that copy is so imperfect in many places, and the accompanying translation so abounding in important misconceptions, that its republication will be simply a necessary tribute to the claims of historical accuracy.

There is an impression attached of the privy seal of King Henry. It is made of red wax upon a slip partially cut from the foot of the parchment. The legend is all broken away, except the single word *Regis*. A shield of France and England quartered remains perfect, with part of a crown above, and portions of ostrich feathers in scrolls on either side. The arms of France are semée of fleurs-de-lis.

I cannot find that the Privy Seals of our Kings have been published as might have been expected. None of them are engraved in Sandford's *Genealogical History*. In Sir Harris Nicolas's dissertation *On the Badge and Mottoes of the Prince of Wales*, in the thirty-first volume of *Archæologia*, there is an engraving of the Privy Seal of King Henry IV., not, however, directly from an impression, but from a tricking in the College of Arms, taken from the King's last will. Its legend is, SIGILLUM SECRETUM HENRICI REGIS FRANCIE ET ANGLIE. The device is that which the impression before us when perfect probably presented, a shield of France (ancient) and England quarterly, under a crown, on either side an ostrich-feather within a scroll, held by a lion couchant: these two lions being back to back. The same design (with the necessary variation in the armorial bearings) has been retained for the Privy Seal to the present day, except that the lions are now sejant rather than couchant.

It will be remembered that the Privy Seal (unless in the occasional absence of the Great Seal) was seldom used but as a warrant for the use of the Great Seal; and in modern times this has been its only use. Thus the Privy Seals never go further than the Crown Office, or other office of Chancery, where the patent for the Great Seal is prepared. In the Crown Office, I am informed, the old Privy Seals are customarily used up as fire revivers. This is probably a practice of old

standing, and may partly account for the rarity of impressions of the Privy Seal.*

The text of the instrument under notice follows :—

Ceste endenture faite parentre [le]^b souverain seigneur Henri, par la grace de Dieu, Roy Dengleterre, Heriter et Regent du Royaume de France, et Seigneur Dirlande, en nomme de son trescher pere Charles, par icelle mesme grace Roy de France, et de lui mesmes come Regent du Royaume de France, dune parte, et Johan Fastolfe chevalier, dautre parte, tesmoigne que le dit Johan est Retenu³ devers les dit³ Roys, pur garder la Bastille de saint Antoygne de Parys du Jour de la date de ceste presente endenture jusques a la fyn dun an entier prochain ensuiant. Et aura le dit Johan continuellement demourant³ ovesque lui sur la sauferde de la susdite Bastille vingt hommes darmes lui mesmes acconte³, et sessante archers durant le dit an bien monte³, arme³, et arraie³ pur la guerre come a leur estat³ il appartient. Et prendra le dit Johan gages de guerre assavoir pour lui mesmes deux sould³, pur chacun des dit³ autres hommes darmes douze deniers le Jour ovesque regard accustume³, et pur chacun des dit³ archers sys deniers le Jour, durant le temps susdit. Desqueux gages et Regard sera le dit Johan paie³ pur ung quartier dun an de mesme le temps en

* The following is a note of the only impressions of the Privy Seals of our earlier monarchs, which appear to exist in the British Museum.

1. EDWARD I. Seal 1 inch in diameter, exhibiting a shield with rounded base, bearing the arms of England, with the legend,

✠ SECRETVM [REGI]S . EDWARDI.

appended by a slip cut from the bottom of the instrument, to a writ in the form of letters patent, empowering Robert de Sales to receive into the King's peace all the men of Moray (*homines de Moravia*) who may choose to come in. Dated at Aberdeen, July 18, 24 Edw. I. (*Cart. Harl.* 43 B. 8.)

2. EDWARD III. Small seal, with a shield of France ancient and England quarterly, within a rich border of tracery. Legend,

✠ Sece[tum] Fra[ncoie et Anglie].

appended to a document in French, "donné sous nostre privé seal devant Calais, le sisme de Mars l'an de nostre regne de France oytisme et dengleterre vintisme premier," being a grant of 1000 marks sterling to Jehan de Chalouns, Seignour de Arlay. (*Add. Ch.* 11,307.)

3. EDWARD III. A fragment of a larger seal than the preceding, with a shield of France and England quarterly. To an instrument dated ann. 44 of England, 31 of France. (*L. F. C.* iii. 19.)

4. RICHARD II. Seal 2½ inch in diameter. Pointed shield almost like that of the "spade guinea" of George III., bearing France ancient and England quarterly, ensigned with a crown of three *fleurons*. Lions couchant under the shield, each holding up an ostrich feather scrolled. Legend,

✠ Secretum : Ri[cardi R]egis : France : et : Anglie.

To a French document, dated in the 3rd year of the king. (*Add. Ch.* 7378. Three detached impressions of the same seal, xxxvi. 187.)

5. HENRY V. A poor fragment of a seal, of which enough remains to show the shield of France modern and England. (*Cart. Harl.* 43 E. 39.)

C. S. P.

^b The word "le" is erased, probably with the intention of inserting "n're."

main, et pur icelles paiementz il recevira le noble dor Dengleterre pour quatre franks de la blanche monoye ore courrante en France, ou autrement sept franks de mesme la blanche monoye pur les quatre franks susditz, et pur la residue de lavaunt dit temps sera le dit Johan payez de moys en moys par les mains du Tresorer general de France. Et sil aviegne que dedeins le dit temps, apres la fyn du dit quarter, la dite monoye de France soit change, enhanse, et mys a meillure allay et value quil nest de present, adonques du temps de mesme leschange sera le dit Johan paiey de moys en moys dautielx gages Journalx comes dessus pur lui et sa dite Retenue de la dite nouvelle monoye de la quelle il prendra le frank pur trois souldz desterlings. Et commenceront les ditz gages et Regard pur lui et les susditz hommes darmes et archers le Jour enquel le dit Johan fera premiere-ment sa monstre des mesmes les gens darmes et archers a la dite Bastille, apres la date de ceste presente endenture. Et fera le dit Johan monstres de lui et des ditz gens darmes et archers et sera tousjours prest ovesque sa dite retenue bien monte, arme, et arraie pur chivacher et faire service a les susditz roys come il sera mandez, qant et si sovent come il en sera duement garni et requi durant le dit temps. Et en cas q'aucuns des ditz gens darmes qant ils sont mandez pur chi vacher et faire service as ditz Roys soient trovez sanz monture convenable pur leur estat, adonques ne seront ils paiey pur icel temps forsque pour gages des hommes darmes a pee assavoir pur chacun autielle persone oyt deniers le Jour. Et paiera le dit Johan au Roy nostre dit seigneur en nomme come dessus les tierces des gaignes de guerre sibien dicelles desqueux les gens de sa Retenue seront a lui respoignantz de leur gaignes de guerre, soient ils prisonners, preyes, ou autres choses prises, comes de ses gaignes propres, et tous les droitz accustumez, et aussi lui Rendra et delivera tous les Capitains et lieutenantz, si aucuns durant le dit temps seront par lui ou aucun de ses ditz gens prises, pour lesqueux fera mesme nostre seigneur le Roy raisonnable agreement a celui ou ceulx qui les auront prins. Et sur la Retenue et demoere du dit Johan devers le^a tres excellent prince le Roy de France par manere come dit est, aura le dit Johan lettres patentes du dit Roy de France scelees desouz son grand seal. Et ad le dit Johan emprins de saufment garder a son loial povoir lavandit Bastille a lonneur et profitz des ditz Roys, et de non liverer icelle forsque a nostre dit seigneur le Roy Dengleterre, ou a ses heirs, en nomme de son dit pere, et delivrer a leur certain mandement par leur lettres. En tesmoignance de quelle chose a la partie de ceste endenture demorante devers le dit Johan nostre dit souveraine seigneur le Roy Dengleterre, en nomme come dessus, ad fait mettre son prive seal. Donné a Rouen le xxiii^e jour de Januer, Lan du grace Mille quatre centz et vyngt, Et du regne du Roy nostre dit souveraine seigneur oytisme.

(L.S.)

Indorsement :—

"An Indenture betwene the King & Sr. Jo: Fastolf, for the keping of an holde of St Anthony in Fraunce."

[TRANSLATION.]

This Indenture, made between [our] sovereign Lord Henry, by the grace of God King of England, heir and Regent of the realm of France, and Lord of Ireland, in the name of his very dear father Charles by the same grace King of France, and in his own name as Regent of the

^a lui in MS. by error.

realm of France, of the one part, and John Fastolfe Knight, of the other part, Witnesseth that the said John is retained towards the said Kings, to keep the Bastille of Saint Anthony of Paris from the day of the date of this present Indenture to the end of an entire year, next ensuing. And the said John shall have constantly remaining with him for the safe keeping of the aforesaid Bastille twenty men of arms including himself, and sixty archers throughout the said year, well mounted, armed, and arrayed for the war as appertains to their conditions. And the said John shall take wages of war, to wit, for himself two shillings, for each of the said other men of arms twelve pence a day with the usual reward, and for each of the said archers six pence a day during the aforesaid time; of which wages and reward the said John shall be paid for one quarter of a year of the same time in hand, and for these payments he shall take the gold noble of England for four franks of the white money now current in France, or otherwise seven franks of the same white money for the aforesaid four franks, and for the residue of the aforesaid time the said John shall be paid monthly by the hands of the Treasurer General of France. And if it should happen that, during the said time, after the end of the said quarter, the said money of France were changed, enhanced, and put at a better alloy and value than it is at present, then from the time of that change the said John shall be paid monthly such other daily wages as above for himself and his said retinue of the said new money, of which he shall take the frank for three shillings sterling. And the said wages and reward shall commence for him and the aforesaid men of arms and archers the day in which the said John shall first make his muster of the said gendarmes and archers at the said Bastille, after the date of this present Indenture. And the said John shall make musters of himself and his said gendarmes and archers, and shall be always ready with his said retinue well mounted, armed, and arrayed to ride and do service to the aforesaid Kings as he shall be commanded, when and as often as he shall be duly warned and required during the said time. And in case any of the said gendarmes when they shall be commanded to ride and do service to the said Kings shall be found without equipment fit for their condition, they shall not be paid during such time except for the wages of men of arms on foot, that is to say, for each such person eight pence a day. And the said John shall pay to the King our said lord, in name as aforesaid, the thirds of the gains of war as well of those for which the people of his retinue shall be to him answerable to him for their gains of war, be they prisoners, preys, or other things captured, as also of his own gains, and all the droits accustomed; and also shall surrender and deliver to him all the captains and lieutenants, if any during the said time shall be taken by him or any of his said people, for the which our said lord the King shall make reasonable satisfaction to him or those who have taken them. And for the retainer and attendance of the said John towards the very excellent prince the King of France, in the manner aforesaid, the said John shall have letters patent of the said King of France sealed under his Great Seal. And the said John has undertaken to keep safely, to the extent of his loyal power, the aforesaid Bastille, to the honour and profit of the said Kings, and not to deliver up the same save only to our said lord the King of England, or his heirs, in the name of his said father, and to deliver at their sure command by their letters. In witness of which matter to the part of this Indenture remaining with the said John, our said sovereign lord the King of England, in name as above, has caused to be put his Privy Seal. Given at Rouen the twenty-fourth day of January, the year of grace One thousand four hundred and twenty, and of the reign of the King our said sovereign lord the eighth.

X.—*A Notice of some remarkable Inscriptions on Leaves of Lead, preserved in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum. Communicated by*
WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq.

Read March 16, 1871.

IN the year 1841 the British Museum purchased of the Reverend Thomas Butler, among some of the most valuable manuscripts and antiquities it possesses, six remarkable inscriptions, one Greek, four Latin, and one Italian, apparently inscribed with a sharply pointed stylus, upon plates of lead, beaten or hammered to about the thickness of a wafer, and now completely patinated.* As these do not appear to have been published, I propose to lay before you a description of them, accurate copies of their texts, and a few notes explanatory of the history and dates to which they refer.

1. The first, in the Greek language, is of rectangular shape, measuring three five-eighths by nearly four inches, upon a thin *bractea* or leaf of lead now patinated with a rich brown oxide, and roughly indented on the edges, the result either of injury or decay. It bears the following inscription :

ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΑΘΗΝΗΣΙΝ ΒΟΥΛΗΝ
ΚΑΙ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΝ ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΟΥΣΙ
ΤΟΝ ΔΗΜΟΝ ΣΙΝΕΠΙΧΩΡΗΣΑΙ
ΤΟΤΣ ΕΨΦΙΣΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΕΤΒΟΛΩΙ
ΦΙΛΑΝΘΡΟΠΟΙΣ ΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΙ ΔΕ
ΤΟΔΕ ΤΟ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ
ΣΤΕΛΗΝ ΛΙΘΙΝΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΗΣΑ
Ι ΕΝ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ.

The irregular method of spelling here noticed is not by any means an uncommon instance. We must bear in mind that at the period to which this belongs, that is probably between the eighth and the thirteenth century, Greek was written and pronounced, as indeed it is in the present day, with regard to the accent

* Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 12,117.

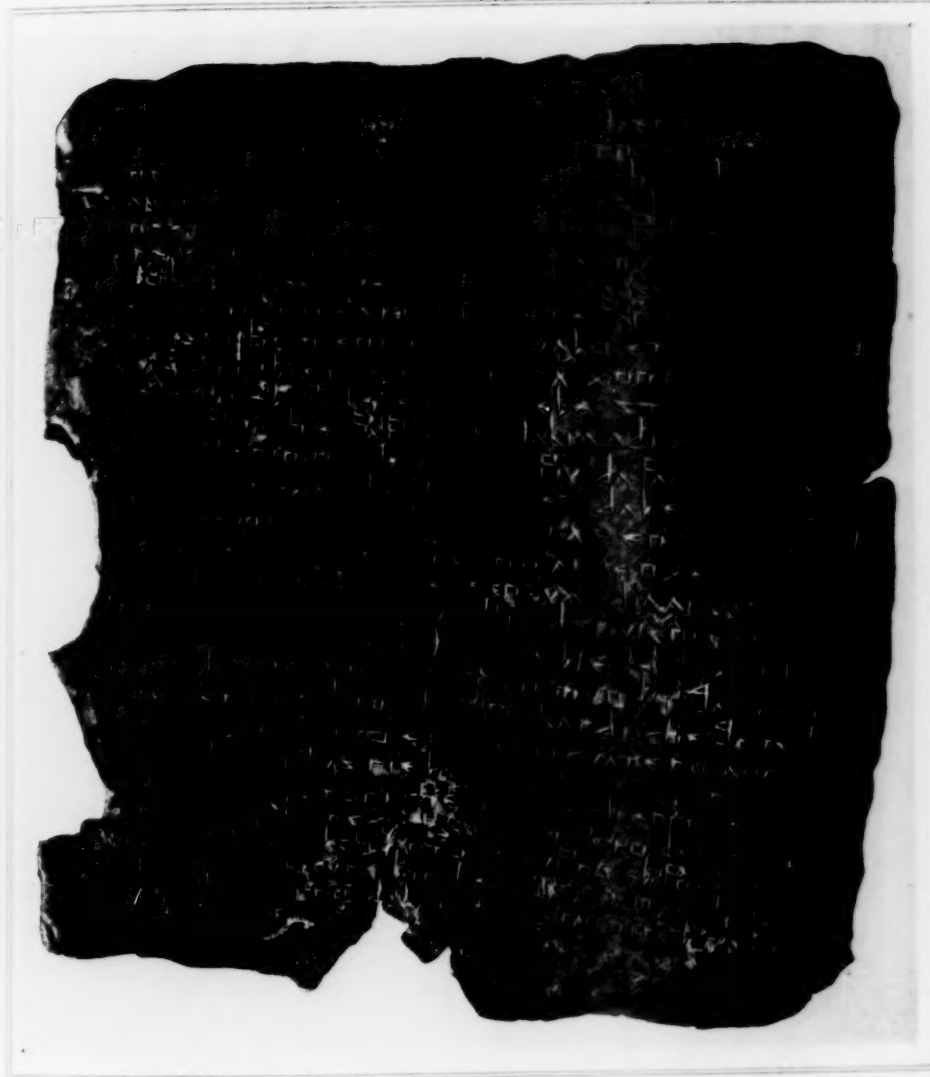
alone; this fully accounts for the η lost in the word ἐψφισμένοις; as for the σ in φιλανθρωποῖς, and for the ϵ in στελῆν, it is probably the fact that there was no material difference in the sound of σ or ω , of ϵ or η . As ν was pronounced like our y , συνεπιχωρησαι conveyed to the Greek ear the same sound as συνεπιχωρήσαι. Professor Babington considers the inscription badly copied or spurious. He proposes to read it as follows:—

... ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων βουλὴν καὶ ἐκκλησίαν, παρακαλέουσι τὸν δῆμον συνεπιχωρήσαι τοῖς ἐψφισμένοις Εὐβούλῳ φιλανθρώπως, ἀναγράφαιδὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στήσαι ἐν Δημήτρῳ, ἄρχοντος

... to the Athenian senate and assembly; they recommend the people benevolently to concede to what has been voted in favour of Eubulus, and to inscribe this decree on a pillar, and to place it in the temple of Ceres (?) Dated by the archonship of ?

2. An inscription upon a lamina of lead hammered to a very thin leaf, and from its appearance not so pure as the others of this series; it is now very much corroded and oxidised by the action of the air, and has been glued to a piece of card for security. In shape it is rudely rectangular, measuring three inches long by nearly four wide, and containing seventeen lines of Latin inscribed in a character somewhat resembling at first sight the Assyrian from the peculiarly angular manner in which it has been cut. The following is a transcript of the words in Roman type:—

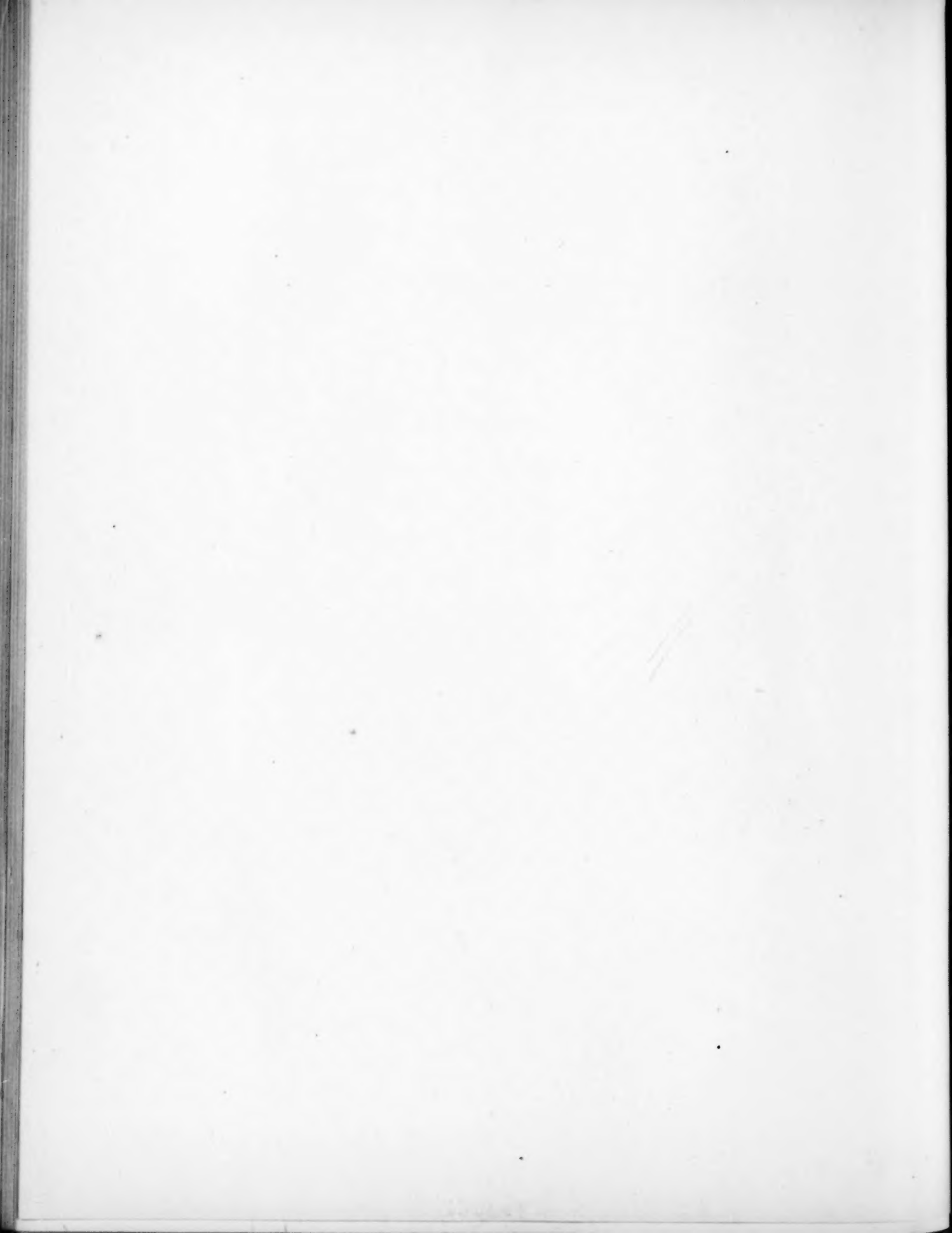
1. ano dcccxxiv in quoque diebus paulus
2. exarchus ravenne primas bononias ve-
3. niens et cum primatibus de illa civita-
4. te ad veneticos postulans quatenus
5. propriam urbem quam ildebrandum nepos
6. luitprandi regis et peredeus vicenti-
7. nus dux captam habuerat tutari atque
8. defendere eorum auxiliis potuisset—
9. cuius venetis faventes petitionibus
10. navali exercitu et cum bononiensem
11. classem ad prelibatam ravennam urbem
12. properantes—unus illorum ildebrandus
13. scilicet vivus ab illa captus est alter
14. vero qui dicebatur peredeus occisus
15. dimicando occubuerat et ravenna a fe-
16. deratis ad exarcha reddata fuit—
17. memor veneta—primo bello.



Helicovera

INSCRIBED PLATE OF LEAD, BRITISH MUSEUM.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries in London, 1872.



The inscription reduced to its probable meaning should read thus :—

Anno dccxxiv. Iis quoque diebus Paulus Exarchus, Ravennæ primas, Bononias veniens, et cum primatibus de illa civitate ad Veneticos postulans, quatenus propriam urbem, quam Ildebrandus, nepos Luitprandi Regis, et Peredeus, Vicentinorum dux, captam habuerat, tutari atque defendere eorum auxiliis potuisset. Cujus Venetici faventes petitionibus, navali exercitu et cum Bononiensi classe ad prælibatam Ravennam urbem properantes; unus illorum, Ildebrandus scilicet, vivus ab illâ captus est, alter vero, qui dicebatur Peredeus, occisus dimicando occubuerat, et Ravenna a fœderatis ad Exarchum reddita fuit.

memor veneta—primo bello.

This inscription forms an actual portion of the *Chronicon Venetum*, written by Johannes, and ending in 1008, in Pertz's *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, vol. vii. p. 12, wherein we find the following :—

Cujus quoque diebus exarchus Ravennæ primas Venetias veniens, nimiumque Veneticos postulans, quatenus propriam urbem, quam Ildebrandus nepos Liubrandi regis et Paradeus Vicentinus Dux captam habuerant, tueri atque defendere eorum auxiliis potuisset. Cujus Venetici faventes petitioni, navali cum exercitu prælibatam Ravennam ad urbem properantes, unus illorum, Ildebrandus scilicet, vivus ab eis captus est; alter vero qui dicebatur Paradeus, occisus dimicando occubuerat. Atque huiusmodi exarcho prælibato primati urbs decenter est restituta.

But whether the chronicler quotes from this tablet, or the tablet forms a portion of his work, is not easy to distinguish. I am inclined to think the former of these alternatives the most likely.

Luitprand, King of the Lombards, reigned from A.D. 712 to A.D. 744; Hildebrand, his nephew, becomes king (in conjunction with him) A.D. 736, and is dethroned in A.D. 744. The received date of Paul, as Exarch of Ravenna, appears to be about A.D. 727—728, which, if correct, is at variance with the date of the inscription. But if we consider him *titular* exarch and primate of Ravenna, according to the exact wording of the inscription, the date will correspond.

Ravenna became an exarchate, and capital of all Grecian Italy, in A.D. 568, and so remained until captured by Astolfus, King of the Lombards, in A.D. 752.

The following extract from Rubeus explains the circumstances mentioned in the inscription :—

. . . . Cum vero* Carolus se longe viribus imparem cerneret, in primis ab amico Luitprando opem exposcit, qui cum lectissimo militum robore in Galliam profectus, ad Ravennatem obsidionem persequendam, Ildebrandum nepotem, et Perendeum Vicentinorum duces reliquit. Hi post

* Hieronymi Rubei *Historiarum Ravennatum* libri decem: Venetis, 1572, p. 187. Cf. Pauli Diaconi libri sex *de Origine et Gestis Regum Langobardorum*, 1514, lib. VI. cap. xv.

Luitprandi discessum, rei bene gerendæ occasionem nacti, per aliquot nobilium factionem, qui Cæsaris imperium ægre ferebant, urbe potiuntur, annum a partu Virginis circiter dccxxv Paulus Exarchus, quem Johanni Tyzocopo Leo Secundus Cæsar subrogaverat, elapsus fuga, ad Venetosque profectus, magno honore exceptus est, quem secuti sunt paulo post Gregorii Pontificis internuncii per litteras causam Exarchi commendantis, quarum litterarum exemplum ex Bernardo Justiniano, lib. x. descriptum hic apponendum putavimus.

The continuation will be given in the account of the next inscription, being the text of the papal letter. In consequence of the papal appeal, Ursus, Doge of Venice, collects his forces, and routs the two usurpers with the assistance of the Exarch. The statement of Rubeus thus concludes :—

Eo prælio^a Perendeus, Vicentinorum dux, fugiens in Pineto occubuit; Ildebrandus in Ursi ducis potestatem venit. Exarcho sua restituta sedes est.

3. This inscription is also upon a plate of lead, hammered very thin, but in fair preservation, covered with a fine rich brown patina, and measuring six inches in width by four-and-a-half in length. The words are contained in fourteen lines, and are quite legible and perfect, the character being similar to that of the last-mentioned inscription. In Roman type it reads thus :—

1. gregorius episcopus servus servorum dei ad filii nostri
2. de civitate bononie salutem et apostolicam benedictionem
3. quia peccato faciente ravennantium civitas que erat caput
4. omnium a neccidenda gente langobardorum capta est et
5. filius noster eximius exarchus apud bononias ut cogno-
6. vimus moratur debeat nobilitatibus vestris ei adherere
7. et cum eo vicepariter decertare ut ad pristinum statum
8. sancte reipublice imperiale servitio dominorum filiorum-
9. que nostrorum leonis et constantini magnorum impera-
10. torum ipsa revocetur ravennantium civitas ut zelo et amo-
11. re fidei nostre in statu reipublice et imperiali servitio
12. firme persistere domino cooperante valeamus domine vos
13. incolumnen custodiat dilectissimi filii.
14. datum rome anno domini dccxxviii—tertia—id—mart.

The probable meaning of the inscription is :—

Gregorius Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, ad filios nostros de civitate Bononiæ salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Quia, peccato faciente, Ravennantium civitas, quæ erat caput

^a Rubeus, p. 190.

omnium, a neccidenda gente Langobardorum capta est, et filius noster eximius exarchus apud Bononias, ut cognovimus, moratur; debeat nobilitatibus vestris ei adherere, et cum eo vicepariter decertare, ut ad pristinum statum sanctæ reipublicæ imperiali servitio dominorum filiorumque nostrorum, Leonis et Constantini, magnorum imperatorum, ipsa revocetur Ravennantium civitas, ut zelo et amore fidei nostræ in statu reipublicæ et imperiali servitio firme persistere, Domino cooperante, valeamus. Dominus vos incolumes custodiat, dilectissimi filii.

Datum Romæ, Anno Domini DCCXXXVIII. Tertia Id. Mart. [13 March, 738.]

If the date of the inscription be correct, the Gregory herein mentioned is Gregory III., who was Pope from A.D. 731 to A.D. 741. Leo III., surnamed "Isauros," was Emperor from A.D. 717 to A.D. 741, and his son Constantine, surnamed "Copronymos," received the title of *Augustus* in A.D. 720, and was Emperor from A.D. 741 to A.D. 775.

Jaffé in his *Regesta Pontificum*, p. 177, Nos. 1670—1671, assigns this letter to Gregory II., who was Pope between the years 715 and 731, and considers it to have been indited before A.D. 729. This authority mentions that a similar rescript was addressed to Antoninus, Patriarch of Grado.

Rubeus and other chroniclers print this rescript in various forms, as below, (the abbreviated words correspond with the tablet) :—

Gregorius Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio Urso Duci Venetiarum.

Quia, pe. favente, Ravennatum ci., quæ multarum caput extat ecclesiarum, a nefanda ge. Longobardorum ca. est, et fi. no. ex. Dominus ex. ap. Venetias, ut cog., mo., deb. nobilitas tua ei adh., et cum eo, nostra vice, pariter de., ut ad pr. st. sa. reipub. in imp. ser. Dom. f.-que nos. Le. et Cons., Mag. Imp., ip. rev. Ravennatum ci., zelo et am. sanctæ fi. nos. Deus te incolumem cust. dilectissime fili.

Rubeus, l. c.

Greg. Ep. ser. ser. Dei, dilecto filio Urso Duci Venetiarum, &c.

Quia, pe. fac., Ravennatum ci., quæ ca. er. om., a neccid. ge. Longobardorum ca. est, et fi. no. ex. Dominus Ex. ap. Venetias, ut cog., mo., deb. nobilitas tua ei adh., et cum eo, nostra vice, pariter de., ut ad pr. st. sa. reipub. in imp. serv. Dom. f.-que nos. Leo. et Const., Mag. Imp., ip. rev. Ravennatum ci., ut ze. et am. fi. nos. in st. reipub. et imp. serv. fir. per., Do. co., va. Deus te incolumem custodiat, dilectissime fili.

Andreas Danduli *Chronicon*, apud Muratori, *Rerum Ital. Scriptt.* xii. 135.

Dilectissimo fratri Antonino Gregorius.

Quia, pec. fac., Ravenantium ci., qui cap. er. om., ab neccid. ge. Longobardorum cap. est, et fi. no. ex. dominus Ex. ap. Venecias, ut cog., mo., deb. tua fraterna sanctitas ei adæ. et cum eo, nostra vice, pariter de., ut ad pr. st. sa. reipub. et imp. ser. dom. f.-que nos. Leo. et Const., Mag. Imp., ip. re. Ravenantium ci., ut ze. et am. sanctæ fi. nos. in st. reipub. et imp. ser. firmi per. Dom. quo coop. va. Deus te incolomen custodiat, dilectissime frater.

Johannis *Chronicon Venetum*, apud Pertz, *Monumenta Germanicæ Historica*, vii. 12.

4. The fourth inscription is upon a similarly thin plate of hammered lead of rectangular shape, measuring when perfect four-and-a-half inches long by four broad; the edge is mutilated on the left side, and the centre of the lower edge is split and defective. This plate, which is represented on a somewhat enlarged scale by the accompanying photograph (Plate III.) printed in carbon by the Patent Heliotype process, contains thirty-one lines of words written in the peculiarly angular character already described, and in a language to all appearance that in use among the Venetians in the earliest days of the thirteenth century. The following is a correct transcript of the text in Roman type :—

(Add. MS. 12, 177 d.)

1. en telo anno dñi dclxxiv gavendo carolo re dei fran-
2. chi fato granda asedianxia a papia contero desede-
3. rio re dei lombardi che ghiara drento en cuela ce-
4. tae—carolo el mandete dai vienixiani et dai bo-
5. noniesi soi amixi et fedei parche i ghe daga
6. aiutanxia contero el so perfedo nemigho—i vie-
7. nexiani de subeto par el fluvio pado i ghe mande-
8. te venticuatero galioni ben armai co euatero
9. nobeli che saveva far la guara su cuei naveghi
10. et i bononiesi i ghe dete par auxilio sie mile
11. dei soi homeni tra a cavalo et par tara—tuti
12. cuexti aliati cuando i sa xonto i se mete-
13. te en tel pado et en tele strade a far dei
14. dani parche papia no gabia adiutorio—lo re
15. desiderio no gavendo piu a far defexa et
16. par la fame et par la pexte et da le muolestie
17. dei nemixe sendo la cetae en continue ba-
18. rufe el sa fato prexon ai venxiori—lo re
19. carolo el lo metete en guardia ai bononiesi
20. coi soi fioi sui naveghi dei vienixiani en-
21. sin che el li mandete a liege gavendo fato
22. condemnation—en sto muodo ga finio el
23. barbero regno dei lombardi che ga regnex-
24. to par duxento et venticuatero anni en
25. grande angustie la etalia—
26. cuexta enstori che la fo scherita en mem-
27. branacea da mexier orso hipato da hieraclia
28. et sendo alchquanto corrupta e la fo da mi marin
29. dandulo procurador de saneto marchio fato
30. spiegamento dal latino sermone lo anno
31. dñi mcccii.

The equivalent in modern Italian words would be something like this:—

Nell' anno 774 Carlo Rè dei Franchi avendo fatto grand' assedio a Pavia contro Desiderio Rè dei Lombardi che era dentro quella città, Carlo mandò ai Veneziani ed ai Bolognesi, suoi amici e fedeli, perchè gli dessero aiuto contro il suo perfido nemico. I Veneziani subito gli mandarono pel fluvio Pò ventiquattro galleoni ben armati con quattro nobili che sapevano far la guerra, sui quali navigli i Bolognesi [anche] gli diedero per ausilio sei mila dei loro uomini di Cavalleria e di Fanteria [*lit. per terra*]. Tutti questi alleati, quando furono riuniti, si metterono a far danno al Pò ed alle strade, perchè Pavia non ricevesse aiuto. Il Rè Desiderio non potendo più far difesa a causa della fame e della peste, e delle molestie dei nemici, la città essendo in continue baruffe, fù fatto prigioniero dai vincitori. Rè Carlo lo mise in guardia coi Bolognesi coi suoi figli, sui navigli Veneziani, finchè lo mandasse in legami doppio averne fatto condamnazione. In questo modo finì il barbaro Regno dei Lombardi che [già] aveva tenuto l'Italia in grande angustie per ducento ventiquattro anni.

Questa storia che fù scritta in membrana da Messer Orso Hipato di Hieraclia, essendo alquanto corrotta, fù da me Marin Dandolo, Procuratore di San Marco, spiegato dal Latino sermone nell' anno 1202.

Rubeus contains the following contemporary account of the events mentioned in the inscription:—

..... Carolus Gallorum Rex, comparato exercitu, per inaccessas rupes, non sine multorum cæde transmissis Alpibus, Desiderium Ticinum rejecit, atque eadem in urbe conclusum, altera tantum eademque prima copiarum parte obsedit; alteram dimisit ad alias Longobardi nominis urbes capiendas: atque ipsam præsertim Veronam, ubi Desiderius liberos et uxorem, argentum, aurum, vestem, elegantioremque ac præstantiorem suppellectilem deposuerat. Romam ipse ad Pontificem profectus, maximis honoribus exceptus est. Ibi aliquot dies moratus, patritii Romani dignitate impetratâ, multisque una cum Hadriano compositis rebus post sextum obsidionis mensem ad urgendum gravius Ticinum revertitur. Desiderius, desperatis rebus, deditionem facit; ob quam Longobardorum regnum, quod per ducentos ac viginti annos Italiam occupaverat, finem habuit. Carolus, quod dono Pipinus pater Stephano secundo Pontifici Maximo dederat,^a ac potius restituerat, idem ipse, et inter cetera Exarchatum Ravennatem, Ravennamque ipsam amplioribus privilegiis jurejurando confirmavit. Pontifici autem et Carolo Longobardam gentem non omnino delere visum est, multis arctisque affinitatibus cum Italico sanguine conjunctam et Ravennatem Exarchatum Romanam provinciam appellari, quam modo corrupta voce Romagnam vocamus.^b

Desiderius, last King of the Lombards, was besieged by Charlemagne at Pavia [= Ticinum], and taken captive in A.D. 774; he was afterwards sent to the monastery of Corbie, where he died.

^a Stephen II., by this possession of Ravenna in A.D. 754, laid the foundation of the temporal power of the Holy See.

^b Rubeus, *l. c.*, p. 202. Cf. Carolus Sigonius *de Rebus Bononiensibus Historia*. Frankf. 1604, p. 33.

Orso Ipato, or Ursus Hypatus of Eraclia (an ancient town close to the Venetian archipelago, between Albinum and Opitergium on the sea coast;—see Filiasi, map 2, vol. vii., and index, pp. 87-89;—also called Melidissa, or Citta Nuova), was the third Doge of Venice [726-737], and many interesting particulars of the part he played in Venetian history may be read in Filiasi, *Memorie de' Veneti*, tom. v. p. 213, chapter xvi.-xvii. and index, vol. vii. p. 192, for a synoptical review of his life. See also tom. iii. pp. 62—84, chapter vii. for an account of the ancient state of Eraclia. It would appear that he died 37 years before the events stated in the concluding sentence to have been written by him on a parchment; but probably there were other Orsi of this well-known and most powerful family of Eraclia, whose struggles for supremacy are discussed with interesting length by Filiasi. (*loc. cit.*)

Marinus Dandulus, Procurator of St. Mark at Venice, was a near relative of Enrico Dandolo, or Henricus Dandulus, Doge of Venice from A.D. 1192 to 1205. The name of Marin Dandolo occurs in the *Inscrizioni Veneziane* of Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna, iv. p. 541, as a witness in A.D. 1210 to a deed, wherein he is styled “Consigliero del Doge Pietro Ziani.” He appears to have been A.D. 1229 unsuccessful in obtaining the vacant Dogeship, when Jacopo Tiepolo was elected, on the retirement of Pietro Ziani, who had succeeded Henrico Dandolo in A.D. 1205.*

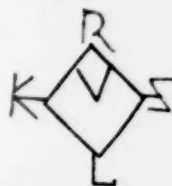
5. A very thin leaf of hammered lead, rectangular in shape, measuring about six and a half by four inches, now much cracked and oxidized with a fine chocolate-coloured patina. It contains thirteen lines of Latin, inscribed in a character similar to that already described. The following is the text of the inscription in Roman type:—

1. in nomine sancte et individue trinitatis carolo divina ordinante clementia
2. imperator augustus —
3. hic enim fecit et ordinavit anno christi —dececi— occidentalis imperialis titulos
4. est adeptus—ita quidem occidentali imperio ab orientali avulso ut neapolis

* Il Caroldo dice “che parve al Tiepolo appena creato doge di andar a visitar m. Marin Dandolo ch' era stato suo concorrente, il quale giaceva a letto, et si scusò non poterlo admetter allora. Fu stimato che ciò facesse in disprezzo del duce perchè non lo teneva di quella nobiltà com' era esso Dandolo, della cui prole erano stati molti degni cittadini, et massimamente m. Henrico Dandolo che fu duce di singular virtù dal quale la repubblica Veneta deve riconoscer gran parte della grandezza sua; et anco diceva essergli spiaciuta questa nuova forma di ascender per sorte al ducato.”—Cicogna, *Inscriz. Venez.* iv. pp. 534, 535.

5. et sipontum orientem versus cum sicilia grecorum esset beneventum
6. remanerent longobardis—veneti neutri parti adscriberentur—status
7. ecclesie liber esset cum exarchatu ravenne sine bononia que per servitios
8. et fidelitate prestata carolo magno imperatori declarata fuit libera ab
9. omnibus jurisdictionibus et muneravit ad eam comaclum cum piscariis et adia-
10. centiis suis in perpetuo teneant et possideant disponantque utilitas ipsius
11. loci pro beneficio civitatis quieto tramite vivere et residere debeant
12. anno dominice incarnationis decci—quarto decimo kal—octobris.
13. actum in urbe bononie—

signavit



The probable equivalent in correct Latin would be as follows:—

In nomine Sanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis Carolus divina ordinante clementia Imperator Augustus. Hic enim fecit et ordinavit, anno Christi decci: occidentalis imperialis titulos est adeptus:—ita quidem occidentali imperio ab orientali avulso, ut Neapolis et Sipontum orientem versus cum Sicilia Græcorum esset:—Beneventum remaneret Longobardis:—Veneti neutri parti adscriberentur:—status ecclesiæ liber esset cum Exarchatu Ravennæ, sine Bononiâ, quæ per servitia et fidelitatem præstitam Carolo Magno Imperatori declarata fuit libera ab omnibus jurisdictionibus; et muneravit ad eam Comaclum cum piscariis et adjacentiis suis in perpetuo; teneant et possideant disponantque utilitates ipsius loci pro beneficio civitatis; quieto tramite vivere et residere debeant. Anno Dominicæ incarnationis decci. Quarto decimo kal. Octobris. [Sept. 18.]

Signavit

Actum in urbe Bononiæ.

Karolus. [Monogr.]

By this instrument, dated 18 September, 801, Charlemagne assumes the title of *Occidentalis Imperialis*; fixes the boundary between the Eastern and Western Empire by a line drawn from Naples to Siponto (now Manfredonia) on the opposite coast; the territory to the east, including Sicily, but excluding Beneventum, which was to remain under the rule of the Lombards, is apportioned to the Greeks; Venice is to remain neutral; the States of the Church, that is, the temporal power first commenced by Pope Stephen II. in the year 754, in his possession of Ravenna, are to be free, and retain the Exarchate of Ravenna, but not Bologna, which is hereby declared free, and *Comacchio* is ceded to this latter city.*

* Cf. Rubeus, *l.c.*, p. 208. *Circ.* 801. "Cymaclum etiam [Carolus] cepit; quamquam, ut ex vetustissimis constat Ursianæ Bibliothecæ monumentis, Ravennatum jurisdictio ad omnes illas civitates permanebat."

With regard to the assumption of title by Charlemagne, the account given by Carolus Sigonius in the *Historia de Rebus Bononiensibus*, Frankf. 1604, p. 33, is as follows:—

Ineunte inde anno a Christo nato octingentesimo primo, Carolus a Leone III. Pontifice, ad cuius defensionem adversus pravam Romanorum libidinem advocatus accurrerat, virtutis ergò ac benevolentiae, quam ergà rempublicam Christianam haberet, Occidentis Imperator appellatus est, vetere post trecentessimum vicesimum quintum annum titulo renovato.

Rubeus also says:—

Ad Carolum igitur redeo, qui Romam profectus, nocte quæ ob Christi Dei ortum anniversaria vicissitudine celeberrima habetur, sceptro dato, coronam Imperii ingenuitatis accepit, et confestim Romanus Imperator ac Cæsar Augustus appellatus est, anno a partu Virginis primo supra octingentesimum.

6. This leaden plate measures six inches in breadth by five and a quarter in length, and is very much cracked. The edge has been mutilated, and the left-hand upper corner is wanting, a piece of metal one inch broad by one and a half long being required to complete it. The inscription is contained in twenty-one lines, and is in a character corresponding to that in which the previous inscriptions are written.

The injury appears to have been done by some one who has made a rubbing of the inscription which broke under the operation. Fortunately the plate was wrapped up in a paper containing an eighteenth-century transcript of the words before the mutilation was effected; but this also is now so much faded as to be in parts illegible. The words here introduced in brackets come from this source. The inscription in Roman type would stand thus:—

1. b]ononie
2. [in nomin]e sancte et individue trinitatis ludovicus secundus
3. [divina c]lementia imperator semper augustus in suam fidelem civitatem
4. [bononi]e convocare fecit nuncios de omnibus civitatibus lombard[ie]
5. [que su]nt cremona mediolanum laus bergomum ferraria brixia verona
6. [vicens]tia patavium tarvisium ravenna ariminium mutina regium parma
7. [place]ntia bobium derthon vercelle novaria obizo marchio malaspina
8. [.]s de brenone et omnes castelani in societate statuerunt
9. [pace]m cum pontifice romano et ut que concedit carolmagno principe
10. [ius]to et magnanimo—imperator ludovicus habere debeat sicut
11. [an]tecessores habuisse fodrum regale et consuetum consuetam
12. pacatam cum tendit romam corone causa et pacatum transitum
13. et comeatum idoneum pacate transeat et sine maleficio

14. sacramentum a vasis accipiat omni ofensione remissa—vasali
15. expeditiones pro eo suscipiant ut solent cum tendit romam corone.
16. cause—ad civitatem bononiam libertatem et munificentiam permisa
17. sint legibus propriis ita vivere et alteri non liceat mutare volun-
18. tatem suam signum domini imperatori
19. clotarius cancellarius recognovi augusti.
20. et subscripsi
21. data—ii—id—Febr.—anno incarnationis
22. decelvii in civit—bononie feliciter—amen.

confirmáv(t)

The import intended to be conveyed by this instrument is probably as follows :

. Bononiæ.

In nomine Sanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis, Ludovicus Secundus, divina clementia Imperator, semper Augustus, in suam fidelem civitatem Bononiæ convocare fecit nuncios de omnibus civitatibus Lombardiæ, quæ sunt, Cremona, Mediolanum, Laus, Bergomum, Ferraria, Brixia, Verona, Vicentia, Patavium, Tarvisium, Ravenna, Ariminum, Mutina, Regium, Parma, Placentia, Bobium, Derthon, Vercela, Novaria, Obizo, Marchio, Malaspina, s de Brenone, et omnes Castelani in societate statuerunt pacem cum Pontifice Romano, et ut, quæ concederunt Carolo magno Principi justo et magnanimo, Imperator Ludovicus habere debeat, sicut antecessores habuerunt, fodrum regale et consueta[dine]m consuetam pacatam cum tendit Romam coronæ causâ, et pacatum transitum, et commeatum idoneum pacate transeat; et sine maleficio sacramentum a vasalli accipiat, omni offensione remissâ; vasalli expeditiones pro eo suscipiant, ut solent cum tendit Romam coronæ causâ; ad civitatem Bononiam libertatem et munificentiam; permissa sit legibus propriis ita vivere et alteri non liceat mutare voluntatem suam.

Signum Domini Imperatoris Augusti.

Ludovicus [*Monogr.*]

Clotarius, Cancellarius recognovi et subscripsi.

confirmavit.

Data ii. Id. Febr. [12 Febr.] Anno Incarnationis dccclvii, in civitate Bononiæ feliciter. Amen.

Louis II., surnamed "Le Jeune," was born about 822, and became joint Emperor and King of Italy in 849, Emperor of the West in 855, and died in 875.

According to the tenor of this document a meeting of *nuncii* is held in Bologna, A.D. 857, from the various Lombard cities, namely, Cremona, Milan, Lodi, Bergamo, Ferrara, Brescia, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Treviso, Ravenna, Rimini, Modena, Reggio, Parma, Plaisanza, Bobbio, Tortona, Vercelli, Novara, Marca, Malaspina, and Breno, whereby various privileges, including the "*fodrum*"

regale" or royal due of fodder, *annona militaris*,^a are confirmed to the Emperor, who on his part confirms the freedom and immunity of Bologna.

These five tablets call our attention to a remarkable phase in the formation of the Italian language upon the base of the Latin. They are fairly preserved, considering the perishable nature of the material upon which they are inscribed. Many of the letters still retain the thin scraping of metal struck out by the stylus at the time of writing. The inscription dated A.D. 1202 shows the state of the dialect of Northern Italy previous to its crystallization under the hand of the immortal Dante at the extreme limit of this same century, the thirteenth^b; and those of the eighth and ninth centuries indicate the gradual corruption of the pure Latin forms into this state of transition.

Such forms as *tenean* for *teneant*, *utilitas* for *utilitates*, *consuetum* for *consuetudinem*, *servitios* for *servitia*, *reddata* and *prestata* for *reddita* and *prestita*, together with an almost general omission of one of the double consonants occurring in words compounded with a preposition, paved the way by an easy descent into the dialect now in use among the north-eastern Italians. The peculiar orthography of *sa xonto* for *se adjunxerunt* seems to point out that *x* had the sound of *sh* or *j*, as at present. But above all, the grammar, especially of subjunctive clauses, undergoes in these evidences a remarkable alteration from the well-defined rule of the Latin syntax into the uncertain and arbitrary methods seen in No. 5, l. 3, 10, 11; No. 6, l. 11, 13, 16.

Whether the date of the actual preparation of these documents is coeval with that of the events they indicate, or whether, as is perhaps more likely, they are to be referred to the early years of the thirteenth century, as in the case of the attestation of Marin Dandulo in No. 4, is not an easy question to solve.^c We

^a Ducange, *Glossarium*: s. v. *Fodrum*.

^b Cf. Vinc. Nannucci, *Manuale della Letteratura del primo secolo della Lingua Italiana*, 2 vols. Florence, 1856.

^c The existence of documents of this nature is corroborated by Mons. A. Deloye, in a dissertation *Des Chartes Lapidaires en France* in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, t. iii. II^{me} Series, p. 36. The writer asserts that only two such metallic charters are known in France. The one purporting to proceed from Charlemagne, "in pagina ærea," is suspected by Mabillon; the other, a bull of Pope Innocent III. (1198—1216), addressed to the Archbishop of Tours: "Quoiqu'on ne connaisse en France que deux chartes métalliques, . . . il est probable que le moyen âge en a produit autant que de chartes lapidaires. Si elles n'existent plus, c'est que les métaux s'altèrent par le feu, et qu'ils tentent la cupidité bien plus que le marbre ou les pierres, dont il est difficile de changer la destination."

* Cette bulle était conservée dans l'église de Tours sur une table de plomb; elle sanctionnait la soumission de l'église de Dol à l'archevêché de Tours. D. Morice, *Hist. de Bretagne*, t. i. pr. col. 759.

know that in the ninth century the custom of writing precious matter upon metallic leaves obtained; indeed the custom does not seem to have failed from the classical period when it was the fashion to inscribe maledictions upon leaden leaves, afterwards deposited in some sacred precinct, until the time when George Archbishop of Ravenna appropriated a copy of the New Testament written upon leaves of gold belonging to his cathedral;* on the other hand, the facts that the sentence, bearing date A.D. 1202, in No. 4, is written in a character bearing precisely the same features as those shown in the specimens of the eighth and ninth centuries, and that the contents of No. 2 occur almost word for word in the *Chronicon Venetum* of Johannes, brought down by the author to the year 1008, seem to point out that they are to be referred to a period contemporary with this later one; and looking at this side of the question as an established fact, and the improbability that two inscriptions, one written in A.D. 724 and the other in A.D. 1202, would exhibit the same characteristic form of lettering, we arrive at once at a choice between two courses; either that these tables must be considered to form part of the archives of Bologna, and were prepared by transcription from the actual originals composed in the times they treat upon, under the authority of that state, and in the thirteenth century,—in this case they may have been torn from larger sheets of lead containing a chronicle of which they are mere fragments;—or that they have been prepared by some clever inventor of the same mediæval time to illustrate a point in the history of Bologna, namely the privileges granted to it by the early emperors; important of course, but too well known and too universally admitted on all sides to require confirmation in so surreptitious a manner. From the philologist these inscriptions claim a long and careful investigation; in them he will find an alphabet, resembling at the first glance that of ancient Assyria, being mostly composed of characters formed with wedge-shaped indentations; a language remarkable as a border-land between the luxuriance of Roman rhetoric and the barrenness of barbaric solecisms—albeit in some of its forms foreshadowing a new glory yet to come upon it; and a grammar as peculiar as the language in which it is expressed, or as the alphabet in which it is written. To the antiquary these few leaves of soft lead, pre-

* Georgius or Gregory was appointed to the see of Ravenna in A.D. 838; he "... saisit les trésors de son église." Deodatus or Diudonné succeeded in A.D. 846. (Richard & Giraud.) "*Novæ etiam divinæ legis instrumentum, tabulis ex auro incisum, compluresque preterea ex auro coronas de templo Divorum Johannis et Pauli abstraxerat* [Georgius], ut Hludovici Secundi filiam, cui Geltrudæ nomen est impositum, dum sacrâ baptismatis undâ perfunderetur, sustineret, muneribusque donaret amplissimis." (Rubeus, p. 214.)

served for seven hundred or it may be a thousand years, so well as to show still clinging to them the curled shreds scraped out by the stylus of the scribe, seem to promise that the series of which they form so small a part may yet be brought to light; and it is sufficient for me to say that, at present, they are considered unique specimens of their kind. To the historian, whether of Italy or of Europe, they present accounts of importance in the shape of direct, new, and irrefragable proofs connected with the history of Northern Italy at a time involved in some doubt and obscurity.

XI.—*On Mediæval Representations of the Months and Seasons. Communicated
by JAMES FOWLER, Esq., F.S.A., Local Secretary for Yorkshire.*

Read November 23rd, 1871.

NONE of the phenomena of Nature can earlier, or more widely, or more deeply have attracted notice and curiosity than the phenomena of the Seasons; and none, probably, earlier or more widely became embodied in art and poetry. For that reason few subjects, probably, would prove of greater interest in themselves, or in the light which they reflected, incidentally, on the life and thought of those who have gone before us, if undertaken by an accomplished antiquary, than the enumeration, and description, and comparison of the different modes of representing the Seasons employed in different countries and ages, from the earliest to the latest times. Few subjects, on the other hand, could be chosen less fit for unexhaustive or discursive treatment, or that would sooner exhibit the incompetence of him who is incapable of more. I would willingly, however, bear this reflection, should the notes which I have collected be thought worthy of the attention of this Society, or should they, imperfect as they are, hereafter induce others, more able than myself, to contribute what they have seen and thought upon the subject.

It would seem that in the middle ages, whether in illuminated manuscripts, early printed books, clogg almanacs, cut stone, carved wood, metal-work, incised pavers, encaustic tiles, mosaics, wall-paintings, or painted glass, representations of the months and seasons were of frequent occurrence. For each Month, the custom was to represent the corresponding sign of the Zodiac, or some characteristic symbol or occupation, or both, with or without the name of the month or other inscription. The Seasons were usually represented by symbols or occupations only.

Representations of the occupations of the months or of the signs of the Zodiac are so common in ancient manuscripts, early printed books, and clogg almanacs, that it will be unnecessary to mention more than one or two of each by way of example.

The Calendar, Cotton. MSS., Tiberius, B. v. in the British Museum, is not less interesting for the manner in which the labours of the months are depicted than

for its early date, being referred by Mr. Bond to, probably, the end of the tenth century. This series was engraved by Strutt (*Horda Angel Cynnan*, vol. i. tab. x. xi. xii.) and is referred to by Sharon Turner in his *History of the Anglo-Saxons* (vol. ii. p. 546). It is as follows:—

MONTHS.	OCCUPATIONS.
JANUARY - -	Men ploughing, with four oxen. One in front, drives; another holds the plough; and another, behind, scatters seed. (1.)*
FEBRUARY -	Three men pruning trees, of which some resemble vines. (2.)
MARCH - -	A man digging; another breaking the ground with a pick; and a third sowing. (3.)
APRIL - - -	Three persons (a man between two women) are sitting upon an ornamental settle, feasting, with two attendants; one is pouring out liquor into a horn, and another is blowing a horn or pipe. (4.)
MAY - - -	A shepherd is sitting; his flocks are about him, feeding; one man has a lamb in his arms; three other persons are looking on. (5.)
JUNE - - -	Three men, each with a sickle, are cutting standing corn; another is stooping, as though about to bind some up; three are filling a cart; and one is blowing a horn. (6.)
JULY - - -	Three men are felling trees, with axes; one is lifting the trunk of a tree into a cart; two oxen, yoked, are standing by. (7.)
AUGUST - -	Four men, with scythes, are mowing grass; one is sharpening his scythe with a whetstone; one is standing by with a fork. (8.)
SEPTEMBER -	A boar hunt, with spears and dogs; a servant blowing a horn. (9.)
OCTOBER - -	Hawking. (10.)
NOVEMBER -	A large fire, and heap of wood by the side of it, from which a man is taking a faggot to put on; three men holding out their hands as though to warm them. (11.)
DECEMBER -	Two men are threshing, with flails; others are carrying grain in a basket slung upon a pole; one has a measure, as if to ascertain the quantity; and another, on a notched stick, seems to be marking what is measured and taken away. (12.)

* The Arabic numerals inclosed in parentheses refer throughout to the notes which will be found at the end of the paper.

There is another illustrated calendar of about the same date, also of English workmanship (Julius, A. VI.), and of later periods there are several, in which both the occupations of the months and the signs of the Zodiac are represented. A series of signs of the Zodiac exists in a calendar of the early part of the twelfth century, in the Cathedral Library at Durham; and numerous other examples of different dates might be supplied from public and private sources in various parts of the kingdom.

The illustrated calendars in early printed books are also numerous. One of the pages in the Cologne Edition of Bede, headed "*Mensium Notæ*," is occupied by a series of small wood-cuts and mottoes emblematical of the months of the year, full of Gothic feeling. The sign of the Zodiac belonging to each month is shown in the upper part of the cut, in a cloud, and the symbol occupies the remainder of the space; but the pictures do not seem to have much to do with the letter-press with which they are bound up, or, in all cases, even with the mottoes attached to them.

MONTH.	MOTTO. (13.)	SIGN. (14.)	SYMBOL.
JANUARIUS - -	Poto,	A man pouring water out of a vessel under his arm, for Aquarius	A king and three others feasting at a table spread with viands. A large fire of wood blazing on the hearth. (15.)
FEBRUARIUS - -	Ligna cremo,	A fish, for Pisces	Two men felling trees. (16.)
MARTIUS - - -	De vite superflua demo.	A ram, for Aries	A man training a vine up some trellis-work; another digging with a spade; a woman sowing seeds in a flower-bed; behind, two pots with plants in them. (17.)
APRILIS - - -	Do germen gratum, (18)	A bull, for Taurus	A hunting scene. A stag, pursued by dogs and men, is running; one man holds a pair of greyhounds by a string, and blows a horn. (See note 9.)
MAJUS - - -	Mihi flos servit,	Two children, for Gemini	A crowned figure kneeling before a wayside cross. A priest (?) behind. (19.)
JUNIUS - - -	Mihi pratum.	An eight-legged reptile with narrow body, long tail, and two horns and eyes, for Cancer	Sheep-shearing. Two figures seated on stools, with sheep on their knees, are clipping with spring shears. (20.)
JULIUS - - -	Spicas declino,	A lion, for Leo	Two men mowing grass, with scythes; a third, with a rake, making a hay-cock. (21.)

MONTH.	MOTTO.	SIGN.	SYMBOL.
AUGUSTUS - -	Messes meto,	A female figure reclining, with a bunch of corn in her hand, for Virgo (22.)	Two men cutting corn with sickles and hooks, the latter apparently for holding the corn before cutting it. A woman holding up a sheaf (See note 6.)
SEPTEMBER -	Vina propino.	A pair of scales, for Libra	Apple-gathering; one man up a tree, mounted on a tall ladder. (23.)
OCTOBER - - -	Semen humi jacto,	Eight-legged reptile something like a lobster, for Scorpio	One man gathering grapes; another bearing a basket-ful on his shoulders; two others treading a vat, from which the juice is running into a tun; a fifth pouring wine out of a jug into a hooped cask by means of a funnel. (24.)
NOVEMBER - -	Mihi pasco sues,	A half man, half horse, shooting an arrow, for Sagittarius	Men knocking down acorns from oaks, with staves; swine below, feeding. (25.)
DECEMBER	Mihi macto.	A goat, for Capricornus	A man leaning over a pig, preventing its escape with his left hand, and running a knife into its throat with his right; a woman catching the blood in a receptacle at the end of a pole like a warming pan; another man hurrying a pig onward to be killed. (26.)

On the Runic Calendars and Staffordshire Clogg Almanacs, to which a new interest has been given by the able paper of Dr. J. Barnard Davis, in the *Archæologia*, xli. 453-478, the months and days of the month are represented, as is well known, not only by notches and by symbols of Saints' days, but by symbols also of the characteristic employments of the different seasons. Thus, upon a Runic Calendar, engraved by Cahier in his *Caractéristiques des Saints*, we have as follows:—

MONTH.	DAY.	SYMBOL.
JANUARY -	1	A drinking-horn with the mouth turned to the left, for the prolongation of the Christmas feast. (See note 15.)
	5	The same, with the mouth turned to the right, to indicate that the feast is interrupted.

MONTH.	DAY.	SYMBOL.
JANUARY - -	13	The same, inverted, to indicate that the feast is ended.
	25	A bow, for the commencement of the winter hunting season.
FEBRUARY - -	13	A pruning hook, or grafting knife. (See note 2.)
	28	A flat fish, for the fishing season.
MARCH - - -	1	A full-faced sun, indicative of spring.
	2	A hut, with an ox's head, showing that oxen still require to be tended before going out to grass.
	5	A leg, crossed by a shuttle, that good housewives may now weave stockings for their families. (See note 67.)
	10	A tree in leaf.
	21	An instrument of agriculture, resembling a kind of hoe, or drill, for the spring sowing season. (See note 3.)
	30	A barrel, for March beer.
APRIL - - -	1	A ship, for navigation season.
	13	A tree shooting, and a little white flower. (See note 39.)
	25	A tree in full leaf, with a bird singing on one bough. The cuckoo in some countries is supposed to sing for the first time this day. (See note 75.)
MAY - - -	1	A large bird, for the hatching time of domestic fowls.
	9	A small bird, for the hatching time of small wild-fowl. (See note 75.)
	22	A fish, for fishing season; and A tree in full leaf, for the season. (See note 75.)
	30	A milk-pail, for the plentiful supply now rendered by the newly springing pastures. (See note 51.)
JUNE - - -	8	A fishing line, for salmon and pike.
	15	A turnip, which plant now begins to emerge from the soil.
JULY - - -	4	A sheaf of corn, or bundle of hay, for harvest. (See notes 21 and 68.)
	15	A rake, surrounded by stars, possibly to indicate that at this time the harvest should be got in by night as well as day.
	17	A bunch of fruit hanging from a stalk. (See note 43.)
	24	A twig with acorns on, to indicate that now the acorns (hog food) have begun to form.
AUGUST	10	A flail, harvest being now in. (See note 73.)
	17	A harrow, indicating that, notwithstanding, the husbandman has no rest.
	24	A pole, with hops on.
SEPTEMBER -	4	Shears, for sheep-shearing.
	8	A flock of birds, indicating the migration of swallows about this time.

MONTH.	DAY.	SYMBOL.
SEPTEMBER -	11	An acorn, inclined towards the ground, for the fall of hog-mast. (See notes 25 and 44.)
	15	A little bird; the northern peasantry leaving the last sheaf of oats out for the birds, when their harvest was got in.
	19	A stag, for hunting. (See note 9.)
OCTOBER - -	1	A fish, for the autumnal catching and salting time.
	4	A wool-card, for the wool shorn in the month but one preceding.
NOVEMBER -	1	A boat upside down, for the end of navigation.
	11	A goose, in season at Martinmas.
DECEMBER - -	1	The barbed end of an iron staff, for walking on ice.
	1—5	A sledge, the chief means of transport in the winter of the North.
	9	A can of beer, for the festival of S. Anne, the patron of good housewives.
	16	A shuttle and wool, for housewives by the winter fire-side. (See note 67.)
	25	Two horns crossed, for the commencement of the Christmas feast and social pleasure. (See Note 33.)
	31	A horn, to indicate its continuance.

On Dr. Davis's magnificent enamelled Runic Calendar we have:—

MONTH.	DAY.	SYMBOL.
JANUARY - -	1	Two drinking-horns, one across the other.
	6	One drinking-horn.
	13	The same, inverted.
	25	A bow and hunting-knife.
FEBRUARY - -	25	A fish.
MARCH - - -	7	A leg with an arm above it, and then a shuttle.
	24	A goat browsing.
APRIL - -	3	A fish.
	13	A tree in leaf.
	18	A cow standing with a calf laid by her. ("Llouth after calve cu.")
	25	A little bird singing on the branch of a tree.
MAY - -	1	A flock of nine birds flying in the air; below, a boat turned upside down.

MONTH.	DAY.	SYMBOL.
MAY - - -	12	A goose standing.
JUNE - - -	9	A man seated on the edge of a stream, fishing.
	18	Two beautiful flowers.
	30	A small shrub in full bloom.
JULY - - -	3	A beautiful plant in flower.
		A scythe, for the hay.
	15	A rake with twelve stars above it.
	25	A small plant like a strawberry, with two ripe fruits upon it. A knife stands up in the midst.
AUGUST - -	3	A sack standing up, filled with corn.
	17	A harrow.
	24	A long straggling hop-plant.
	30	A stag running to the right.
SEPTEMBER -	8	A basket filled apparently with flowers and fruit.
	12	A tree, probably indicative of the ripeness of hog-mast.
	18	A hog.
	25	A barrel.
OCTOBER - -	1	A boat turned right side up.
	5	A harrow.
	14	A tree with flowers upon it.
	22	A horse galloping, to the left.
	25	A straggling tree, with a bird on one branch.
NOVEMBER -	11	A goose.
DECEMBER - -	4	A sledge.
	21	A drinking-horn. The time for brewing Christmas ale.
	25	A figure of the infant Jesus, nimbed, with five cornucopiæ striped of various colours.

It will be remarked that, in the manuscripts, the ideas of the artist are conveyed in as complete and full a manner as possible. In the cloggs, on the contrary, space and time having to be economised to the utmost, the ideas—even though more numerous, are conveyed in as rudimentary and yet suggestive a form as possible. The old wood-cuts are intermediate between the two; the details being not so full as in the former, while they are fuller than in the latter. And in the following series, much of the interest will be found to reside in (though our space

will not permit us to dwell upon) the manner in which the artist, in each instance, curtails or develops the manifestation of the idea according to the varying nature of his material and resources. And first, of those representations in which, from the nature of the material and other causes, the modes of representation are necessarily restricted.

As early as the year 1790, a series of months sculptured upon a Norman font at Burnham Deepdale, in Norfolk, was brought under the notice of this Society by the Rev. Samuel Pegge (*Archæologia*, x. 177, and pl. xix.). It was again referred to by Dr. Sayers, in 1808 (*Disquisitions*, p. 257); and, more recently, is described by Mr. Blyth, in his *Historical Notices and Records of Fincham*. In the following description I have been assisted by a rubbing made by the Rev. E. R. Kerslake, of Deepdale. The words within inverted commas are Dr. Pegge's.

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
JANUARY - -	" A figure seated, with a drinking horn in his hand." (See note 15.)
FEBRUARY - -	A man seated, thickly clothed, warming himself. (27.)
MARCH - -	" A husbandman digging," with a spade. (See note 3.)
APRIL - - -	A man pruning a tree, holding a hooked knife in his right hand and a branch of a tree in his left. Another tree behind. (28.)
MAY - - -	" A female figure with long hair, having a banner in her hand. Behind her a tree in full foliage." (See note 19.)
JUNE - - -	" A man weeding." (29.)
JULY - - -	" A husbandman mowing." (See note 21.)
AUGUST - -	" A husbandman binding up a sheaf of corn." (See notes 6 and 22.)
SEPTEMBER -	" A husbandman threshing," with a flail; corn lying at his feet. (30.)
OCTOBER - -	" A vintner putting wine into a cask." (31.)
NOVEMBER - -	" The sticking of a pig." The animal is seated on its haunches, raised on its fore-feet, whilst a man holds it from escaping with one hand, and with the other runs a pointed knife into its throat. (32.)
DECEMBER - -	A table spread for feasting, and four persons seated at it. (33.)

A very similar series occurs upon a leaden Norman font at Brookland, Kent. (*Archæological Journal*, vi. 159; *Archæologia Cantiana*, iv. 87, in both of which the font is engraved.) The signs of the Zodiac are represented in compartments of an upper arcade, and the corresponding labours of the months in the compartments of an arcade below. The names of the signs are written above each in Latin, and of the months above the corresponding symbols in Anglo-Norman. The subjects are "all very much clogged with paint," and the details therefore considerably obscured.

MONTH.	SIGN.	SYMBOL.
CHRIST - - - -	A[q]VARIVS - -	A two-faced figure, seated behind a table, feasting. (See note 15.)
FEBRVARI - - - -	PICES - - - -	A figure seated, thickly-clothed, wearing a hood, (?) warming himself at a fire. (See note 27.)
MARCHI - - - -	CAPRICORN (<i>sic</i>) -	A thickly-clad rustic in a peaked cap, pruning a shrub, apparently a vine. (See note 17.)
AVRIL - - - -	TAVRVS - - - -	A bare-headed figure in a long robe, holding in each hand a sprouting plant. (See note 18.)
MAY - - - -	GEMINI - - - -	A gentleman on horseback in a long cloak, with his head covered, and a hawk on his left fist. (See note 58.)
IVNI - - - -	CANCER - - - -	A rustic, bare-headed, in a short tunic, mowing with a long-bladed scythe. (See note 42.)
IVLIVS - - - -	LEO - - - -	A man with a broad-brimmed hat and long coat, "working with what seems to be meant for a rake." The attitude is that of "weeding," but the implement, as represented, looks more like a rake. (See notes 83, 87, and 29.)
AVGVST - - - -	VIRGO - - - -	A man, in the same costume as the preceding, reaping. With his left hand he gathers up the ears of standing corn, which he cuts down with the sickle in his right. (See note 6.)
SEPT[EM]BRE - -	LIBRA - - - -	A man bare-headed, with naked feet, in a short tunic, threshing with a flail. (See note 30.)

MONTH.	SIGN.	SYMBOL.
[Oc]TOBRE - - -	SCORPIO - - -	A man bare-headed, standing in a hooped vat, or wine press, and in his right hand holding a bunch of grapes. (See note 31.)
NOVEMBRE - - -	SAGVTARIVS - - -	A swineherd in a pointed hood, boots, and cloak, beating with a hooked stick (no tree is shown); and, beneath, a hog feeding. (See note 25.)
DIESEMBRE - - -	CAPRI	A man in a long coat and hood, about to kill a pig with an uplifted axe. The latter will fall with the back, not the edge, on the neck of the pig. (See note 26.)

It was, however, upon the early Norman doorways that the representations of the months were of the most frequent occurrence. Viollet-le-Duc, speaking of France, says, "Dès le xi^e siècle, les portails de nos églises possèdent des Zodiaques sculptés sur les archivoltes des portes. Nos grandes cathédrales des xii^e et xiii^e siècles sont toutes pourvues de ces signes, sculptés toujours d'une manière très apparente." (*Dict. Raisonné de l'Architecture Franc. Art. Zodiaque.*) Though this is far from having been the case in England, so far as we may judge from existing examples, yet several more or less perfectly preserved Zodiaes on Norman doorways remain. The best with which I am myself personally acquainted is the one upon the porch of S. Margaret's church, York. An engraving of it was published by Drake in 1736. (34) "This church," he says, "has one of the most extraordinary porches, or entrances, I ever observed; it is such an elaborate piece of *Gothick* sculpture and architecture that I have thought fit to subjoin a draught of it." The engraving is, however, a very poor one, and the order in which the subjects occur in the original is reversed. It was also once engraved by Cave, of York, and better still by Carter. But the best engraving and description of the porch of all were published in 1827 by Mr. Browne, of York. I differ from him, however, in the interpretation of some of the subjects. The porch consists of five successively receding arches; and the flat face of what in later architecture would be called the hood-mould, is divided into twenty-six compartments, containing (and this is most singular) the signs and symbols of the thirteen months of the Anglo-Saxon embolismic year. The Saxon months were, as is clear from Bede, lunar. The year began on Christmas

Eve, or, more strictly speaking, on the day of the full moon preceding. In common years, three months were appropriated, as by us, to each of the four seasons; but every third, sixth, eighth, eleventh, fourteenth, seventeenth, nineteenth, &c. year, necessarily, according to this system, contained thirteen months instead of twelve; and the intercalary month was added to the summer season. The embolismic years, accordingly, besides the summer month—*Weod-monath*, had three months (instead of two) of the name of *Lida*, and were hence called *Thri-lidi*. (35) This is the tradition which is preserved in so interesting a manner on the S. Margaret's porch, the date of which must be, I think, fully as late as the reign of Stephen. The compartments do not follow one another at present in their natural order. "Mais," as M. Viollet-le-Duc again observes, "*souvent ces signes, dans nos monuments, ne sont pas à leur place. Étant sculptés sur des morceaux de pierre, avant la pose, claveaux ou assises, les ouvriers ne suivaient pas toujours l'ordre dans lequel ils devaient être placés, et cet ordre était interverti.*" In this instance, at least, the displacement arose, as I think is evident, from the ignorance and carelessness of those who moved the porch from its original position (36) to the place where it now stands; one of the stones being laid at once both inside out and upside down, and others out of the places they were cut for; so that the principal arch is now giving way, and must fall before long, unless something is done to secure it. I possess an excellent photograph of the porch, and a grass-rubbing, taken whilst, happily, it yet remains "un-restored." In the following arrangement I have given the series as I conjecture it to have stood originally, with references to the compartments as they follow one another at present.

Com-part-ment.	SIGN.	MONTH.	Com-part-ment.	SYMBOL.
1	A man, bearing something in his arms—defaced, for <i>Aquarius</i>	January -	2	A figure with two heads, seated; traces of inscription round the margin, defaced. (37.)
3	Two fishes, united by a line passing from mouth to mouth, for <i>Pisces</i>	February -	4	A man sitting in a chair, warming himself at a fire; inverted. (See note 27.)
9	A ram, in good preservation and very distinct, for <i>Aries</i>	March - -	10	A man pruning a tree; much defaced; more distinct in Drake's engraving. (38.)

Com-part-ment.	SIGN.	MONTH.	Com-part-ment.	SYMBOL.
11	Now completely gone, but in Drake's engraving, a bull, for <i>Taurus</i>	April - -	5	A man holding up something in each hand. (39.)
6	A young man and maid standing face to face, for <i>Gemini</i>	May - -	7	A man with an ox, now very obscure, but probably intended originally to represent some agricultural employment.
14	An eight-legged creature with a long body, pointed nose and rounded tail, for <i>Cancer</i>	June - -	8	Two leaves apparently of the vine, side by side, united by their stalks. (40.)
	SYMBOL. (41.)			SIGN. (41.)
12	A man mowing with a scythe (42.)	Intercalary month.	13	A fret emblematic ornament, for the <i>intercalary month</i> .
15	A man weeding, with a <i>Falcatrum</i> (See note 29.)	July - -	16	A lion passant, lashing his loins with his tail, for <i>Leo</i> .
17	A reaper (Browne). The man is now entirely gone, but there is still some indication of standing corn, and a sickle (See note 6.)	August - -	18	A fine tall female figure with long flowing hair, holding something in her hand, probably corn, for <i>Virgo</i> . (See note 22.)
19	A man gathering fruits, apparently grapes, judging from the slender twisted stalks on which they grow (43.)	September -	20	A man holding a pair of scales in his hand, for <i>Libra</i> .
21	A man with a crook (Browne) or stick knocking down acorns from a tree; three pigs feeding below (44.)	October- -	22	A four-footed reptile with a pointed head and nowed tail, for <i>Scorpio</i> .
23	A man killing a pig with an axe—by decapitation (45.)	November -	24	A figure with the body, legs, and tail of a horse, with, rising out of the chest, the body of a man holding a bow in his left hand and shooting an arrow with the right, for <i>Sagittarius</i> .

Com-part-ment.	SYMBOL.	MONTH.	Com-part-ment.	SIGN.
25	A man seated at a table spread for a feast (See note 33.)	December -	26	A figure with the head and fore quarters of a goat, and the wings and nowed tail of a dragon, for <i>Capricornus</i> .

It was stated in 1814, by Britton (*Beauties of England and Wales*, p. 612), that "one of the capitals on the south side of the west doorway (of the Abbey Church at Malmesbury) is charged with a figure of Sagittarius, and it is likely that the Zodiacal signs were represented in some of the oval compartments which extended round the arch." I am not aware what amount of foundation there may have been at that time for the inference, but it has been too often concluded, in other instances, from the presence of a Sagittary, that sculptures have been Zodiacal, when—at Adel, for instance—they are merely grotesque, or, possibly, the badge of King Stephen, who may have adopted it for the same reason as Augustus adopted the sign Capricornus, and placed it upon his coins. At present there are traces of three oval compartments above the capital, but so defaced that it is impossible to say what they are intended to represent. An apparently careful observer, however, in the year 1634 (Lansdowne MSS. No. 213) writes that "At the West Doore, w^{ch} was her entrance, are curiously cut in freestone the seuerall postures of the Moneths," which certainly goes far to support Mr. Britton's conjecture.

The two doorways communicating between the cloisters and the nave of Ely Cathedral are both richly sculptured, and have each a figure of our Lord in a *vesica piscis*, with the left hand resting on a book, and two fingers of the right raised in benediction. In one of the doorways the *vesica* is supported by angels, and the jambs below ornamented by medallions which appear, on a photograph which I have, to inclose either Zodiacal figures or labours of the months; but it is difficult to make out small sculptures accurately on photographs, even when we know what is represented, and engravings can rarely be trusted for correct details.

At Brinsop, Herefordshire, now built into the north wall, within the church, opposite the south door, there is a representation of St. George and the Dragon, surrounded above by figures, amongst which *Taurus* and *Pisces* are clear, and I

think *Leo* ; but the arch has been re-built, and the original position of the stones disturbed. *Sagittarius* occurs on the arch of the north doorway.

A man killing a pig with an axe, and a *Capricornus*, occur at Alne, near York. Though not there Zodiacal in significance (46), they are nevertheless of interest, as showing how those subjects were treated in Zodiacal representations of that (Norman) period.

Similarly a *Sagittarius* and *Pisces*, each in a medallion, appear on an early tomb in Conisborough church, Yorkshire.

The west doorway of Ifley church, Oxfordshire, has sculptured upon its hood-mould a series of fourteen compartments, twelve of which appear to represent the signs of the Zodiac, beginning with *Aquarius*. It is engraved both by Skelton and Britton, and it is stated by the latter that there are similar doorways at Stewkley and Kenilworth.

Much later, the twelve signs of the Zodiac are sculptured upon the bosses of the groined vaulting between the front quadrangle and the Fellows' quadrangle, of Merton College, Oxford. The arms of Henry VII. are in the centre. *Gemini* are two children in fifteenth-century costume, and *Virgo* is also a girl of that period. *Libra* is a judge in his robes, and *Pisces* the dolphin of Fitzjames, Warden 1482—1507, and afterwards Bishop of London. The rest of the signs are represented in the usual manner.

On the continent, as we should infer from the remark of M. Viollet-le-Duc, already quoted, perfect Zodiacs and series of the months are far more common than with us. Thus, on the archivolt of the great west doorway of the Cathedral of St. Mark, at Venice, begining on the left-hand side of the spectator as he enters, we have the series of signs and symbols given below ; "separated, however, into two groups, at its centre, by a beautiful figure of the youthful Christ sitting in the midst of a slightly hollowed sphere, covered with stars, to represent the firmament, and with the attendant sun and moon set one on each side to rule over the day and over the night." (47).

MONTHS.	SIGN.	SYMBOL.
JANUARY - -	"Wavy lines, representing water," and perhaps a figure, originally, now "broken away," for <i>Aquarius</i> .	A man carrying wood,—“a noble tree on his shoulders, the leafage of which nods forward, and falls nearly to his feet.” (48.)

MONTHS.	SIGN.	SYMBOL.
FEBRUARY - -	A pair of fishes, "prominently carved above" the accompanying symbol, for <i>Pisces</i>	An old man in a fur tunic and hood, "sitting in a carved chair, warming his bare feet at a blazing fire." (See note 27.)
MARCH - - -	A ram, "superbly carved above" the accompanying symbol, for <i>Aries</i>	An armed warrior, bare-headed, his hair in disorder, carrying in his right hand a spear, and in his left a shield, on which is depicted the lion of St. Mark. (49.) At his feet an infant, which looks at him as he blows a trumpet. (See note 72.)
APRIL - - -	<i>Taurus</i>	A man carrying a sheep on his shoulders and holding a branch in his right hand. (50.)
MAY - - -	"Two heads," for <i>Gemini</i>	A figure "seated, while two young maidens crown him with flowers." (51.) Around, the letters MAO.
JUNE - - -	Above the accompanying symbol, "worked with great spirit," <i>Cancer</i>	A man cutting corn with a sickle. "The corn and sickle sculptured with singular care and precision in bold relief." (See note 6.)
JULY - - -	<i>Leo</i>	A man mowing grass, "of great interest, owing to the care with which the flowers are wrought out among the long grass." (See notes 21 and 76.)
AUGUST - -	"The Virgin," above the accompanying symbol, "lifting up her hand," for <i>Virgo</i>	A man sitting in a chair, resting his head upon his right hand as if asleep, and holding in his left a staff. Around, the letters AGOSTO.
SEPTEMBER -	<i>Libra</i>	A man carrying a hod ("a basket," Ruskin,) filled with grapes. (See note 43.)
OCTOBER - -	<i>Scorpio</i>	A man "wearing a conical hat, digging busily with a long spade." (52.) Around, the letters OTOBRO.
NOVEMBER - -	<i>Sagittarius</i>	A man catching small birds with a net. (53.) Around, the letters NOV Also, Leda and the Swan. (54.)
DECEMBER - -	<i>Capricornus</i>	A man cutting a pig's throat. (See note 26.)

In the Baptistery of the cathedral at Parma, placed in what may be called the triforium, without any order, are several detached fragments, which appear at some time or other to have formed a series of signs of the Zodiac and symbols of the months.

SIGN.	SYMBOL.
<i>Aquarius</i> , defaced - -	Three men,— a. One, tilling the ground. (See note 1.) β. Another lifting a pail from a well. γ. Another watering the ground. (55.)
<i>Pisces</i> - - - -	A man digging. (56.)
<i>Aries</i> - - - -	A man holding something to his mouth with his left hand (mutilated). (See note 72.)
<i>Taurus</i> - - - -	A king, holding in his right hand a branch. (See notes 19, 51, and 90.)
Two figures, apparently male and female, with a tree between them, for <i>Gemini</i> - - -	A man riding on horseback. (58.)
<i>Cancer</i> - - - -	A man cutting corn, with a sickle. (See note 6.)
<i>Leo</i> - - - -	A man guiding two horses. (59.)
A young female figure, gathering figs, for <i>Virgo</i>	A man hammering the top of a barrel with a mallet. (60.)
<i>Libra</i> - - - -	A man gathering grapes. (See note 43.)
<i>Scorpio</i> - - - -	A man standing with his right arm bared, and his fist clenched. (61.)
<i>Sagittarius</i> - - -	A man with gourds?
<i>Capricornus</i> - - -	A man pruning a tree. (62.)

On the outer edge of the soffit of the arch of the projecting porch over the central door of the *façade* of the cathedral at Parma is a series of symbols, as follows:—

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
JANUARY - - -	A man sitting with his left foot crossed over his right knee. (63.)
FEBRUARY - - -	A man sowing? (See note 1.)
MARCH - - -	A soldier leading a horse. (See note 58.)
APRIL - - -	A man pruning a tree? (See note 28.)
MAY - - -	A man reaping. (See note 6.)
JUNE - - -	A man making a barrel. (See note 60.)
ON THE KEYSTONE IS REPRESENTED THE SUN.	
JULY - - -	A man gathering grapes. (64.)
AUGUST - - -	A king, sitting, and holding in his right hand a cup. (See note 64.)
SEPTEMBER - - -	A man slitting a pig, i.e., dividing it lengthwise into two parts, whilst suspended by its hind feet. (65.)
OCTOBER - - -	A man cutting wood. (See note 11.)
NOVEMBER - - -	A man with two heads, warming himself at the fire. (See notes 37 and 33.)
DECEMBER - - -	A man carrying in his right hand a circular net, fastened to the end of a long pole, and in his left a basket. (See note 53.)

On the jambs of the north door of the cathedral at Modena, commencing at the bottom of the one on the right-hand side, is a series of symbols, with the names of the corresponding months beneath each, in Latin, without the signs of the Zodiac.

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
ON THE RIGHT JAMB.	
JANUARY - - -	? A woman in a hood and cloak (66.), sitting spinning. (67.)
FEBRUARY - - -	A man in a thick cloak sitting and warming his hands over a fire. (See note 27.)

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
MARCH - - - -	A man breaking boughs off a tree. (See notes 19, 51, and 90.)
APRIL - - - -	A man among vines? (See note 28.)
MAY - - - -	A man standing at a horse's head. (See note 58.)
JUNE - - - -	A man mowing with a scythe. (See note 42.)
ON THE LEFT JAMB.	
JULY - - - -	A man reaping corn, with a sickle. (68.)
AUGUST - - - -	A man raking.
SEPTEMBER - - - -	A man standing in a vat, crushing grapes. (69.)
OCTOBER - - - -	A man pouring wine into a cask. (See note 24.)
NOVEMBER - - - -	A man sowing. (70.)
DECEMBER - - - -	A man cutting wood. (71.)

On the projecting porch of S. Zenone at Verona, attributed to the twelfth century, there is a series of symbols, as follows :—

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
JANUARY - - - -	A man sitting, in a tall peaked cap, warming his hands over a fire. (See note 66.)
FEBRUARY - - - -	A man pruning a tree. (See note 2.)
MARCH - - - -	A man blowing two horns, his hair streaming behind him. (72.)
APRIL - - - -	A woman holding two flowers. (See note 39.)
MAY - - - -	An armed warrior, in a tall peaked cap, riding on horseback. (See note 58.)
JUNE - - - -	A man in a tree, gathering fruit.

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
JULY - - - -	A man, in a tall peaked cap, reaping corn with a sickle. (See note 68.)
AUGUST - - - -	A man, in a tall peaked cap, making a barrel. (See note 60.)
SEPTEMBER - - - -	A man carrying a basket of grapes to put into a vat. (See note 43.)
OCTOBER - - - -	A man knocking acorns off a tree; two swine beneath, feeding. (See note 25.)
NOVEMBER - - - -	Cutting a pig's throat. (See note 26.)
DECEMBER - - - -	A man carrying a bundle of sticks. (See notes 11 and 33.)

At the sides of the central doorway of the *façade* of the cathedral at Lucca, commencing at the right hand side and proceeding to the left, we have the following series :—

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
ON THE SOUTH SIDE.	
JANUARY - - - -	A man sitting near a fire and warming his hands. (See note 66.)
FEBRUARY - - - -	A man sowing. (See note 1.)
MARCH - - - -	A man pruning a tree. (See note 38.)
APRIL - - - -	A man standing, and holding in his right hand a flower. (See note 39.)
MAY - - - -	A man riding on horseback, holding something in his right hand. (See note 58.)
JUNE - - - -	A man reaping corn with a sickle. (See note 6.)
ON THE NORTH SIDE.	
JULY - - - -	A man thrashing with a flail. (73.)
AUGUST - - - -	A man gathering grapes. (See note 64.)

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
SEPTEMBER - - -	A man standing in a vat, crushing grapes. (See note 69.)
OCTOBER - - -	A man pouring wine into a barrel. (See note 24.)
NOVEMBER - - -	A man ploughing with two oxen. (See note 70.)
DECEMBER - - -	A man cutting up a pig. (See note 26.)

Over the arch of the projecting porch of the central doorway in the *façade* of the cathedral at Cremona, beginning on the left, there is the following series of signs and symbols :—

SIGN.	SYMBOL.
(Wanting) - - -	A man holding something to his mouth, and a woman holding something in her right hand (mutilated). (See note 72.)
(Wanting) - - -	A man holding in his left hand a flower. (See note 39.)
<i>Gemini</i> - - -	A man riding on a mule, holding something in his right hand. (See note 58.)
(Wanting) - - -	A man cutting corn with a sickle. (See note 6.)
<i>Leo</i> - - -	A man driving two horses. (See note 59.)
<i>Virgo</i> - - -	A man hammering a barrel. (See note 60.)
<i>Libra</i> - - -	A man gathering grapes; at his feet a barrel. (See note 43.)
<i>Scorpio</i> - - -	A man carrying a pail; a vine with a pig at the roots. (74.)
<i>Sagittarius</i> - - -	A man slitting a pig. (See notes 26 and 32.)
<i>Capricornus</i> - - -	A man cutting wood. (See note 71.)
<i>Aquarius</i> - - -	A man sitting and holding in his right hand a cup. (See note 15.)
<i>Pisces</i> - - -	A man digging. (See note 56.)

On the tympanum of the doorway of the Monastery of St. Ursin, in France, which belongs to the end of the first half of the twelfth century, there is a

series of labours of the months, with the names of the months corresponding written beneath each. The series begins with February. (M. de Caumont, *Abécédaire d'Archéol.* p. 166; and Viollet-le-Duc, *op. cit. Art. Sculpture.*)

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
FEBRUARY - - -	A man seated holding out his hands as in the act of warming them. (See note 27.)
MARCH - - -	A man with a hooked knife, pruning. (See note 17.)
APRIL - - -	Holding a flower, or leaf, in each hand. (See notes 18 and 39.)
MAY - - -	(Indistinct.)
JUNE - - -	A mower sharpening his scythe; grass at his feet. (See note 42.)
JULY - - -	Cutting corn with a sickle. (See note 68.)
AUGUST - - -	Thrashing with a flail. (See note 73.)
SEPTEMBER - - -	Pouring a basket of grapes into a vat; a vine adjacent. (See note 69.)
OCTOBER - - -	A man pouring wine out of an oviform bottle into a cask. (See note 24.)
NOVEMBER - - -	A man killing a pig with an axe; the cutting edge of the axe is about to fall on the back of the animal's neck. (See notes 45, 26, and 32.)
DECEMBER - - -	A man seated at a table spread for feasting. (See note 33.)
JANUARY - - -	A man seated, watching a pan upon a tripod, with fire beneath. (See note 66.)

On a doorway at Sens, the signs of the Zodiac occur in company with a series of symbols of the months. (*Annales Archéol.* xii. 139, and M. de Caumont, *Abécédaire d'Archéol.* p. 305.)

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
JANUARY - - -	An old man resting, apparently meditating.
FEBRUARY - - -	An old man warming himself. (See note 27.)

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
MARCH - - -	A man pruning a vine. (See note 17.)
APRIL - - -	A man sowing. (See notes 1 and 3.)
MAY - - -	A man and horse. (See note 58.)
JUNE - - -	A mower, for the hay. (See notes 42 and 21.)
JULY - - -	A reaper. (See note 68.)
AUGUST - - -	A man thrashing corn. (See note 73.)
SEPTEMBER - - -	The vintage. (See note 69.)
OCTOBER - - -	Pouring wine into a cask. (See note 24.)
NOVEMBER - - -	A wood-cutter making provision for the winter. (See note 11.)
DECEMBER - - -	A man killing a pig. (See note 26.)

The Great west doorway of the cathedral at Rheims is a magnificent work of the latter part of the thirteenth century. Above, is a colossal figure of the Blessed Virgin, crowned as a queen, holding the Holy Child; and below, upon the jambs on either side, are represented the labours of the twelve months of the year. In this beautiful series the signs of the Zodiac are absent. (*Annales Archéol.* xiv. 28.)

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
JANUARY - - -	A man seated at a table, at ease, feasting; a vessel of water or wine standing at the lower end. (See note 15.)
FEBRUARY - - -	A man warming himself before a fire, from which flames are issuing; in the chimney a bundle of sausages sculptured with singular felicity. (See note 27.)
MARCH - - -	A vine dresser tilling a vine. (See note 17.)
APRIL - - -	A vine dresser pruning a vine with a hook. (See note 28.)
MAY - - -	A young man, holding in the left hand a beautiful stalk of flowers, probably to offer to his betrothed. (See note 51.)

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
JUNE - - - -	A young man, seated upon an entire horse, leaving one behind him, and proceeding rapidly on the chase. (See note 58.)
JULY - - - -	Mowing a meadow. (See note 21.)
AUGUST - - - -	Cutting corn with a sickle. (See note 6.)
SEPTEMBER - - - -	One apparently thrashing corn. (See note 30.)
OCTOBER - - - -	Filling puncheons with new wine. (See note 24.)
NOVEMBER - - - -	A man returning home laden with an enormous bundle of wood, collected from the adjacent forest of Rheims. (See note 11.)
DECEMBER - - - -	One apparently killing a fat hog. (See note 26.)

On the plinth of the northernmost of the three great portals of the cathedral at Amiens (A.D. 1220—1228) the signs of the Zodiac and symbols of the months are finely sculptured. Two careful engravings of the series from drawings by Messrs. W. H. Lonsdale and E. C. Lee will be found in *The Architect* for 17th December, 1870.

SIGN.	SYMBOL.
The head and fore-quarters of a goat, with the hind-quarters and tail of a fish, for <i>Capricornus</i> .	A man killing pigs. One is suspended with its head downwards over a large tub (scalding tub); another is lying upon the ground, just dead; a third is about to be killed. A sharp-pointed knife is lying on the floor. (See note 26.)
A man pouring water out of a flask, for <i>Aquarius</i> .	Janus, with two heads, the one old and bearded, the other young and smooth, seated at a table spread for feasting. Two youths attending. (See notes 37, 15, and 33.)
Two fishes, connected by a line, in water, for <i>Pisces</i> .	An old man, thickly clothed, having taken off the boots which are lying at his side, is seated before a fire warming himself, his left hand raised to feel the heat, his right roasting a fish fixed upon a two-pronged fork; in the flame above, something cooking in a pot, suspended from the chimney by a hook; behind, a locker, with a jar standing on it. (See note 27.)
A ram walking; two bare trees behind; for <i>Aries</i> .	A man, with bare legs, digging with a spade about the roots of two vines, each twisted round a pole. (See note 2.)

SIGN.	SYMBOL.
A bull, lashing his loins with its tail; two trees, in leaf, behind; for <i>Taurus</i> .	A gentleman, standing with a hawk upon his fist; two trees, in leaf, behind. (See note 58.)
A young man and a young woman standing side by side, hand in hand, and looking into one another's faces; two trees in leaf behind; for <i>Gemini</i> .	A man seated under some trees; above, in one of them, a bird singing. (75.)
A crab, finely executed, for <i>Cancer</i> .	A man without shoes and, with the exception of a cap, naked all above his hips, mowing grass, in the midst of which are many little stalked flowers. (76.)
A lion statant behind a tree in rich leafage, for <i>Leo</i> .	A man, clothed like the last, cutting corn with a sickle; behind him sheaves of corn bound up. (See note 68.)
A female figure, fully draped, holding up apparently a fruit of some kind in her left hand, and a tree at either side, for <i>Virgo</i> . (See note 23.)	A man, in a tunic fitting closely to the neck and falling loosely to the knees, threshing corn with a flail. (See note 73.)
A female figure, fully draped, holding in her right hand a balance, for <i>Libra</i> .	A young man clothed like the last, but with shoes on, hooking down the branches of a tree to reach the fruit. (See note 23.)
A kind of six-legged tortoise-looking animal, with a fish's tail, for <i>Scorpio</i> .	A young man, bare-headed and bare-legged, treading grapes in a hooped, wooden vat. Two hooped barrels to the right, and vessels with fruit in to the left. (See notes 24 and 69.)
A figure with the hairy loins and tail and cloven feet of a goat, but with the head and chest and arms of a man, holding a bow, stretched, for <i>Sagittarius</i> .	A man, clothed like the last but one, sowing seed. (See note 70.)

The most perfect series of signs of the Zodiac and labours of the months,

known to M. Viollet-le-Duc, is upon the principal doorway of the Abbey Church of Vézelay, which belongs to the commencement of the twelve century. In the same situation, and connected with them, Christ and the twelve Apostles are also sculptured. I regret, however, that I have no notes of it in detail.

He also mentions a series, of the greatest interest, upon the jambs of the doorway on the right of the *façade* of the Abbey Church of Saint Denis. Preceding this series is a medallion which symbolizes the closing and opening year; the past and future. A man with two heads on one body stands upon the foliage which surrounds the medallion. One of the heads is old and bearded, the other young and unbearded. The bearded man is almost enveloped in a heavy garment, the unbearded is almost naked. The foot of the bearded one rests heavily on the border of the medallion; the foot of the unbearded is lifted lightly on to a spray of foliage. The bearded one places his hand upon a diminutive old man, whom he pushes into a house, the door of which already seems to move as though to close for ever; the unbearded opens the door of another house, and draws to him a little young one, who approaches nimbly and full of life. The little old one who withdraws is the past; the little young one who comes forward is the future. (*Annales Archéol.* xix. 220, where also is an engraving.) (See note 37.)

There is also a very beautiful Zodiac, of about the year 1220, upon the jambs of the doorway leading into the Lady Chapel, on the south side of the cathedral of Notre Dame, at Paris. The signs of the Zodiac and labours of the months are represented in company with personifications of Earth and Ocean below, and the Virgin and Child above. This series begins with December, the month of the Nativity. (Viollet-le-Duc, *Dict. de l'Arch.* ix. 551; *Annales Archéol.* vi. 103; ix. 105-108; and xiv. 27.)

The signs of the Zodiac and labours of the months are also found upon one of the great doorways of Chartres Cathedral (*Ann. Arch.* vi. 48; ix. 43); and on a doorway at Bazas. (*Ibid.* xii. 139.)

The signs of the Zodiac, without labours of the months, are represented upon a doorway (if I understand rightly) at Plaisance Cathedral. Each sign is accompanied by its name in Latin. The Sun and Moon also are represented; three of the principal winds, whereof "Eurus" is surnamed "Rex ventorum;" two stars, each in the form of a head emitting rays, held by angels, and inscribed respectively, "Angelus-Stella," and "Angelus-Stella commeta;" and in the midst the hand of the Almighty, blessing, with the words, "Dextera Dei." (*Ibid.* xiv. 166.)

In the Ducal Palace at Venice the symbols of the twelve months of the year are sculptured upon the eight sides of an early fourteenth-century capital. March on one, April and May on the next, June on the next, July and August next, September next, October and November next, December next, and January and February next. The name of each month is carved over its symbol. *Annales Archéologiques*, xvii. 199; and Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, ii. 362.)

MONTH.		SYMBOL.
MARCIVS CORNATOR	-	Seated and well clad; hands broken off, but doubtless held originally a horn, the remains of which are visible about the mouth of the figure; hair floating in the wind. (See note 72.)
APRILIS - - -	-	A young man richly clad with a chaplet of flowers (see note 39), and holding a little bull (Taurus) in his hands.
MAGIVS - - -	-	A young man richly clad crowned with roses; left hand broken, right holding a rose. (See note 51.)
IVNIVS CV CERESIS	-	A man with cherries in a basket; the cherries carved with great care, all their stalks undercut. (77.)
IVLIVS - - -	-	Reaping; the leaves of the straw are beautifully represented, shooting out from the tubular stalk. (See note 68.)
AVGVSTV' - - -	-	Armed with a mallet and chisel, tightening the hoops of a wooden vat. (See note 60.)
SEPTEBE SVPEDITAT	-	A man, crowned with vine leaves, standing in a wine-tub, and holding a branch of vine, from which he gathers grapes. (See note 69.)
OCTOBE - - -	-	Beating grain with a flail. (See notes 30 and 12.)
NOVEMBE - - -	-	Pouring something out of a sack into a round barrel,—? measuring of grain. (See notes 30 and 12.)
DECEM CAT SVVM	-	A man seated, killing a pig, which he holds between his knees. (See note 26.)
IANVARIVS - - -	-	An old man, thickly clothed, warming his feet at a fire. (See note 66.)
FEBRVARV' - - -	-	Frying fish. (78.)

Nearly akin to the representations in stone, are those in wood with which we

are acquainted. In the great museum at Copenhagen there are two ancient Icelandic chairs, of cornel wood, believed to have belonged originally to Holum cathedral, or to Modrevalle monastery. On the front of one of these the twelve signs of the Zodiac are represented, with their names and the names of the months to which they belong, partly in Runes and partly in Latin-Gothic letters. These are engraved by Worsaae, in his *Afbildninger fra det Kongelige Museum for Nordiske Oldsager i Kjobenhavn*; and described by Stephens, in his *Runic Hall of the Old Northern Museum at Copenhagen*.

The misericordes of the choir of Worcester Cathedral appear to have been adorned, in addition to a number of other subjects, with a series at least indicative of, if not actually representing, the months of the year. For an account, with photographs, of these interesting carvings, believed to have been executed in the year 1379, I am indebted to the Rev. C. Boutell. They were removed in 1551 (5 Edw. VI.), re-set up in 1556, removed again at the commencement of the present century to fix upon the cornice of a "compo" screen beneath the organ, taken down in 1865 when the screen was swept away, and are now about to be replaced in their original position, so far at least as that can be determined. At present they are arranged in no order whatever, and it is merely by conjecture that we can select from the series and arrange the following, thus:—

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
JANUARY - - -	A woman with a distaff (See note 67); and a man digging with a spade (See note 1.)
FEBRUARY - - -	An old man seated on a semi-circular three-legged arm-chair before a fire, on which a pot is placed, the contents of which he is stirring; a dog or cat warming itself at the fire; and two flitches of bacon hanging upon the wall. The man has taken off his boots and is warming his feet. (See note 27.)
MARCH - - -	A husbandman sowing seed. He has a seed-bag at his side, strapped over his shoulder, and on the ground on each side of him is a large basket, or pannier. His right hand seems in the act of casting seed on the ground. The toes of his boots are pointed oddly. (See note 3.)
APRIL - - -	A gentleman standing, wearing a cap, with hood drawn over his ears. He is enveloped in a cloak, and wears a sword; he also holds in each hand a branch of roses. (See note 39.)

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
MAY - - - -	A king, or crowned personage, with a horse richly caparisoned, led by a page. There has been a hawk on the fist, but only the claws of the bird are left. (See note 58.)
JUNE - - - -	Three men with scythes, mowing. (See note 42.)
JULY - - - -	Three men, in the midst of standing corn, with remains of the prongs of a crotch near the left foot of two, and of the curved blade of a weed-hook near the right foot of each of the three figures. The staff of the hook has therefore been held in the right, and of the crotch in the left hand of each. (See notes 29 and 87.)
AUGUST - - - -	Three men reaping corn with sickles; three sheaves on each side. The attitudes and expression are extremely animated. (See notes 6 and 22.)
SEPTEMBER - - - -	A huntsman sounding his horn, which winds round his body. (See notes 9 and 10.)
OCTOBER - - - -	A swineherd beating down acorns from a tree with a staff for two pigs underneath; foliage at each side. (See note 25.)
NOVEMBER - - - -	Sow and five pigs fattening for Christmas; conventional foliage at each side. (See note 25.)
DECEMBER - - - -	A butcher killing an ox. The man wears an apron and sharp-pointed shoes. (79.)

I am also indebted to Mr. Boutell for notes on the misericordes at Malvern. It would seem that there the choir stalls, of somewhat later date than those at Worcester, have been removed; but that, in the north aisle of the choir, four and twenty of them are arranged in a pair of rows, two blocks of six stalls standing in each row. The component parts of each block remain undisturbed, but there are grooves and fittings for misericordes now lost at one of the ends of each of the four blocks, showing that some, we know not how many, of the misericordes, are wanting. This may account for the series below being incomplete. The symbols of the months at Malvern, as at Worcester, are interspersed amongst a number of other carvings, and, like them, are here conjecturally attributed to the months to which they appear to belong.

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
MARCH - - - -	A man, having at his left side, suspended by a strap crossing over his right shoulder, an oblong box for seed, which he is in the act of sowing; to the right, a sack, partly emptied. (See note 3.)
APRIL - - - -	A man holding in each hand a bunch of roses. (See note 39.)
JUNE - - - -	A man with a scythe, mowing. (See note 42.)
JULY - - - -	A man amidst a thicket of rampant thistles, holding in his right hand a crotch to press down the weeds at his feet, while with a cutting hook in his left he destroys them. (See notes 29 and 87.)
SEPTEMBER - - - -	A man with a basket of fruit on his right arm, and in his left hand a fruit like a pine apple. (See note 23.)
OCTOBER - - - -	A man beating down acorns, with on one side a boar and on the other a sow. (See note 25.)
DECEMBER - - - -	A man standing, with hands and arms gone, in the act of killing an ox, which is represented in a suitable attitude. (See note 79.)

Similarly at Gloucester Cathedral:—

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
SEPTEMBER - - - -	Tree with branches and fruit, two boys and a woman beneath; also, on each side, a donkey asleep. (See note 23.) A deer stalker in full chase, shooting a noble stag with a long bow. (See note 9.)
OCTOBER - - - -	The vintage. A spreading vine, and two men gathering grapes. (See note 24.) A hunter on horseback riding at speed, blowing a horn; a hound following. (See note 10.)
NOVEMBER - - - -	An oak tree, with large leaves and acorns, amidst which are a bird and squirrel; beneath, a boar and sow feeding. (See note 25.)

And along the lower frieze of the wooden watching-loft on the north side of the feretory at St. Alban's Abbey. For two separate independent series of notes

on these interesting carvings I am indebted to Mr. Boutell and to Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A.

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
JANUARY - - -	A man and woman seated on a bench, feasting. (See note 15.)
FEBRUARY - - -	A man and woman seated, warming themselves before a fire; a third figure blowing with a pair of bellows. (See note 27.)
MARCH - - -	A shepherd seated, blowing a double pipe; four sheep attending. (See note 5.)
APRIL - - -	A sheep and lamb, the latter sucking. (See note 5.)
MAY - - -	A woman milking a cow into a bowl. (See note 51.)
JUNE - - -	A man mowing grass with a scythe. (See note 42.)
JULY - - -	A man weeding; behind, a tree; his coat lying on the ground beneath. (See notes 29 and 87.)
AUGUST - - -	A man reaping with a sickle; behind, another carrying and piling up sheaves. (See notes 6 and 22.)
SEPTEMBER - - -	A huntsman with a bow, horn, and dogs. (See note 9.) A squirrel in the midst of oak leaves and acorns. (See note 25.) A dog holding a boar by the ear. (See note 9.)
OCTOBER - - -	A vine with grapes, near to which is a basket of grapes, and the feet and hands of a man (mutilated). (See note 24.)
NOVEMBER - - -	A sow with a litter of pigs sucking. (See note 25.)

For an instance of the twelve signs of the Zodiac in metal-work, we may point to the seven-branched candlestick of the Cathedral at Milan, one of the most beautiful iconographic works of which the thirteenth century can boast, on which they occur in company with a tree of the Virgin, the Virtues triumphing over Vices, and so forth. (For engravings and description by Didron, see *Annales Archéol.* vol. xiii.)

The earliest instance we have in England of the signs of the Zodiac or symbols of the months being represented on pavers, is, I believe, at Canterbury Cathedral. "The pavement in Trinity Chapel," Mr. Richard Gough remarks (*Archæologia*, x. 151) "has many circular stones upon it, with figures very rudely designed and

executed, of the signs of the Zodiac and other fancies of the workman." Mr. John Gough Nichols states (*Decorative Tiles*, p. xviii.) that "the surfaces are sculptured with devices in low relief, and the cavities inlaid with a dark cement, apparently a mixture of pitch and pounded brick. * * * * One set represented the months by the operations of husbandry, after the fashion of the old almanacs: ploughing, mowing, and reaping, are still to be distinguished," and a small engraving of the first is given. "Another set is figured with the signs of the Zodiac, several of which are preserved, including the Ram," of which another small engraving is given. Mr. Nichols adds that in the church of Notre Dame at S. Omer there are some tablets sculptured with Zodiacal signs similar to those at Canterbury; and these were described by Dr. Bromet in *Archæologia*, vol. xxx. p. 359. A full description of them has since been published by Mons. E. Wallet (*Description du paré de l'ancienne Cathed. de Saint Omer*, 1847). Unfortunately, however, neither of the series is so perfect at present as the descriptions would lead us to infer; for, as Mr. Burges states (Shaw's *Specimens of Tile Pavements*, 1858), that at S. Omer's contains only seven of the labours of the months and five of the signs of the Zodiac, and Mr. Shaw's plate of the Canterbury tiles contains but one labour, ploughing, and four signs—Aries, Taurus (?), Cancer, and Libra. There is also, in Mr. Shaw's work, a plate of tiles from Chertsey, belonging to the thirteenth century, in which three of the signs of the Zodiac, Cancer, Scorpio, and Capricornus, are represented within circles; and a series of "dallages gravés," of about the same date, is stated by M. Viollet-le-Duc (*op. cit. Art. Dallage*) to be contained in the floor of one of the chapels in the abbey church of St. Denis in France. The following months are represented in the woodcut:—

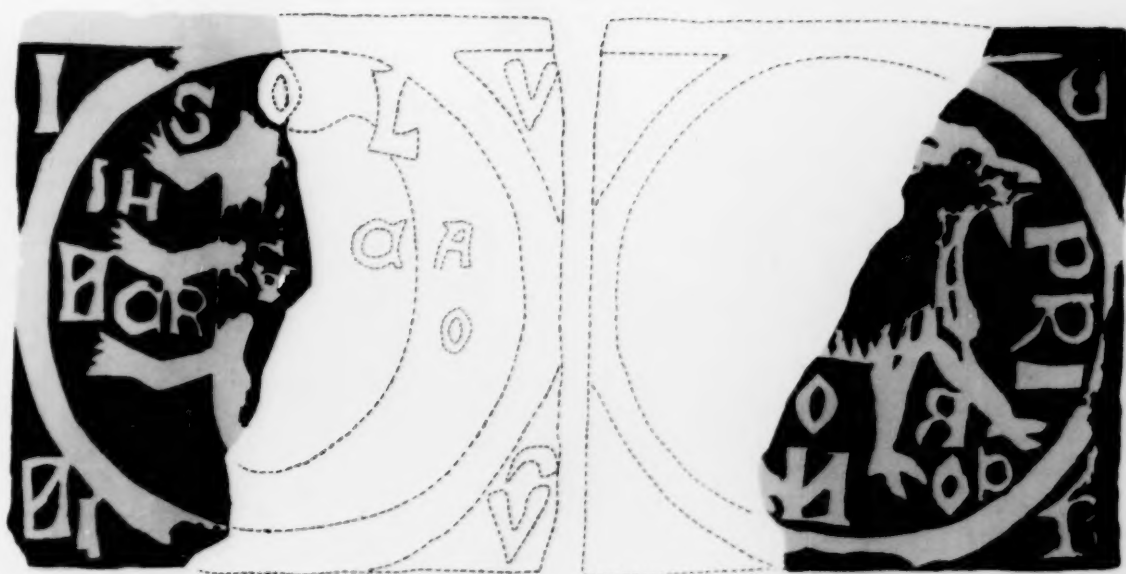
MONTH.	SYMBOL.
FEBRUARY - - -	An old man, thickly clothed, warming himself at a fire. (See note 27.)
MARCH - - -	A man pruning, with a curved knife. (See note 17.)
APRIL - - -	A young man and woman; two trees in the background. (80.)
MAY - - -	A man on horseback, with a hawk on his fist. (See note 58.)

The signs of the Zodiac and symbols of the months at S. Omer's are each within an inscribed circle, now to a great extent obliterated. The signs which

remain are *Cancer, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius*. The symbols are as follows:—

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
JANUARY - - -	Janus seated, drinking from two cups. (See note 15.)
FEBRUARY - - -	A man tilling the ground. (See note 56.)
MARCH - - -	A man pruning a vine. (See note 38.)
JUNE - - -	A man holding a rake. (See notes 42 and 21.)
OCTOBER - - -	A man gathering fruits. (See notes 23 and 24.)
NOVEMBER - - -	A man sowing. (See note 70.)
DECEMBER - - -	(Fragment of) a man killing a pig with an axe. (See notes 26 and 45.)

A tile and fragments (figured in Plate IV.), for the loan of which I am indebted to the courtesy of the Rev. John Colles and Mr. Vincent Wing, were found, during the recent restoration of Melton Mowbray church, amongst the rubbish near one of the piers at the east end of the south aisle of the nave. This portion of the fabric is believed to belong to the early part of the fourteenth century, and there can be little doubt that these fragments of the ancient flooring are coeval. The complete tile is four and three-quarter inches square, and is one of the ordinary inlaid kind, as described by Mr. Nichols, a "quarry of red clay," with "the design impressed by means of a stamp cut in relief," "and the cavities thus formed on the surface filled with whitish-coloured clay," and "then faced with a metallic glaze, which gives the white a slightly yellow (in this case a deep yellow) tinge, and a more full and pleasing tinge to the red." The pattern is, within a circle, a ram, and the inscription—*SOL IN ARIETE*; and outside the circle, in the corners of the tile, the letters *M, A, RC, IV*; for, doubtless, the first of a series of tiles representing the months of the year by the signs of the Zodiac. The half tile, in size and general character precisely resembling the above, has had within the circle, when perfect, a rude representation of a crab, with the inscription—*SOL IN CANCRO*; and outside, in the corners, the letters *I, V, NI, V* or *vs*, being another of the same series. A third fragment has contained within



PAVING TILES FROM MELTON MOWBRAY CHURCH.

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the circle, a Capricorn, with the inscription—SOL IN CAPRICORNO, and outside, in the corners—DECEMBER, of which, however, the letters E and R only remain. The figure in this tile is outlined in black, a peculiarity not existing in the other specimens. And, what is evidently a fourth, with the inscription—SOL IN PISCE, for FEBRUARIUS, will be found engraved in Fowler's plate of "Norman Pavers on the Floor of St. Peter and St. Paul's church, at Harrington, Northamptonshire" (*Mosaic Pavements and Ancient Stained Glass*, vol. i.). This curious tile has since been lost from the church, and is now nowhere to be found.

It is rather singular that several duplicates of the first tile of this series are known to exist, but that so far no others have been described except the three mentioned in this paper. Thus, at Ulverscroft Priory, in Leicestershire, there is one which was exhibited before the Archaeological Institute in 1846, and engraved in the *Arch. Journ.* ii. 89; but on too small a scale to give a very good idea of the original. The tile is now, unfortunately, placed in a position in which the pattern is rapidly becoming obliterated. Another from the same stamp is in the British Museum. There is also one in the Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, and Mr. Well-beloved, in the catalogue, speaks of another still "more perfect specimen . . . found in the ruins of a priory in Charnwood forest." I am informed by Mr. W. C. Boulter, F.S.A., that there is yet another in a recess on the south side of the chancel at Holy Trinity church, Hull, and Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt, in a recent number of *The Reliquary* (xi. 131, Pl. xvi. fig. 1), has engraved one from Wirksworth, in Derbyshire. A point of the greatest interest, proved by Mr. Jewitt, is that not only the tile at Wirksworth, but various others also of different patterns at "Bakewell, Duffield, Morley, Darley Abbey, Kegworth, Burton Abbey, Thurgarton Priory, Ulverscroft Priory, and other places," were manufactured at Repton, in Derbyshire, where a kiln was discovered in 1866 with tiles still in it, identified as the same. (*Ibid.* viii. 131-140). And as the Zodiacal tiles at Melton, Harrington, London, York, and Hull are all obviously from the same mould as that from Wirksworth engraved by Mr. Jewitt, it is obvious that they also must have come from the same manufactory. Indeed, at Hull, beside the Zodiacal tile, there are others identical with those known to have been made at Repton (*Ibid.* vol. xi. Pl. xvi. Nos. 1, 2, and 4, and Pl. xviii. No. 4); and in the Hull Museum there is a tile of one of the Repton patterns (*Ibid.* Pl. xvi. 4), from Meaux Abbey, in Holderness, showing that the Repton manufactory was well known as far north as Yorkshire.

On the lowest step of the Sacramentum in Bredon church, Worcestershire, there

are the remains of a series of tiles, probably of about the same date, possibly out of the same kiln, and of even greater interest; the months there having been, apparently, represented by characteristic symbols rather than by the signs of the Zodiac. For notes and tracings of these I am indebted to the Rev. L. Clutterbuck, of Bredon. There is room for, and there has doubtless been upon the step, originally, a series of twelve square panels, answering to the twelve months of the year, arranged as in the tracing exhibited; but very few, if any, of the tiles are now in their original position; many are lost, and all are much worn and injured. Those at the angles of each panel appear to have been struck from one mould for each month, and to have borne the name of the month, with some rude representation of a plant or animal—in the August panel it is a hare (81),—and the central tile some kind of picture symbolical of the month; but these have entirely perished, with the exception of a slight indication on one only.

The letters on all these tiles appear to be closely similar, a modification of the so-called Lombardic character in use during the fourteenth century. Several of the letters remind us of Runic forms, or rather of such Runesque Roman letters as, for instance, we have upon the leaden cross described by Camden as King Arthur's grave or coffin-plate, or in conjunction with Runes upon the famous cross at Ruthwell, or in Domesday and other early manuscripts, or in the inscriptions on the doorway at Alne; as though the traditional form of the more ancient character had thus in part descended to that comparatively late period; or, possibly, had been suggested by a similarity of circumstances to those which originally gave rise to the angularity of the Runic characters, *i.e.*, the facility of cutting or impressing them distinctly.

In the crypt of the church of S. Savino, at Piacenza, the symbols of the months within circular medallions, several of which contain also the corresponding sign of the Zodiac, and name of the month in capital letters, are found in a black and white marble pavement, said to have been constructed in the year 903. (*Descriz. del Mon. e delle pitt. di Piacenza*, p. 64.) Round the rim of each medallion is an inscription, also in capital letters, without any division of the words or stops. Several of the series are more or less mutilated, and two are totally destroyed. For recent notes of this most interesting series I am again indebted to Mr. Twigg.

MONTH.	SIGN.	SYMBOL.
(1). (Defaced)	(Defaced)	(Defaced.)
(2). (Defaced)	(Defaced)	(Defaced.)
(3). MARCIVS -	<i>Pisces</i> -	Man blowing a horn. (See note 72.)
(4). (Defaced) -	<i>Aries</i> -	A man standing between two fig trees. (82.)
(5). MAIVS -	<i>Taurus</i> -	A man standing beside a mule. (See note 58.)
(6). IVNIVS -	<i>Gemini</i> -	A man raking. ^c (83.)
(7). IVLIVS -	<i>Cancer</i> -	A man cutting corn. (See note 68.)
(8). AVGVSTI ..	<i>Leo</i> -	A man hammering a nail into a barrel. (See note 60.)
(9). SEPTEMBER -	<i>Virgo</i> -	A man standing with his feet in a hole (near the mouth of a well) holding a spade. (84.)
(10). . . VBER -	<i>Libra</i> -	(Defaced.)
(11). (Defaced)	(Defaced)	(Defaced.)
(12). (Defaced)	<i>Sagittarius</i> -	A man slitting a pig. (See note 26.)

Inscriptions round the rims of the Medallions.

- (1). Defaced.
- (2). Defaced.
- (3). + PROCEDVNT DVPLICES IN MARCIA TEMPORA PISCES.
- (4). RESPICIO^a APRILIS ARIES FRIXE^b KALENDAS.
- (5). MAIVS AGENOREI MOR . ATVR CORNVA TAVRI.
- (6). + IVNIVS AE[THRE]OS CAELO VID[ET]IRE LACONAS
- (7). SOLSTITIO ARDENTI [F]ERT IVLIVS AVSTRVM.
- (8). AVGVSTVM MENSEM LEO FERVIDVS IGNE PERVRIT.
- (9). SID[US VIRGINE]VM SEPTEM[B]ER OPIMA TI . . .
- (10). . . AEONA . . . TL . . . VC VBE C TE.
- (11). (?) TIRE . . . NO[VEM]BER . . . NI
- (12). TERMIN . . . IS . . NA DECEMD

^a ? respicis.

^b ? Frixe for Phryxec.

It will be observed that, in this series, the signs of the Zodiac attributed to the different months are different from those attributed elsewhere ; Pisces being attributed to March instead of Aries, Taurus to May instead of Gemini, and so on. For an explanation of this, I am indebted to Mr. J. I. Plummer, of the Durham Observatory. In the time of Hipparchus, B.C. 125, the sun, though in Pisces on the first of March, entered Aries about the 21st. The latter sign, in consequence, was attributed to the month, and each succeeding sign, in its order, to the month in the course of which the sun entered it. And, conventionally, the sun is still said to enter Aries at the Spring equinox in March. But in this instance, as so often elsewhere, the conventional is not absolutely true. In consequence of the precession of the equinoxes, amounting to 30° or one whole sign in something less than 2,200 years, the sun had got in the tenth century to be in Aquarius on the first of March, and to enter Pisces very early in the month—about the second or third, so as to be thus in Pisces during nearly the whole of the month, and in Aries no longer. At present, the assignment of Aries to March is, strictly speaking, still more inaccurate, the sun being in Aquarius from the beginning of the month to the 18th or 19th, and thence in Pisces. That at so early a period the Italians should have been conversant with these facts, and that the arts connected with architecture should have been made to convey so full an expression of them, are points of great interest.

Representations of the signs of the Zodiac and labours of the months are probably not uncommon in Mosaic floors, the tradition having descended from classic times. Two other black and white Zodiacs, resembling the one described above, occur, the one in the Baptistery at Florence, the other in the church of San-Miniato, near that city. The latter is dated A.D. 1207. (*Annales Archéol.* xv. 231.) The signs of the Zodiac also occur in Mosaics at Tournus and at Rheims, of the eleventh century; and on the floor in front of the altar in the cathedral at Lyons, of the twelfth. (Id. xvii. 120, 121, and Godf. Higgins, *Anacalypsis*, ii. 57.)

In the crypt of the church of S. Gereon, at Cologne, attributed to the eleventh century (*Ann. Arch.* xvii. 120), there is a mosaic floor of great interest. Westward are twelve larger subjects from scripture; five from the history of Samson (admirably chosen to symbolize the triumphs of S. Gereon and his companions); five from the history of David; one representing Rahab and the two spies; and one representing Joseph and Potiphar's wife. But immediately around the altar are, smaller, the twelve signs of the Zodiac, thus:—

Pisces.	Aquarius.	Capri- cornus.	ALTAR.				Gemini.	Taurus.	Aries.
		Sagit- tarius.	Scorpio.	Libra.	Virgo.	Leo.	Cancer.		

Each sign is depicted in colours upon a white or black ground, sprinkled with black or white stars, in order to indicate the firmament.

In the choir of the Cathedral of Aosta there is a magnificent mosaic pavement, attributed by the French antiquaries to the latter half of the twelfth century. In this, twelve medallions of equal size, representing the labours of the months, surround a much larger medallion, which represents the year (ANNVS), symbolized by a beardless un-nimbed figure, richly clad in various colours and seated upon a throne, holding in his right hand the sun (SOL), and in his left the moon (LVNA). The thirteen subjects thus described are included, first, by a narrow ornamental circle, and then, still more externally, by a wider square border or framework; and in the spandrils formed between the circle and angles of the square are four small figures bearing urns, &c., from which water is issuing, representing the four rivers of the terrestrial paradise. The names of two, FIZION and GION, are still legible. (*Ann. Archéol.* xvii. 265.) The months are symbolized as follows:—

MONTHS.	SYMBOLS.
IANVS - - -	A man with two heads, closing one tower (symbol of the old year) and opening another (symbol of the new). (See note 37.)
FEBRVARIVS - - -	A man seated, his head wrapped in a conical hood, warming his hands before a fire. (See note 27.)
MARCIVS - - -	A man pruning a tree. (See note 38.)
APRILIS - - -	A man holding a sprout or flower in each hand; near his right hand a nest of young birds. (See notes 18 and 39.)
MAIVS - - -	A man upon a horse at speed. (See note 58.)
IVNIVS - - -	A man mowing grass. (See note 42.)
IVLIVS - - -	A man cutting corn. (See note 68.)
AVGVSTVS - - -	A man beating corn with a flail. (See note 30.)

MONTHS.	SYMBOLS.
SEPTEMBER - - -	A man standing in a vat treading grapes. (See note 69.)
OCTOBER - - -	A man sowing corn. (See note 61.)
NOVEMBER - - -	A man bending under the weight of a heavy bundle of wood upon his back. (See note 11.)
DECEMBER - - -	A man killing a pig with an axe; the edge of the latter directed backward. (See note 26.)

Passing on now from incised or sculptured representations, through mosaics, we arrive again at pictorial embodiments of these ideas. Durandus says (*Rat. Div. Off.* lib. i. *De Picturis*) that the mediæval pictures were either on vestments, or the walls of churches, or glass windows; and alludes, amongst other of the most favourite subjects, to representations of the signs of the Zodiac and symbols of the twelve months of the year. I am not aware of any examples remaining in ancient needlework. There are none in the rich collection at the South Kensington Museum. Needlework, perhaps on account of its extreme beauty, was singled out as a special object for destruction in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. What was left by the lice of Henry VIII. was plagued by the murrain of Edward VI.; and what escaped the hail of Elizabeth was devoured by the locusts of the Commonwealth. "Vestments Copes albes Tunacles and all other such baggages," "peltrie of the Pope's sinfull service," were "made quishwines of," "brent," or "cut in peces and put to profaine uses;" to wit, "defaced and a carpitt made of the same," or "made a stomacher of," or "made necessarie thinges for children" of, or "Quishions for a house and hangings for a bed" (Peacock, *Church Furniture, passim*). The same influences were at work for the destruction of wall-paintings, but an influence far worse than anything before experienced is our modern "Restoration;" for whereas our forefathers were content with white-washing and thus "defacing" pictures, we, on the contrary, as a rule, in the hurry to get work done as quickly as possibly can be, utterly and irremediably destroy ancient paintings even before they are well discovered. On the ceiling of the Choir of Salisbury Cathedral, there were not long ago discernible traces of a series of the months. "The paintings on the vaultings are esteemed for their antiquity, having been ever since the dedication

of the church," writes Francis Price in 1774. "Over the communion or altar, are the twelve months of the year." It is to be feared that these precious remnants of the Art of our forefathers, which escaped for so many centuries the Scylla of destruction, have at length perished in the Charybdis of "Restoration." It is now no longer possible to say whether the representations were Zodiacal or allegorical, or both. The tradition, however, is that they were allegorical, probably similar to some discovered a few years ago at Easby, near Richmond, on stripping off the plaster from the chancel of the parish church. In that building are three small windows on each side, but the only paintings of the months preserved are on the jambs of the two easternmost windows on the north. The latter have since been "restored," but from a sketch made of them in their original condition by Mr. Burlison, of Newman Street, I am enabled to give the following description.

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
MARCH - - -	A man with a basket suspended from his neck, sowing; a crow picking behind. (85.)
APRIL - - -	A man apparently pruning a tree. (See note 28.)
MAY - - -	A man digging. (See note 83.)
JUNE - - -	The forequarters of a horse; probably, when perfect, a man on horseback. (See note 58.)

The occupations are here rather late. In the Calendar from the Cottonian Collection, cited above, the occupations for March, April, and May are appropriated to January, February, and March respectively. The man on horseback is generally appropriated to May.

Probably the finest ancient paintings of the months in existence are in the great hall at Padua, painted by Giotto, as is supposed, about the beginning of the fourteenth century. On the roof gold stars shine out from an azure ground, and on the walls are no fewer than three hundred and sixty-five subjects, chiefly allegorical, but including the constellations and planets, the influences of the planets on human life according to their position in the heavens, the theological and cardinal virtues, the twelve Apostles, and the labours of the months; to which are added the twelve signs of the Zodiac. Brandolese states that the hall is

built parallel to the equator, and that, before any alterations were made about it, at the time of the equinoxes the rays of the rising sun entered by the eastern windows and emerged by those of the west, whilst at the solstices they entered on the south and emerged at the north; month by month striking those of the signs of the Zodiac (painted on the walls within) in which the sun chanced to be. (*Annales Archéol.* xviii. 341, and xxvi. 189 and 250.)

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
MARCH - - -	Two men, one seated, the other standing, with hawks. A man standing, nimbed of fire, holding in each hand a horn. (See note 72.)
APRIL - - -	A man presenting flowers to a kneeling woman. A man embracing a woman, apparently welcoming her. A woman kneeling; her hands raised in supplication. A young woman richly clothed, holding a flower in each hand; the earth on which she stands sprinkled with flowers. (See note 39.) A garden filled with flowers, in the midst a white bird flying. A woman richly clothed gathering flowers. A woman richly clothed with a basket of flowers in each hand.
MAY - - -	A man holding by the left hand the trunk of a tree, and by the right a hawk or other bird. A young man on horseback holding the branch of a tree, galloping to the left; on the ground, beneath the horse, another branch or little tree. (See note 58.) A man carrying a tree covered with flowers upon his shoulder. (See note 51.)
JUNE - - -	A man binding sheaves of corn; behind, a sheaf already bound. A man reaping corn. (See note 6.) A man carrying a sheaf of corn on his back. A man swimming.
JULY - - -	Three men walking at ease through a wood. Two men sitting under a tree watching a hawk. A man thrashing corn. (See note 73.) A man separating chaff from grain by means of a shovel.
AUGUST - - -	A man gathering grapes; by his side, a boy holding a basket. (See note 64.) A man pruning a vine.
SEPTEMBER - - -	A man carrying snares in his hands for catching birds. (See note 53.)
OCTOBER - - -	A man holding a cup of wine in each hand; casks behind. (See note 64.) Two men quarrelling upon a seat; a glass of wine upset. A peasant tilling the ground with a mattock. (See note 52.)

MONTH.	SYMBOL.
NOVEMBER - - -	A peasant beating down acorns from an oak for pigs beneath. (See note 25.)
DECEMBER - - -	A man ripping open a pig, suspended with its head downwards; a woman standing near holding a dish; on the ground a pail of water. (See note 26.) A man carrying a bundle of wood upon his shoulders; before him a fire of wood. (See notes 11 and 33.) A young man, richly clad, seated on the ground, with a hawk on his fist. A man digging the ground with a spade.
JANUARY - - -	A naked man seated in a chair before a fire on which is a pan, boiling; before him a boy holding a circular object, perhaps a cake; a woman near the door with a bundle of wood in her arms; behind the man a bed, a cat and dog attending. (See notes 66 and 11.) A man richly clothed carrying a tree in each hand. (See note 48.)
FEBRUARY - - -	A man in a white hat with two feathers, pruning trees. (See note 2.)

During the recent restoration of the choir of Cologne Cathedral, some remains of distemper paintings or frescoes were found upon the spandrils of the choir arcades, but it is impossible to say how far the present angels resemble the old ones. The latter were executed by Steinle, assisted by artists of the Düsseldorf school; but, so far as I can ascertain from inquiry upon the spot, they were suggested by ancient examples. Round the apse, that is, in the immediate neighbourhood of the high altar, are seraphim on gold backgrounds, and the remaining orders follow one another westward. In the first pair of spandrils from the apse on the south side, the easternmost angel holds the sun, and the westernmost the moon; and above, between them, is the segment of a circle containing the signs—*Pisces, Aries, Taurus, Gemini*. In the spandrils opposite, the easternmost angel holds the earth, and the westernmost twelve stars; and in the segment above and between them are the signs—*Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra*. Several of the angels in the angel-choir at Lincoln, which is of the same date as the choir at Cologne, are crowned with stars, and one holds the sun in one hand and the moon in the other; but there is no appearance of the Zodiac.

The representation of the Zodiac in company with angels appears to be of Greek origin. Didron mentions such a painting on the vault of "l'église principale du grand couvent d'Iviron," on Mount Athos. In this the Almighty is sur-

rounded by choirs of angels, with the Virgin on one side and St. John on the other. At the four angles of the square thus formed are the four evangelistic symbols, and surrounding the whole, each in a separate compartment of its own, the twelve signs of the Zodiac and corresponding months of the year.

On painted glass, "in the rose windows of our great churches of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries," it is stated by Viollet-le-Duc (*op. cit. Art. Zodiaque*) that Zodiacs are of frequent occurrence. I am not myself aware of any such, in England, but there are three small medallions in Dewsbury church, Yorkshire (figured Plate V. figs. 2, 3 and 4), which appear to have belonged to a set of either months or seasons of the year—it is now difficult to say which. They belong to the fourteenth century—I believe to about the end of the first quarter. Assuming that they belonged to a set representing originally the four seasons of the year, they may be described as follows:—

SEASON.	SYMBOL.
WINTER - - - -	A man, in shoes and hosen, with a loosely fitting tunic confined at the waist by a belt, killing a pig; the animal's head fastened by the snout to the stump of a tree, and the fore and hinder feet pressed firmly forward as though straining to get loose, and the mouth partly open as though in the act of screaming; the man's arms thrown back and holding an axe, with the back of which he is in the act of striking the animal's neck; two sprays of foliage behind. (See notes 45, 26 and 32.)
SPRING - - - -	(Wanting.)
SUMMER - - - -	A man, dressed like the last, except that he has no belt, treading on the stubble of ground already cleared, grasping with his left hand a bunch of corn standing in full ear before him, and cutting it with a sickle having a rough or toothed edge, held in the right hand. (86.)
AUTUMN - - - -	A man, dressed like the last, threshing some sheaves of corn, which lie before him, with a flail; the yellow grains of corn are flying from the ears, and in the back ground are his "forenoon" or "afternoon drinkings," as they are still called in the West Riding of Yorkshire, in a jug, kept from becoming flat by the cup which stands on the top. (See notes 12 and 30.)

In the Mayor's Parlour, adjoining the Town Hall, at Leicester, there are two medallions remaining out of a similar but much later series. The glazing appears to have consisted originally of a series of panels of quarries of white glass orna-



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



mented with stained yellow devices, surrounded by borders of elegant conventional foliage twisted round sticks, with a circular picture or medallion, for the most part executed in yellow and brown, within a rich geometrical framework, introduced in each panel independently of the arrangement of the quarries. On one or more of the quarries is a harpy, the badge of Richard III.; on another a bear and flag; and the subjects of some of the medallions are also heraldic, as for instance the Tudor rose, the portcullis, a crown, the ostrich-feather badge, and the arms of the city of Leicester. Four of the medallions may, I think, have represented respectively the four seasons of the year, or there may have been (though at present there does not appear room for it) a series of the months. The execution of the glass throughout is that which prevailed during the early part of the reign of Henry VII., and the occurrence of the chalice and wafer badge, as one of the quarry patterns, suggests that the glass may have belonged originally to the Guild of Corpus Christi, the site of whose ancient buildings is at present occupied by the Town Hall, and whose premises have served for municipal purposes to a greater or less extent ever since the reign of Henry VII., as appears from the following entry in the Hall book :—

“ In y^e tyme of the mayraltie of Mr Hurst yan beyng mayre At a Comon Hall holden in leycestr at Corp. Xpi Halle on fryday nyxt after xiith day the x. yere of Kyng Henry viith”

The most interesting subjects in the glazing were engraved by Mr. Nichols in his *History of Leicestershire*, vol. i. plate xxxi. including the two medallions figured in Plate VI.; but his engravings are uncoloured, and on so small a scale as to be almost useless for scientific purposes.

SEASON.	SYMBOL.
JUNE, or Summer Solstice	A man, in a garden, cutting up thistles from the plants they grow amongst with a weed-hook and crotch; behind, his master's castle; and above, on a scroll, the word JUNII. (87.)
SEPTEMBER, or Autumnal Equinox	A man threshing with a flail; two sheaves of wheat are lying upon the floor, which is covered with grain; behind is a heap of corn, the produce of his labour; and above, on a scroll, the word SEPTEMBAR. (See notes 30 and 12.)
DECEMBER, or Winter Solstice	A fragment, representing a man warming himself at a fire of sticks. (See notes 11, 27, 33, and 66.)

One odd compartment of a very late painted glass Zodiac yet remains in the west window of the south porch of St. Mary's church, Shrewsbury (Plate V., fig. 1). The crab is sidling upon, rather than through, a basin of golden water full of sprigs of sea-weed, and above is the inscription *Sol in Cancro*. The drawing is stiff and inaccurate, but the shading is finely stippled, and applied with great care on both sides of the glass, which, with other technical details, leads me to attribute this example to about the close of the fifteenth century.

A perfect series of signs of the Zodiac and labours of the months, in company with the Virtues and Vices, occurs in the magnificent rose west window of the cathedral of Notre Dame, at Paris. This example is of thirteenth-century date. (*Annales Archéol.* x. 7, 8.)

In the early glass at Chartres there is a representation of vinedressers at work, and of a stag-hunt with hound and horn; and at Amiens, of the interior of a slaughter-house. In the last, a pig slit open hangs suspended with its head downwards; and an ox, with its head tied to one of its fore legs, is being struck by a butcher with an axe, the back of which is directed to the animal's head. (See note 45.) I am not aware whether or no these subjects form portions of series of months or seasons. It is, however, not improbable that they do.

The four seasons of the year are admirably represented upon a font at Thorp Salvin, in Yorkshire, brought under the notice of the Society as early as the year 1794, by Mr. Holden (*Archæologia*, vol. xii.). This font is also noticed and engraved by Mr. Hunter in his *South Yorkshire*. I shall, however, I trust, be pardoned for once more occupying the attention of the Society with this subject, and furnishing some additional particulars. The font measures one foot eleven inches in height and two feet nine inches in width, and is cut out of a magnificent block of stone of considerable size, which looks like a fine white saccharoid marble, but may possibly be some local stone with which I am not acquainted. The workmanship agrees in date, I believe, with the Norman part of the church to which it belongs, and may be referred confidently, I think, to the reign of Stephen. The sculptures are remarkably free and spirited, and in advance of most works of that date with which I am acquainted. The subjects are contained in eight compartments. The first two are occupied by a representation of the sacrament of baptism. A priest is immersing an infant in a font, and four other much smaller (because subsidiary) figures are standing by, one of them holding an open book, one half of which is broken away. The third is an arcade of intersecting arches to divide the subject just described from those which follow (88). The fourth contains a human face with a pair of bundles of

chevrons descending from the chin and terminating in grotesques (89). Then follow the seasons:—

SEASON.	SYMBOL.
5. WINTER - - -	An old man, with long beard, thickly clothed in fur, with which his head also is enveloped, seated in a chair warming his hands and feet before a fire; the fire-place supported on four columns (three of which are visible), and furnished with a conical roof. (See notes 11, 27, and 33.)
6. SPRING - - -	A young man in a short coat reaching to the knees, with a cap on, and basket under the left hand hung by a strap from the right shoulder, sowing. (See note 1.)
7. SUMMER - - -	A man wearing a cap, and with a cloak thrown over his shoulder, riding on horseback over a bridge, with running water below, and waving the leafy bough of a tree above his head. (90.)
8. AUTUMN - - -	A man standing on stubble, with a sickle under his girdle, stooping, and binding up sheaves; above his head (intended to be in background) a stook of corn composed of three large sheaves inverted on six smaller upright ones; and higher still a single sheaf lying horizontally. (See notes 6, 22, 68, and 86.) (91.)

The seasons also are represented on some capitals of the twelfth century in the abbey church of Cluny. Two of these are engraved in the *Annales Archéologiques*, xxvi. 380-387. Each exhibits a female full-length figure, of great proportionate height, and is contained within a *vesica piscis*, which has an inscribed border, surrounded by conventional foliage:—

SEASON.	SYMBOL.
SPRING - - -	Young, simple, and beautiful, carrying very carefully a casket (filled with sweet odours); with the inscription— <i>VER PRIMOS FLORES PRIMOS PRCIT ODORES</i> .
SUMMER - - -	More advanced in years, and clothed more lightly (mutilated). Inscription— <i>VENS QAS DECOQIT AESTAS</i> .

The four seasons of the year, again, are thus represented on the west front of Rheims Cathedral. (*Ibid.* xiv. 28, 310.)

SEASON.	SYMBOL.
WINTER - - -	A man, thickly clothed, warming himself before a fire. (See notes 11, 27, and 33.)
SPRING - - -	A young man standing (mutilated; head, hands, and accessories gone).
SUMMER - - -	A mantle floating in the breeze (mutilated; the figure which wore it, gone).
AUTUMN - - -	A centaur, armed with a bow, shooting out arrows. (See note 14.)

And at Chartres Cathedral two of the seasons, winter and spring, are represented; summer and autumn being omitted for lack of room. (*Ibid.* i. 244.)

The Thorp Salvin, Dewsbury, Leicester, Rheims, and Cluny seasons can readily be compared with one another; but, in order to show the relationship of the months as represented in the various authorities already noticed, I have tabulated them. These tables, with two others of classical representations of the months and seasons, will be found at the end of the paper. I regret that I shall not have space to compare the different series and members of series more at length, and show the influence of climate and other circumstances in modifying the designs, or to enlarge, as I could wish, on several points of suggestive detail. These will, however, be more or less obvious, with a little attention, and be found of great interest.

There can be little doubt that the clue to the spirit in which these representations were made will be found in the fact that every particle of ancient ecclesiastical architecture had a mystic or symbolic import, in addition to its mere constructive value; and, conversely, that everything which was capable of conveying a mystic lesson was, independently of its mere constructive excellence or beauty, of importance to the ancient architect. All knowledge, all experience, everything in which the soul of man can have an interest, in this world or the next, he had

a place for. What S. John Damascene had said of sculptured images, he applied in a wider sense in his art, which was concerned—not with one only, but with every form of imagery. His churches were to be—not merely houses of worship, but the books of the unlearned. “Quidquid liber est iis qui litteras didicerunt, hoc . . . est illiteratis et rudibus.” The well-known verses of the Abbé Suger, the illustrious architect of S. Denis, placed by him upon the *façade* of his cathedral, have a peculiar interest in connection with this part of the subject, for they are there in connection with one of the very series of the months which we have been considering :

“ Mens hebes ad verum per materialia surgit
Et, demersa prius, hac visa luce resurgit.”

And as all human knowledge in the middle ages, if not more extensive, was at least far more methodically classified and arranged than our own, it came to pass that architectural embellishments were likewise methodical; and, as the intense love of nature and religious feeling of the Gothic mind was reflected, so to speak, in the great Encyclopædias, or *Specula* as they were called, so the Encyclopædias themselves were embodied in the creations of art—petrified on the walls, wrought into the floors, painted on the ceilings, or, sparkling, yet serene, in gem-like purity and richness, shone forth from the mosaics of colour and crystal in the windows. Thus, as M. Didron has so ably shown, is the *Speculum Universale* of Vincent de Beauvais—that greatest of all the mediæval encyclopædists, embodied in the 1448 statues which decorate the exterior of Chartres Cathedral; the *Speculum Naturale*, beginning with the creation of the world and of man, and describing the entire universe, down to the fall of man; the *Speculum Doctrinale*, exhaustive of all that is done by man under the sun, of all mechanical and liberal arts, whereby the consequences of the fall are to a great extent remedied; the *Speculum Morale*, setting forth the duties of life to be fulfilled, the vices to be overcome, and, generally, the means whereby man attains blessedness; the *Speculum Historiale*, or History of the World from the Creation to the Last Judgment, showing to what extent in different ages of the world these things have been and are capable of being realized. In less important buildings or under different circumstances, one only or more of the great divisions of the work were taken for illustration, or even part of a division, the rest being taken elsewhere. Time and space, not the will, forbade the embodiment of more; and hence, though the written book is one, the book of mediæval art is in scattered leaves, like the leaves of the Sibylline books, which we must seek for and find out as we can.

The Zodiacal representations which we have been considering, belong more especially to the *Speculum Naturale*, and were employed, primarily, out of the fulness of that enthusiasm and love of nature which Mr. Ruskin has so clearly shown to be one of the most important moral elements in the Gothic mind. But it must also be remembered that the signs of the Zodiac were as naturally associated with the actions of the every-day life of our forefathers as the months and days of the month are with our own, and as naturally suggested to the devout the duties and obligations of the seasons which they indicated. When, that, for instance,—

“ the yonge sonne
 “ Hath in the Ram his halfe cours i-ronne,
 “ And smale fowles maken melodie,
 “ That slepen al the night with open yhe,
 “ So priketh hem nature in here corages ;
 “ Thanne longen folk to gon on pilgrimages,
 “ And palmers for to seeken straunge strondes,
 “ To ferne halwes, kouthe in sondry londes ;”

and so on of the rest. And the course of the sun through the Zodiac had a still deeper and more important significance. It represented the course of the Sun of Righteousness through the festivals of the Church, which marked the divisions of the ecclesiastical year as the signs of the Zodiac did the divisions of the natural.

“ Festum Clementis caput hyemis est venientis,
 “ Cedit hyems retro, cathedrato Simone Petro,
 “ Ver fugit Urbanus, æstatem Symphorianus.” (94.)

The Christian year thus formed a kind of *Zodiacus Vitæ* :

“ quia vita per ipsum
 “ Dueta nitet, ceu sol per sua signa means.”

Had not the demon of “ Restoration ” even dared to enter and disturb the paintings of Giotto in the great hall of Padua, I might have pointed to that as an admirable illustration of the parallelism in mediæval art of the natural and

mystic Zodiacs. Each Apostle originally presided over the sign of the Zodiac and labour of the month during which his festival fell. (*Ann. Arch.* xix. 242.) The comparatively recent alteration of this arrangement is a striking illustration of how much more destructive to history ignorant meddlesomeness is than the natural decay of time.

The reason why the Zodiac was so often placed on doorways, would seem to be connected with the idea of Our Lord as at once the Sun of Righteousness and the Door of his Church. At S. Gereon's, Cologne, is a doorway in the tympanum of which is a mosaic of Our Lord in the attitude of benediction, holding in his left hand a book, in which is written—ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ Η ΘΥΡΑ. Representations of Our Lord with an open book in a *vesica piscis* supported by angels in the tympanum of doorways, without inscription or any further adjunct, occur at Ely Cathedral, Shobdon in Herefordshire, and various other places. And, as at Parma the natural sun is represented in the midst of the signs, so in some places, at Venice for instance, Our Lord himself is sculptured in the tympanum, sitting within the Zodiac. At Vezelay, as has been mentioned, in connection with the signs of the Zodiac and labours of the months, Christ is sculptured in company with the twelve Apostles; and at Malmesbury, in the tympanum of the doorway of the south porch, Our Lord is supported in a *vesica piscis* by two angels, with the twelve Apostles seated, six on either side, to the right and left, while the labours of the months are sculptured on a separate doorway. As the natural sun is replaced in these examples by the Sun of Righteousness, so are the signs of the Zodiac by the Apostles, the first to reflect the light from Our Lord, and to be the pathway of his grace; and as the stars of the Zodiac possessed an interest to the ancient astronomer which no other stars possessed, so the Apostles here shine forth as a kind of synecdoche of that greater company of saints which are as the stars in multitude. S. Paul, it will be remembered, applies to the Apostles the verse in the Psalms—*Their sound is gone out into all lands, and their words into the ends of the world* (Rom. x. 18, compared with Psalm xix. 4). S. Chrysostom adds—"Misit Christus apostolos, quasi sol radios suos, quasi rosa suavitatis suæ odorem, quasi ignis scintillas suas dispersit, ut, sicut sol in radiis suis apparet, sicut rosa in odoribus suis sentitur, sicut ignis in scintillis suis adspicitur, sic in illorum virtutibus Christi potentia cognoscatur." And S. Ambrose—"Hoc est pretiosissimum, quod homo divinæ vocis sit organum et corporalibus labiis exprimit cœleste oraculum." (Quoted in *Legend. Aur.* cap. clxii.) (96.) In some churches, or in certain positions, a representation of the Blessed Virgin Annunciate is, with peculiar significance, substituted for that of Our Lord, as over the

north door, for instance, of the Norman Abbey of St. Aubin at Angers, and over the great door of the Chapter House at Westminster. Or the Blessed Virgin and Holy Child may be represented; and that either alone, as at the door of the Chapter House at York, or with the Zodiac and months, as over the principal doors of the Cathedrals of Notre Dame at Rheims and Paris; or with still other symbolism superadded, as at Paris, where, besides the Virgin and Child above, allegorical representations of the Sea and Earth are situated beneath, and Heaven, Sea, Earth, and Man, are thus made to substantiate the Incarnation, or keystone of the Christian faith. Or a patron saint may be substituted, and that again either alone, as at Ruardean church, Gloucestershire, or with an encompassing Zodiac, as at Brinsop.

On floors there was, for obvious reasons, less scope for elaborate symbolism than on doorways. There is, however, sufficient to show that even here the months and Zodiac had a mystic meaning. At Aosta, associated with the months and Zodiac, we have again the natural sun to symbolize the Sun of Righteousness, together with the four Rivers of Paradise, which in mediæval art are used to symbolize the four Evangelists, whose sacred function was to receive the streams of Divine Grace, and scatter them through the world.

On fonts, the signs of the Zodiac and labours of the months appear to have indicated that, as the phenomena of the seasons were outward and visible signs of the inward and quickening power of the sun, so the outward and visible parts of the Sacraments derived their efficacy from the inward and spiritual immanence and operance of the Sun of Righteousness. (95). This interpretation is supported by those examples in which, in connection with the seasons, Our Lord is represented; re-calling the still more ancient traditional representations of Orpheus surrounded by the seasons of the year, as in the Littlecote pavement for instance. Our Orpheus, we know, "shall draw all men unto him." The representation of the Resurrection of our Saviour with the months of the year, as on the Brookland font, is an interesting modification of the same idea. "If we are planted together in the likeness of His death, we shall be also in the likeness of His resurrection." From the winter of sin and death we shall spring anew with fragrant and budding virtues; summer will be advanced in our souls by the fervid heat of the Holy Spirit; and our autumn will bring forth in us in due season the fruits of righteousness. It is in vain to object that these allusions are too intricate or refined; they are the ones by which those who designed the works we

are considering were influenced (96), and we shall never fully understand what our forefathers wrought, until we take into our hands and seriously study the very books which they had and none others, and surround ourselves with the atmosphere of their daily life and habit of thought, and disassociate our own.

Around or in the neighbourhood of altars, mosaics, incised and encaustic tiles, and other pavers, were a convenient and beautiful medium for representing the months and seasons. Some of those described above still occupy, some are known to have occupied, and it is not unlikely that others, those at Melton, Hull, &c., for instance, may have occupied such situations. Their significance, in addition to their effectiveness as mere ornaments, will be gathered from the preceding paragraph. Zodiacs high up on walls, especially associated with angels, as in the Angel-choir of Cologne, recall that most sublime and venerable Preface of the Mass—"Vere dignum, &c. . . . Per quem majestatem tuam laudant Angeli, adorant Dominationes, tremunt Potestates. Cœli cœlorumque Virtutes, ac beata Seraphim socia exultatione concelebrant. . . . Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt cœli et terra gloria tua, Hosanna in excelsis;" which, again, is but an echo of that still older, richer, and even sweeter song when, or ever the foundations of the earth and the world were laid, "the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy." (Job xxxviii. 7.)

Each several employment of the months, again, in whatever situation, had its own mystical interpretation. The seed was the Word of God, &c. (Luke viii. 11); the harvest—the end of the world (Rev. xiv. 15); the threshing, or "tribulation," of the corn—that tribulation "of the inner spiritual man, without which there could be no fitting him for the heavenly garner" (Trench, *Study of Words*, p. 33); and so on of the rest (96). The necessary and inevitable order and law of nature and of God, moreover, was a useful and instructive lesson conveyed by these representations, especially when they were combined with others taken from the Scriptures. At Easby, for instance, on the walls, the seasons are found amongst pictures of the Creation of Man, the Garden of Eden, the Temptation, the Fall, the Expulsion, the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Watching of the Shepherds, the Adoration of the Kings, the Taking Down from the Cross, and the Entombment, with perhaps other subjects now gone. Throughout the whole of Scripture the God of Nature is identified with the God of Grace—the God by whom we are created and sustained, with the God by whom we are

redeemed and sanctified; and a special appeal is made to recognize in the God who swore unto David—"Thy seed will I establish for ever," the God of the primeval covenant—"While the earth remaineth, seedtime and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night, shall not cease." (Compare Gen. viii. 22, with Jer. xxxiii. 20-26, Psal. lxxxix. 4, 36, 37, and Luke i. 31-33).

The occupations and symbols of the months, however, like the virtues with which they are so frequently associated, belong more particularly to the *Speculum Doctrinale*; and indicate the yearly round of human labour, engaged in not sullenly, or as a thing to be ashamed of, but joyfully and heartily, as the Will of God. "Man goeth forth to his work, and to his labour, until the evening"—"I will sing unto the Lord as long as I live, I will praise my God while I have my being," is reflected in every series; witness the singing bird and overhanging tree at Amiens; the crowning with flowers at Venice; the flowers held in the hand at York, at Verona, at Lucca, at Cremona, at Worcester; the waving bough of foliage at Thorp Salvin, at Venice, at Parma, at Modena; the horseback ride and field-sports at Easby, at Brookland, at Worcester, at Parma, at Modena, at Verona, at Lucca, at Cremona, at Amiens, at Piacenza; the feasting at Deepdale, at Brookland, at York, at Cremona, at Amiens, at St. Ursin. Not that, if scenes of beauty and hours of leisure were thus plentifully afforded, labour itself, in its season, was to be less with might or main. All the representations which we have had to notice possess that sternness and inflexibility which Mr. Ruskin again has pointed out as one of the great elements of Gothic art. It is probable that Thorwaldsen's Four Seasons indicate as passionate a love and grasp of Nature as ever was attained in Gothic times; but, whereas *beauty—female* beauty is there obviously the highest aim and ideal of the artist, and man—if introduced at all—is merely there as a foil the more strikingly to set forth her loveliness, in the middle ages the predominating idea was *manly strength*, and the primæval sentence—*cursed is the ground for thy sake, in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life*—was embodied in all its grandeur. (97.) Man is represented fighting against and triumphing over nature. And, as we have seen that the signs of the Zodiac had not only an exoteric but an esoteric meaning, so the labours of the months, besides their more obvious meaning, represented also the ever-momentous struggle between virtue and vice. "In the sweat of his brow man tills the field, and it frets him that it should bear thorns and thistles which he must uproot." His very fretful-

ness, however, rouses him to activity; the Sacraments of the Church, dependent upon the Sun of Righteousness for their being and efficacy, as the seasons of the year upon the natural sun for theirs, are ready to sustain and strengthen him; and thus he labours until the golden grain is gathered into the garner—until the flesh is conquered, and the spirit is free.

TABLE I.—OPERATIONS OF THE MONTHS

MONTHS.	Cott. MSS. Tiberius, B. v.	Cott. MSS. Julius A. vi.	Bede Woodcut Mottoes.	Bede Woodcuts.	Clogg Alm. No. 1.	Clogg Alm. No. 2.
JANUARY . . .	Ploughing and sowing.	Ploughing.	Poto.	Feasting.	Feasting. Hunting.	Feasting. Hunting.
FEBRUARY . . .	Pruning vines.	Pruning.	Ligna cremo.	Felling trees.	Pruning.	Fishing.
MARCH	Digging and sowing.	Digging and sowing.	De vite superflua demo.	Pruning vines. Gardening.	Spinning. Sowing.	Spinning.
APRIL	Feasting.	Feasting.	Do germen gratum.	Hunting stag.	Tree in leaf, and bird singing.	Cow and calf. Bird singing.
MAY	Tending sheep and lambs.	Tending sheep and lambs.	Mihi flos servit.	Rogation procession.	Milk pail.	Birds.
JUNE	Reaping.	Cutting timber.	Mihi pratam.	Sheep-shearing.	Fishing.	Flowers.
INTERCALARY.	...	...	...	...	...	...
JULY	Felling trees.	Mowing grass.	Spicas declino.	Hay-making.	Hay-making. Corn harvest.	Hay-making.
AUGUST	Making hay.	Reaping corn.	Messes meto.	Reaping.	Thrashing.	Corn-harvest. Stag hunt.
SEPTEMBER . . .	Boar hunting.	Driving swine to the woods.	Vina propino.	Apple gathering.	Sheep shearing. Fall of hog-mast. Stag hunt.	Fruits. Fall of hog-mast.
OCTOBER	Hawking.	Hawking.	Semen humi jacto.	Gathering and pressing grapes.	Autumnal fishing. Wool carding.	Harrowing. Fall of leaf.
NOVEMBER . . .	Warming at fire.	Warming at fire.	Mihi pasco sues.	Beating oaks.	Martinmas goose.	A goose.
DECEMBER . . .	Thrashing.	Thrashing.	Mihi macto.	Killing swine.	Feasting. Spinning.	Feasting.
MONTHS.	Doorway, Modena.	Porch, Verona.	Doorway, Lucca.	Doorway, Cremona.	Doorway, S. Ursin.	Doorway, Sens.
JANUARY	Woman spinning (?)	Warming at fire.	Warming at fire.	Feasting.	Cooking.	Resting.
FEBRUARY	Warming at fire.	Pruning.	Sowing.	Digging.	Warming.	Warming.
MARCH	Breaking boughs off a tree.	Blowing horns.	Pruning.	Blowing a horn. (?)	Pruning.	Pruning vine.
APRIL	Pruning vines.	Holding flowers.	Holding a flower.	Holding a flower.	Holding flowers.	Sowing.
MAY	Man standing at horse's head.	Warrior on horseback.	On horseback, holding something.	On a mule, holding something.	(Indistinct.)	Man and horse.
JUNE	Mowing grass.	Gathering fruit.	Reaping.	Reaping.	Mowing grass.	A mower.
JULY	Reaping.	Reaping.	Thrashing.	Man with two horses.	Reaping.	A reaper.
AUGUST	Raking. (?)	Making a barrel.	Gathering grapes.	Hammering a barrel.	Thrashing.	Thrashing.
SEPTEMBER . . .	Crushing grapes.	Gathering grapes.	Crushing grapes.	Gathering grapes.	Crushing grapes.	The vintage.
OCTOBER	Barrelling wine.	Beating oaks.	Barrelling wine.	Vine with pig at roots.	Barrelling wine.	Barrelling wine.
NOVEMBER	Sowing.	Killing a pig.	Ploughing.	Slitting a pig.	Killing a pig.	Cutting wood.
DECEMBER	Cutting wood.	Carrying sticks.	Cutting up a pig.	Cutting wood.	Feasting.	Killing a pig.

FROM MEDIEVAL SOURCES. (92.)

Font, Deepdale.	Font, Brookland.	Doorway, York.	Doorway, Venice.	Baptistery, Parma.	Doorway, Parma.
Feasting.	Janns feasting.	Janns feasting.	Carrying wood.	Tilling ground.	Warming at fire. (?)
Warming at fire.	Warming at fire. (?)	Warming at fire.	Warming at fire.	Digging.	Sowing. (?)
Digging.	Pruning a shrub.	Pruning.	Warrior blowing a horn.	(Defaced.)	Soldier leading a horse.
Pruning a tree.	Holding a sprouting plant.	Holding up flowers.	Carrying a sheep, and a branch of foliage.	Holding a branch of foliage.	Pruning.
Rogation processions.	Riding with hawk on fist.	Man with an ox.	Crowning with flowers.	Riding on horseback.	Reaping.
Weeding.	Mowing grass.	Two leaves.	Reaping.	Reaping.	Making a barrel.
...	...	Mowing grass.	...	...	...
Mowing grass.	Raking (?), or weeding. (?)	Weeding.	Mowing grass.	Man with two horses.	Gathering grapes.
Corn-harvest.	Corn-harvest.	Reaping.	Asleep in chair.	Hammering a barrel.	Tasting wine.
Thrashing.	Thrashing.	Gathering grapes.	Carrying grapes.	Gathering grapes.	Slitting a pig.
Barrelling wine.	Crushing grapes.	Beating oaks.	Digging.	Sowing. (?)	Cutting wood.
Killing a pig.	Beating oaks.	Killing a pig.	Catching birds.	Man with gourds.	Janus warming at fire.
Feasting.	Killing a pig.	Feasting.	Killing a pig.	Pruning.	Catching birds.

Doorway, Rheims.	Doorway, Amiens.	Capital, Ducal Palace.	Misericordes, Worcester.	Misericordes, Malvern.	Misericordes, Gloucester.	Watching Loft, S. Alban's.
Feasting.	Janns, feasting.	Warming feet.	Spinning. Digging.	...	...	Feasting.
Warming at fire.	Warming at fire.	Frying fish.	Warming at fire.	...	...	Warming at fire.
Tilling a vine.	Digging vines.	Blowing a horn.	Sowing.	Sowing.	...	Tending sheep.
Pruning a vine.	With hawk on fist.	With a chaplet of flowers.	Holding roses.	Holding roses.	...	Tending sheep and lambs.
Holding flowers.	Sitting under trees.	Holding a rose.	Hawk on fist.	...	...	Milking a cow.
Hawking.	Mowing grass.	Carrying cherries.	Mowing.	Mowing.	...	Mowing grass.
Mowing grass.	Reaping.	Reaping.	Weeding.	Weeding.	...	Weeding.
Reaping.	Thrashing.	Hammering a barrel.	Reaping.	...	...	Reaping.
Thrashing.	Gathering fruit.	Crushing grapes.	A huntsman.	Carrying fruit.	Gathering fruit. A huntsman.	Oak and squirrel. A huntsman.
Barrelling wine.	Crushing grapes.	Thrashing.	Beating oaks.	Beating oaks.	The vintage. A hunter.	The vintage.
Carrying wood.	Sowing.	Measuring grain.	Sow and pigs.	...	Swine feeding.	Sow and pigs.
Killing a pig.	Killing swine.	Killing a pig.	Killing an ox.	Killing an ox.	...	...

TABLE I.—OPERATIONS OF THE MONTHS FROM MEDIEVAL SOURCES—*continued*.

MONTHS.	Pavers, S. Denis.	Pavers, S. Omer's.	Mosaic Floor, Piacenza.	Mosaic, Aosta.	Wall Painting, Easby.	Paintings, Padua.	Painted Glass, Leicester.
JANUARY . .	...	Janus feasting.	(Defaced.)	Janus.	...	Warming at fire. Cooking.	...
FEBRUARY .	Warming at fire.	Tilling the ground.	(Defaced.)	Warming at fire.	...	Pruning.	...
MARCH . . .	Pruning.	Pruning a vine.	Blowing a horn.	Pruning.	Sowing; a crow picking.	Holding horns.	...
APRIL . . .	Young man and woman under trees	...	Pruning fig trees.	Holding flowers.	Pruning a tree.	Holding flowers.	...
MAY	On horseback, with hawk on fist.	...	Standing beside a mule.	Hawking.	Digging.	Hawking.	...
JUNE . . . .	...	Holding a rake.	Raking.	Mowing grass.	Man on horseback	Reaping.	Weeding.
JULY . . . .	...	...	Reaping.	Reaping.	...	Thrashing.	...
AUGUST . . .	...	...	Hammering a barrel.	Thrashing.	...	Gathering grapes.	...
SEPTEMBER .	...	...	Crushing grapes.	Crushing grapes.	...	With snares for birds.	Thrashing.
OCTOBER . .	...	Gathering fruits.	(Defaced.)	Sowing.	...	Tasting wine.	...
NOVEMBER .	...	Sowing.	(Defaced.)	Carrying wood.	...	Beating oaks for swine.	...
DECEMBER .	...	Killing a pig.	Slitting a pig.	Killing a pig.	...	Slitting a pig.	Warming at fire.

TABLE II.—CLASSICAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE MONTHS.

MONTHS.	Illuminated Calendar, circ. A.D. 354, Montfaucon, <i>L'Antiquité Explicquée</i> , Suppl. Tom. I. Pl. iv.—xvi. cited in part by Mr. A. W. Franks, <i>Archæologia</i> , xxxviii. p. 228.	Tetrastichs, attributed to Ausonius, beneath each picture in the preceding series.	Mosaic Pavement, from Carthage, described by Mr. A. W. Franks, <i>Archæologia</i> , vol. xxxviii. p. 227.	Sarcophagus in the Barberini Collection at Rome, Montfaucon, Pl. iii.	Medallion of the Emperor Alexander Severus, Montfaucon, op. cit. Pl. d.	Mosaic Pavement from Central Asia, Ann. Arch. xliii. and xliiv.
JANUARY .	A consul, holding in his left hand a trefoil, and with his right scattering upon the fire of an altar incense in honour of Janus and the Lares. Below, a cock (which was sacrificed on the first of January); and at the side a second altar, on which is a vessel containing material for libation.	Hic Jani mensis sacer est; en aspice, ut aris Thura micent; sumant ut pia thura Lares. Annorum seclique caput, natalis honorum, Purpureos fastis qui numerat Proceres.		The twelve	The	
				signs of	twelve	Medallions
				the Zodiac	signs of	containing
					the	
FEBRUARY .	A woman, in a tunic bound at the waist with a girdle, holds a goose in her hands (indicative of the wetness of the month). Above, an inverted vessel pouring out water; on her right, a heron, on her left, a fish; indicative of the same.	At quem cœruleus nodo constringit amictus, Quique paludicolam prendere gaudet avem, Dædala quem jacta pluvio circumvenit Iris, Romuleo ritu Februa mensis habet.		surround-	Zodiac	human
				ing a	surround-	huts
				medallion	ing a	

TABLE II.—CLASSICAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE MONTHS—continued.

MONTHS.	Illuminated Calendar, circ. A.D. 354, Montfaucon, <i>L'Antiquité Explicquée</i> , Suppl. Tom. i. Pl. IV.-xvi. cited in part by Mr. A. W. Franks, <i>Archæologia</i> , xxxviii. p. 226.	Tetrasticha, attributed to Ausonius, beneath each picture in the preceding series.	Mosaic Pavement, from Carthage, described by Mr. A. W. Franks, <i>Archæologia</i> , vol. xxxviii. p. 227.	Sarcophagus in the Barberini Collection at Rome, Montfaucon, Pl. iii.	Medallion of the Emperor Alexander Severus, Montfaucon, op. cit. Pl. ii.	Mosaic Pavement from Central Asia, <i>Ann. Arch.</i> xliii. and xxiv.
MARCH	"A man with long hair, clothed in skins; he holds a goat by the neck with his left hand, while with his right he points to a swallow perched on a rod; on the ground to his right is a bucket or pail, from which streams are issuing; on his left a basket-shaped vessel."	Cinctum pelle Lupæ promptum est cognoscere mensem, Mars illi nomen, Mars dedit exuvias, Tempus ver hædus petulans, et garrula hirundo Indicat, et sinus lactis, et herba virens.	A figure, seated, pointing the left hand to a bird singing in a tree. In front are two little cups, and on the ground a pail, probably intended to hold milk, and a fresh bough for the <i>herba virens</i> .	of a senator and his wife,	figure of Jupiter, seated,	little
APRIL	"A middle-aged man, possibly a priest of Cybele, dancing before a statuette of Venus, which is under an arch of foliage and placed on a bracket. He is clothed in a short dress, ornamented with large metal plates, and holds castanets of great length. Under his feet is a Pandean pipe, and before him a large candle burning in an elaborate candelabrum."	Contectam myrto Venerem veneratur Aprilis, Lumen thuris habet, quo nitet alma Ceres, Cereus à dextrâ flammas diffundit odoras, Balsama nec desunt, queis redolet Paphie.	A woman dancing, with metal plates on her dress and holding castanets, with a statuette of Venus under a bower of myrtle.	with the four seasons	holding in his right hand	distinctly
MAY	A man, in a loose robe, carrying on his left arm a deep basket filled with flowers and fruits, and with his right hand applying a flower to his nose. At his feet a peacock; and behind, a tall plant in full leaf and flower.	Cunctas veris opes et picta rosaria gemmis Liniger in calathis, aspice, Maius habet. Mensis Atlantigenæ dictus cognomine Maiaæ, Quem merito multum diligit Uranie.		of the year, two to the right and	a spear, with an eagle at his feet.	from one
JUNE	A young man, naked, pointing to a sun-dial with his finger. In his left hand is a flaming torch (to indicate the heat of the season). Behind, to the right, is a sickle; to the left, a plant in full bloom; in front, a basket filled with fruits.	Nudus membra, dehinc solares respicit horas Junius, ac Phœbum flectere monstrat iter. Idem maturas Cereris designat aristas; Floralesque fugas lilia fusa docent.		right and two to the left.	Below are two men,	another
JULY	"A naked male figure holding in his right hand a purse, in his left a shallow basket with fruit; at his feet is a broken object from which coins are falling, and two covered cups."	Eecce coloratos ostentat Julius artus, Crines cui rutilos spicæ sarta ligant: Morus sanguineos præbet gravidata racemos, Quæ medio cancri sidere læta vires.	A figure, fully clothed, picking out mulberries from a shallow vessel, and behind, the tree from which they have been picked.	two to the left.		

TABLE II.—CLASSICAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE MONTHS—*continued*.

MONTHS.	Illuminated Calendar, circ. A.D. 384, Montfaucon, <i>L'Antiquité Épiques</i> , suppl. Tom. I. Pl. IV.—xvi, cited in part by Mr. A. W. Franks, <i>Archæologia</i> , xxi. p. 228.	Tetrasticha, attributed to Ansonius, beneath each picture in the preceding series.	Mosaic Pavement, from Carthage, described by Mr. A. W. Franks, <i>Archæologia</i> , vol. xxxviii p. 227.	Sarcophagus in the Barberini Collection at Rome, Montfaucon, Pl. III.	Medallion of the Emperor Alexander Severus, Montfaucon, op. cit. Pl. II.	Mosaic Pavement from Central Asia, <i>Ann. Arch.</i> xxi. and xxi.
AUGUST . .	A naked man, with flowing hair, holding a shallow vessel full of water to his chin, about to drink. Near him is a fan of peacock's feathers, and on the ground three water-melons. By his side a large vessel (probably of drink, to quench thirst).	Fontanos latices, et lucida pocula vitro, Cerne, ut demerso torridus ore bibat. Æterno regni signatus nomine mensis, Latona genitam quo perhibent Hecaten.		Beneath are children	reclining, each holding a	but
SEPTEMBER.	A naked man, carrying a cloak upon his shoulder, flying in the wind. In his right hand he holds a string, to the end of which a lizard is tied by the leg; in his left a vessel, apparently containing apples. At his feet two vessels ready for the vintage.	Surgentes acinos varios et præsecat uvas September, sub quo mitia poma jacent. Captivam filo gaudens religasse lacertam, Quæ suspensa manu nobile ludit opus.		gathering fruits,	and above are two	identified
OCTOBER. .	A naked man, with a cloak thrown over one shoulder, holding in the right hand a hare, and the left upon a long wicker basket, between his legs. Behind his head is a bundle of rods, partly covered by a cloth, on which a bird is singing. At his feet a basket of fruit.	Dat premsum leporem, cumque ipso palmitæ foetus October; pingues dat tibi ruris aves. Jam bromios spumare lacus, et musta sonare Apparet, vino vas calet ecce novo.		and recumbent	chariots, with horses, driven	by Greek

TABLE III.—CLASSICAL

SEASONS.	Arch of Severus, Montfaucon, op. cit. Pl. II.	Sarcophagus in Barberini Collection, Montfaucon, op. cit. Pl. III.	Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, A.D. 359. Agincourt, <i>Hist. de l'Art. par les Mon.</i> tom. II. tab. VI.
WINTER . . .	A young man, winged, well clothed and shod, with his head covered, carrying in his left hand some fruits, and in his right two aquatic birds.	A young man, winged, well clothed and shod, is crowned with dry branches naked of foliage. (The arms missing.) By his side a dog.	Three young men, naked, gathering bundles of wood. One tree with a few leaves on; another nearly bare.
SPRING . . .	A young man, winged, more than half naked, crowned with flowers, holding flowers in his left hand. (The right hand is broken off.)	A young man, winged, nearly naked, crowned with flowers. (The right arm, which probably held some emblem of spring, is broken.) Beneath, a little boy milking a sheep.	Two young men, winged, and two unwinged, nearly naked, gathering flowers in a basket.
SUMMER . . .	A young man, winged, more than half naked, crowned with ears of corn, and carrying corn in his hand.	A young man, winged, nearly naked, crowned with ears of corn. (The left arm, which probably held some emblem of Autumn, is broken.) Below, a little boy gathering corn.	One young man, clothed, with a bowl in his hand and a swan at his feet; one young man, naked, holding a hare or fawn by its hind legs; one young man, winged, naked, holding a bowl; and two naked figures holding fruits.
AUTUMN . . .	A young man, winged, nearly naked, holding a vessel filled with fruits in his left hand, and a bunch of grapes in his right.	A young man, winged, nearly naked, crowned with grapes and other fruits. (Both arms gone.) Below, an animal resting its fore feet on a closed vessel; probably a panther guarding wine.	Three young men, winged, naked, at the vintage; one treading the grapes in a vat; one unwinged, assisting; and two children bringing a cart drawn by a pair of oxen.

TABLE II.—CLASSICAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE MONTHS—continued.

MONTHS.	Illuminated Calendar, circ. A.D. 354, Montfaucon, <i>L'Antiquité Expiquée</i> , Suppl. Tom. I, Pl. IV.—xvi. cited in part by Mr. A. W. Franks, <i>Archæologia</i> , xxxviii. p. 229.	Tetrastichs, attributed to Ausonius, beneath each picture in the preceding series.	Mosaic Pavement, from Carthage, described by Mr. A. W. Franks, <i>Archæologia</i> , vol. xxxviii. p. 227.	Sarcophagus in the Barberini Collection at Rome, Montfaucon, Pl. III.	Medallion of the Emperor Alexander Severus, Montfaucon, op. cit. Pl. II.	Mosaic Pavement from Central Asia. <i>Journ. Arch.</i> xliii. and xxiv.
NOVEMBER.	"A draped figure, with a shaven head, rests against a cippus, on which is placed the head of an animal; he holds a platter with a snake in one hand and a sistrum in the other; at his feet is a goose, and above a pomegranate."	Carbaseo surgens post hunc indutus amictu Mensis, ab antiquis sacra Deamque colit; A quo vix avidus sistro compescitur anser, Devotusque satis ubera fort humeris.	Fragment of a figure holding a sistrum.	animals,	at speed	
				indicative	by two	inscrip-
				of	indicative	
DECEMBER.	A man, thickly clothed, holding a large flaming torch in his left hand. On a table before him are dice, at which he is about to play. Behind are birds hung up by the feet; on the ground are "two fruits having the form of human hearts."	Anrea sulcatæ coniecta et semina terræ Pascit hiems, pluvio de Jove cuncta madent. Anrea nunc revocat Saturni festa December, Nunc tibi cum domino ludere verna licet.		Temporum	Temporum	tions.
				Felicitas.	Felicitas.	

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE SEASONS. (93.)

Medallion of Commodus and of Constantine, Montfaucon, Id.	Coin of Caracalla, Montfaucon, Id.	Coin of Commodus, described by Akerman, <i>Roman Coins</i> , I. 293.	Medallion of Commodus and Verus, described by Akerman, <i>Roman Coins</i> , I. 293.	Bas-relief at Rome, engraved by Lehrs, <i>Bauverhältnisse</i> , I. 92.
A boy, well clothed and shod, holding a large bird in his left hand, and the bough of a tree thrown over his shoulder in the right.	A boy, well clothed and shod, holding a large bird in his left hand, and a stick, at the end of which appears to be another bird, thrown over his shoulder in the right.	Clothed, striding to the left, towards the others.	The body and head clothed; a flail with two thongs on the right shoulder; something in the left hand.	Female figure fully draped, holding a boar or pig by its hind legs in her right hand, and upon her left shoulder a stick, from one end of which hangs a hare or rabbit, and from the other a bird.
A little boy, naked, holding flowers in his left hand, and carrying a kid in his right.	A little boy, naked, holding flowers in his left hand, and carrying a kid in his right.	With a wreath, held over the head with both hands.	Naked, holding a dish or basket above the head, apparently scattering seed.	Female figure, shoulders bare, otherwise draped to the feet, holding seeds or berries in a fold of drapery.
A little boy, naked, carrying a sickle.	A little boy, naked, carrying a sickle.	With a sickle in the right hand, advancing towards the left.	Naked, a sickle in the right hand, something like corn in the left.	Female figure, shoulders bare, otherwise draped to the feet, holding a garland.
A little boy, naked, carrying a basket filled with fruits upon his head.	A little boy, naked, carrying a basket filled with fruits upon his head.	Standing to the left, and holding up a hare or fawn by its hind legs with his right hand; in his left, a dish.	Naked; a hare or fawn, apparently held by its hind legs in the right hand; a dish of fruit in the left.	Female figure, shoulders bare, otherwise draped to the feet, holding a goat by its fore legs in her right hand, and a dish of fruits in her left.

TABLE III.—CLASSICAL

SEASONS.	Another Medaillon of Commodus. <i>Akerman, Ibid. p. 317.</i>	Silver Situla, found at Tournan, near Vienne, <i>Proc. Soc. Antiq. iv. 294.</i>	Silver Acerra, <i>Proc. Soc. Ant. iv. 295.</i>
WINTER.	"Tellus, seated beneath a vine, which she encircles with her left arm,	"An aged female seated, apparently, on a boar resting on the ground; one of the cupids which follows her is muffled up and carries dead game."	A cupid balancing "on his back a slender pole, from which hang two birds and a hare."
SPRING.	while her elbow rests upon the modius; her	"A naked female, young and beautiful, crowned with flowers, seated on a panther; before her a basket of flowers, and around her several cupids."	"A cupid carrying fillets and some other objects."
SUMMER.	right arm touching a globe with several stars, over	"Seated on a bull, reposing on the ground; she holds a sheaf of corn, and is accompanied by a cupid carrying a sickle."	"A cupid flying, and bearing ears of corn and a poppyhead."
AUTUMN.	which are passing four boys, representing the seasons."	"A female crowned with grapes and seated upon a panther; she is preceded by a cupid bearing a basket of fruit, and followed by another cupid who is holding the panther's tail."	"A cupid supporting a basket of fruit."

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE SEASONS—continued. (93).

Mosaic Pavement, Littlecote Park. Foster, <i>Mosaic Pavements</i> , etc. vol. i.	Mosaic Pavements, Cirencester. <i>Archæol. Journ.</i> vi. 328.	Mosaic Pavement, Bignor. <i>Archæologia</i> , xviii. 205. <i>Archæol. Journ.</i> vi. 328.	Mosaic Pavement, from Carthage. <i>Archæologia</i> , xxviii. 231.	Mosaic Pavement from Central Asia, <i>Ann. Arch.</i> xiii. and xiv.
A female figure fully clothed, with the exception of the arms, riding on a goat, empty handed.		"A female bust in a dark hood, with dark drapery over the shoulders, and holding in her hand a branch of a tree devoid of leaves."		Holding a flask or vial, but whether for wine (for feast- ing) or water (for the in- clemency of the season) is not shown. Head enveloped in a hood.
A female figure, naked down to the hips, riding on a deer, holding in her right hand a flower.	"With a swallow on her shoulder, and flowers on her head and in her hand."		"A female head, with ear- rings, and a purple stripe in her dress."	Holding a basket of flowers, and crowned with what, possibly, may be intended to represent flowers.
A female figure, naked down to the hips, riding on a pan- ther with a swan at her side.	"Ceres, holding her sickle, her head adorned with ripe corn."		"A female head of great beauty, crowned with ears of corn, and wearing a torques of gold."	A Ceres-like looking bust, with ornaments in the ears; horns, terminating appa- rently in ears of corn, rise from the brow.
A female figure, fully clothed, with the exception of the arms, riding on a bull, with a leafy bough, probably a vine branch, in her right hand.	"With a pruning hook, and a head-dress of green leaves, and groups of fruit."			A female figure, with orna- ments in the hair and ears, supposed to symbolize the vintage.

NOTES.

(1). The experience of many centuries proved that though the autumn was the fittest time for ploughing and sowing in warm and temperate climates, and for such seeds as required to lie in the ground through the winter in order to come to maturity in autumn, the beginning of the year was more suitable where there was risk of the budding grain being injured by the frost. "In the warmer countries, lands would be broken up and fallows made, immediately after the winter Solstice or Sunstead" (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* translated by Philemon Holland, 1601, xviii. 19); but Virgil is quoted in support of the sowing of wheat and barley, as a rule, between the autumnal and winter solstice (*Ibid.* xviii. 24). In colder climates the ploughing and sowing season must necessarily be later. Thus, says Vincent of Beauvais (*Spec. Doct.* vi. 46, edit. 1624.)—"Pinguet et sicci agri proscindi et aperiri jam (mense Januari) possunt." "Si clemens fuerit hyems, hordeum galaticum, quod grave et candidum est, circa idus Januarii seramus" (cap. 48). In particular districts the occupation might be even still later. Thus, "Mense Februario locis tepidis, aut si tempus clemens, et siccum fuerit, colles pingues proscindi convenit." (Palladius, *De Agricultura*, lib. 3, quoted *Spec. Nat.* vi. 55.) "Mense Martio locis quidem frigidis prata purgari atque serenari oportet, locis autem calidis, colles pingues, et agros uliginosos proscindere, et exarare convenit (lib. 4)." "Mense quoque Aprili pingues agri quamdiu aquam tenent, post idus proscindendi sunt (lib. 5)." "Mense nihilominus Maio pingues herbosique proscinduntur agri (lib. 6)." "Mense vero Junii frigidissimis locis, quæ Maio prætermissa sunt excoluntur; oportet fere tunc agros æque proscindi herbosis, ac partibus gelidis vineta occari (lib. 7)." "Porro mense Augusti . . . ager planus humidus exilis incipiat exarari (lib. 9)." Olaus Magnus describes the practice of the Northern nations in the sixteenth century as closely allied to our own. "Siliginem tamen hyemalem seminant circa occasum caniculæ, quam evoluta fere anno colligunt fertilissima messe maturam. Vernali etiam tempore eandem in fine Tauri seminant maturamque colligunt in corde Leonis. Hoc idem de tritico, hordeoque, et avena servatur." (*Hist. de Gent. Septent.* edit. 1555, xiii. 3.) But there can be little doubt that in every age and country the object of the husbandman has been to sow his seed as early as he can presume it will grow to maturity; and in this the picture under consideration and the first passage from Vincent of Beauvais, given above, mutually support one another. And here it may be remarked, at starting, that the *Speculum Universale* of Vincent of Beauvais is the most valuable work of reference we have on mediæval husbandry, embodying not only the latest discoveries of the writer's own time (A.D. 1244), but founded upon and largely made up of extracts from Palladius, Columella, Varro, Pliny, Virgil, and such other classical works as were the standard text-books on the subject throughout the middle ages; more especially Palladius, twelve of whose fourteen books form a kind of farmers' calendar, in which the labours of the months are arranged in the order in which they have to be performed.

(2). Compare the old German name of the month—*Sprockelmonat*, i.e., Sprouting-month. There are three chapters in Vincent of Beauvais upon the pruning of vines in February (*Spec. Doct.* vi. 57, 58, 59), and on the taking of cuttings (cap. 55). In another the art of grafting pear-trees the same month is described (cap. 69), and "Tempore hoc, si quæ (cæteræ arbores) sunt in seminariis plantæ, circumfodiendi sunt, et amputandi eis rami superflui, &c." (cap. 54). In the chapter—*De instrumentis rusticis*, we find—"Falx est qua arbores putantur et vites." (Lib. xi. 104.) The vines were also pruned in autumn, but

the spring pruning was deemed by far the most important:—"Melius . . . vernal, antequam, surculus progerminet." (Columella, *De re rust.* iv. x. i.) In warm climates the spring pruning and autumnal vintage answered in importance to the spring sowing and autumnal reaping of colder climates. Pliny says—"Order in the matter so, that by the equinox in March all your pruning and binding of vines be done and finished" . . . Apple tree stocks and such like fruits are then to be set and grafted." (Lib. xviii. 26.) And the taking and planting of vine cuttings in early spring is described by Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 63 and 319. See also Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, vii. 43. Where February is represented bearing

"tooles to prune the trees before the pride

"Of hasting Prime did make them burgein round."

(3). As soon as the ground, wetted though with the snows of January and rains of February, has been dried by the winds of March, the husbandman prepares it to receive the precious seed. "Mense Martio . . . colles pingues et agros uliginosos proscindere atque exarare conveniet; calidis et siccis regionibus panicum seremus et milium. . . . Nunc quoque cicer utrumque serere debemus . . . Hoc etiam mense canabum serimus. . . . (Vine. Bellovac. *Spec. Doct.* vi. 79.) "Towards the latter end of this (winter) quarter it is good and necessarie to dig and turne up fresh mould with mattocke and spade against the time that roses or vines be set." (Pliny, *op. cit.* xviii. 26.) See also Spenser, *op. cit.* 32. Where it is said of March that

"in his hand a spade he also hent,

"And in a bag all sorts of seeds ysame,

"Which on the earth he strowed as he went, &c."

And Tusser:—

"In March sow thy barley thy londe not to colde :

• • • • •

"Sow wheate in a meane, sow thy rie not to thin ;

let peason and beanes here and there, take therein.

Sow barley and otes, good and thick doe not spare ;

giue land leane her sede or her wede for to bare."

A hundreth good pointes of husbandrie, edit. 1557, reprinted 1810, No. 70, 71. (See also note (1) above.)

(4). Compare the Anglo-Saxon name of the month—*Eostur-monath* (Bede, Edit. 1688, folio *De temporum Ratione*. This edition contains a number of spurious works of Bede, which however are valuable in connection with this subject as indicative of the customs and traditions of the periods to which they belong). *Eostur-monath* was believed to be so called after the Anglo-Saxon goddess *Eostre*, whose festival was celebrated in April, and was supplanted by the Christian Easter, as the Pagan *Yule* was supplanted by Christmas, and the ancient *Lupercalia* by *Candlemas*. On the latter, see Baronius, *Martyrolog. Roman.* edit. 1630, p. 73, and Olaus Magnus, *op. cit.* xvi. 6.

(5). "Awe bleteth after lomb." In England, as a rule, the lambs are pretty well grown in May. In the south the lambing season begins as early as December; in hilly and colder climates, where the grass is later, the season may be as late as May. Tusser (Edit. 1519) discourses on lambing under March, and we hail the bleating of young lambs in the Midland Counties as one of the earliest sounds of spring.

(6). It is probable that there is some mistake here. (See note 8.) For although it is said by Vincent of Beauv. *Spec. Doct.* vi. 110,—"*Nunc primo hordei messis incipitur. . . . Nunc etiam mense postremo*

locis maritimis et calidioribus ac siccis, tritici messis abscinditur." Yet August was the great harvest-month in England, to which country the execution of this MS. belongs. Compare the Anglo-Saxon name for the month of August—*Arn-monat* (*Verstegan, Rest. Decayed Intell.* p. 67), and the old German—*Oostmonat*, or harvest-month; and the following line, probably extracted from some old calendar,

"Augustus metit, et fruges in horrea mittit,"

in the pseudo-writing of Bede, *De Embolismo*, Cologne edition of 1688. The horn to summon and cheer the reapers is mentioned as late as Tusser (edit. 1519), under August. Temp. Rich. II. (1377-1399), in the Manor of Dorking, "the harvest lasted five weeks, communibus annis" (*Archæologia*, xviii. 284). But now the ancient sickles and scythes are almost entirely replaced by reaping machines, which work much more quickly. Not, however, that these implements were unknown in the middle ages, a description of them occurring both in Palladius, Pliny, and Vincent of Beauvais. The words of Pliny are (Holland's transl. xviii. 30), "In Fraunce where the fields be large, they use to set a jade or an asse unto the taile of a mightie great wheelebarrow or cart made in manner of a van, and the same set with keene and trenchant teeth sticking out on both sides; now is this carte driven forward before the said beast upon two wheelles, into the standing ripe corne (contrarie to the manner of other carts that are drawne after); the said teeth or sharpe tines fastened to the sides of the wheelebarrow or car aforesaid, catch hold of the corne eares, and cut them off: yet so as they fall presently into the body of the wheelebarrow." The instrument described by Vincent of Beauvais is even still more elaborate (*Spec. Doct.* vi. 110). With it, he says, "brevi horarum spatio, tota messis impletur." They fell out of use, and were entirely forgotten, probably, like many of the old surgical instruments, not from any lack of ingenuity or inadequacy in their conception, but from the lack of means at that time to construct with sufficient accuracy and refinement.

(7). "Silvestres agri utiliter extirpabuntur arboribus atque virgultis cum luna decrescit, desectis radicibus atque combustis (*Idem*, cap. 114). When trees were cut for grafting, or taken up for transplanting, it was done with the waxing moon, that they might be haled on in their growth by the growing moon.

(8). It is probable that there is some mistake here (See note 6), and that this subject belongs either to the month of June or July; haymaking naturally preceding harvest. In the Cott. MS. Julius A. vi. of the same date, with very similar designs, and also of English execution, the subjects are arranged as follows:—Cutting timber, for June; mowing grass, for July; reaping corn, for August. (See Table I.) For haymaking in July see note 21.

(9). The old seal of the Mayor of Grimsby represents a boar hunt; and it seems that in former times this was the prevalent and favourite amusement of the townsmen. The lord of the adjacent manor of Bradley was obliged by his tenure to keep a supply of these animals in his wood for the entertainment of the mayor and burgesses; and the opening of the season was officially proclaimed, annually, on as early a day as convenient after the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (8 Sept.) Hampson, *Mædii Ævi Kalendarium*, i. 96. The sport was then continued, when the weather was favourable, through the winter months. At Queen's College, Oxford, the boar's head was anciently the first dish placed upon the table on Christmas day, accompanied by the well-known carol, which is still sung. The sport is also specially attributed to winter by Olaus Magnus, *op. cit.* xviii. 26., where also is an interesting woodcut of a hunt, with hound and horn. For an engraving of the Savernake "Tenure Horn," mounted with silver gilt, in compartments filled alternately with a hound and some kind of game, a stag, hind, unicorn, fox, hare, &c., and with figures of a forester blowing a horn, a king, and a bishop, see *Archæologia*, iii. 24. From an early period

this instrument was employed for calling not only hounds, but other domesticated animals. Thus Columella (lib. vi. cap. 23)—“Id semper crepusculo fieri debet, ut ad sonum buccinæ pecus, si quod in sylva substiterit, septa repetere consuescat.” (See also note 25.)

(10).

“Octobri offertur venatio, vina, volucres.”

Bede, *edit. cit.* i. 124.

For a beautifully embroidered hawking-pouch, lure, and glove, c. 1600, belonging to the Lady North, see engravings in *Arch. Journ.* x. 86. The first and last are embroidered with the mistletoe and blackberry in fruit, appropriate to the autumnal season.

(11). Indicative of the approaching season—

“When icicles hang by the wall,

“And Dick the shepherd blows his nail,

“And Tom bears logs into the hall,

“And milk comes frozen home in pail.”

“Bryng in fyre on Alhalawgh day,

“To Candulmas even, I dar welle say.”

Boke of Curtasye, 393-4.

Tusser advises that store of winter wood shall be got home in October, but all through the winter months wood-cutting is a characteristic employment. And the winter fire had an importance to our forefathers, even greater than it has for us; their season being far more severe than ours, and their means of defending themselves against it far less adequate. The blazing fire and heap of wood answered to the howling winds, driving snows and sleet, storms of rain, and dark long dismal nights, of those inclement and protracted winters. (See notes 27 and 90.)

(12). This is the most natural time for thrashing wheat, all out-door work being at a standstill. “Messis alibi tribulis in area, alibi equorum gressibus exteritur, alibi vero perticis flagellatur.” (Vinc. Bellovac. *Spec. Nat.* xi. 43.) “Spicæ . . . possunt . . . deinde per hiemem vel baculis excuti,” &c. (Columella, *op. cit.* ii. xxi.) “Collecta messe diversarum frugum in amplissimis horreis, ad hoc specialiter fabricatis, aptiorem trituram omnem usque in profundam hyemem, quando longiores sunt noctes, reservant.” (Olaus Mag. *De Gent. Septent.* xiii. 7.) See also his curious woodcut of three men thrashing with flails, at night, by the light of burning pitch. Tusser attributes this occupation to November (*edit.* 1610):—

“November take flaile

“Let skep no more faile.”

And, *edit.* 1557, in his “*Sonet or brief rehersall*, &c.

“Dirtie November, bid threshe at thine ease.”

But to December also;—

“Abrode for the raine when thou canst do no good;

“then go let thy flayles, as the threshers were wood,” &c. No. 36.

The sending round of “creed wheat” at Christmas, is probably a remnant of the winter thrashings, a much more formidable business then than now. In some of the Northern nations the last sheaf from the

harvest field was never threshed, but carefully reserved till Christmas Eve, and then brought out and fastened to a pole, set up in front of the dwellings, for the little birds of every kind to feast upon on Christmas morning. (See note 53). In reference to the notched stick, compare the following passage from Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Doct.* xi. 102. "Tesseræ sunt quibus frumentorum numerus designatur;" and the following:—

"Perfore on his gerde skore shalle he

"Alle messys in halle þat seruet be."

Boke of Curtasye, 407-8.

(13). These taken together form the following mnemonic verses, which are contained in at least one MS. of the fifteenth century known to the writer, and in others possibly of earlier date:—

"Poto, ligna cremo, de vite superflua demo;

"Do germen gratum, mihi flos servit, mihi pratum:

"Spicas declino, messes meto, vina propino:

"Semen humi jacto, mihi pasco sues, mihi macto."

Compare with the following, from an early copy of the Sarum Missal:—

"Pocula Janus amat, et Februus algeo clamat;

"Martius de vite superflua demit; Aprilis florida prodit:

"Frons et flos nemorum Maio sunt fomes amorum.

"Dat Junius fœna; Julio resecatnr avena;

"Augustus spicas; September colligit uvas.

"Seminat October; spoliat virgulta November;

"Querit amare cibum porcum mactando December."

(14). It must be remarked that any research into the origin of the signs of the Zodiac, tempting as the subject is, is entirely beside our present purpose. The Mediæval Encyclopædists, Vincent of Beauvais (*Spec. Nat.* xv. 35), and Durandus (*Rat. Div. Off.* viii. 3), are the authorities to whom we must turn for the ideas respecting the subject as received and embodied by mediæval artists. The latter passage, alluded to by Durandus himself in connection with representations of the months of the year, translated, is as follows:—

"The first sign Aries, in which the sun is about the beginning of spring, is so called because as the Ram is an animal weak behind but strong before, so at that season the first days of the sun are weak because of the cold diminishing his strength, and the last which approach the summer somewhat stronger in heat; or, as in winter the ram lies on his left side but in spring begins to lie upon his right, so the sun before that season remains on the left-hand side of the heavens, namely the meridian, but after enters the right side towards the south. The ancients on account of love called this sign Jupiter, on whose head those who make images place the horns of the ram. The second sign is Taurus, so called because as the bull is stronger than the ram, so the sun has more power now than before; and as the bull is stronger before than behind, so the sun is stronger as he goes forward than in his previous course. The ancients placed the bull amongst the stars in honour of Jupiter, because he is fabulously feigned to have been changed into a bull when he carried off Europa. The third is called Gemini, because at that time the power of the sun becomes two-fold, beginning to be both hot and dry in its effect, or because then especially things germinate and multiply, birds and animals then bringing forth their young; or on account of the twin or two

degrees by which the sun is elevated from the earth more in that sign than in any other. And the ancients called this sign Gemini on account of Castor and Pollux, whom after death they placed among the most famous constellations. The fourth, Cancer, is so called because the crab is an animal that walks backward, and the sun then goes backward, receding from us after having previously approached us. The fifth, Leo, is so called because the lion is a cruel animal and always in a fever; so also this is a cruel and fever-breeding season. Again, because Hercules killed a very strong lion in Greece, for his valour they placed it among the twelve signs. The sixth, Virgo, because as a virgin brings forth nothing, so is this season barren and brings forth nothing new; and yet it causes things that are produced to come to maturity, for this is the time of the dog-days. The seventh, Libra, is so called from the equality of the month, because, when the sun is there, day and night are weighed out equally, for the autumnal equinox is then. The eighth is Scorpio; for as the scorpion is venomous and stings, so also that season produces much disease by reason of the inequality of the air, for in the morning there is stinging cold and at noon-day burning heat. The ninth, Sagittarius, is so called because the hunting which archers practise comes off for the most part at that time; or on account of the thunderbolts which often fall then, and which the Italians call arrows. The tenth, Capricorn; for as the he-goat feeds among rugged mountains or lofty precipices, so the sun is then lowest upon the meridian; or as the he-goat is accustomed to climb mountains, so the sun then begins to ascend towards us. Again, the ancients placed the figure of Capricorn amongst the stars on account of the goat which nourished Jupiter; and they made the hind-quarters in the form of a fish, to designate the rains which the same month usually has in its latter days. The eleventh is Aquarius, so called because that season abounds in winds and waters. The twelfth is Pisces, because as the fish is an animal of the waters, so also that season is watery by reason of many showers; or because then, the waters being thawed, is the time for fishing."

(15). Compare the Anglo-Saxon name of the month—*Giuli* (Bede, *De Temp. Rat.*) or *Giuli eftera*, after Yule, i.e., the great Anglo-Saxon feast which began the year, answering to the feast of Christmas. After the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity, the feast was retained, but the name of the month changed from *Giuli* to *Heligh-monat*, or Holy Month (Verstegan, *op. cit.* 68), though the word Yule has survived to this day, like Easter (see note 4).

(16). "As touching the falling and cutting downe of trees, to serve either in temples or for other uses, round and entire as they grow, without any squaring; as also for to bark them; the only time and season is, when the sap runneth, and that they begin to bud forth: otherwise you shall never be able to get off their barke. . . . As for the other timber that is squared with the axe, and by that meanes rid from the barke, it would be fallen or cut downe betweene mid-winter and the time that the wind Favonius bloweth." (Pliny, *op. cit.* xvi. 39.) One can almost hear the resounding axe of the woodman in the frosty air, see the bright golden-coloured chips and piles of brown shells of bark upon the ground, and smell the fresh sylvan odour of the scattered boughs. Pine, elm, ash, cypress, fir, poplar; all these are best felled for timber in winter. (Palladius, *De re rustica*, Nov. xv. i.; Dec. i. i.; Jan. xxii.)

(17). Vincent of Beauvais (*Spec. Doct.* vi. 80) explains that the pruning of vines must be done in cold climates in March instead of February. "Martius hic falcem retinens vult cedere vitem." (Calendar in Bede, *edit. cit.* i. 194.) See also note 2 above.

(18). "Quo plantæ germen reddunt, animantia prolem." Bede, *edit. cit.* *De variis computus regulis.*

(19). Not improbably a Christian form of the Roman Terminalia. "Horum vice Angli, ex vetustissima consuetudine parochiarum terminos lustrant: hodie *Processiones et Rogationes* appellantur." (Hoffmann, *Lexicon Universale*, edit. 1698, in *Terminalia*.) Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday before Holy Thursday, "The relics of the Saints were taken out of church, and carried with the solemn procession which the clergy and people made all round the streets of a town, and the fields of a country parish." (Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, iii. 359.) The custom was established as early as the time of S. Cuthbert, and is alluded to in the account of his death by Bede. ". . . . *tertia feria autem Ascensionem Domini ambulavimus cum reliquiis sanctorum, ut consuetudo illius diei poscebat*" (Bede *Hist. Ecclesiast. Introd.* edit. Stevenson, p. xvii); and the ritual defined by the Council of Cloveshoe, A.D. 747. (Wilkins, *Concil.* i. 97.) Supplications were offered, principally on behalf of the fruits of the earth, and the rights and properties of the parish. Sometimes crosses, elsewhere trees, formed the boundaries; the latter called "gospel trees," because the gospel for the day was read under or near them. (Fosbroke, *Encyc. Antiq.* ii. 500.)

(20). Vincent of Beauvais, quoting Palladius, says—"Oves in calidis mense Aprili oportet tonderi;" but adds,—"*Porro in locis temperatis mense Maio ovium tonsio est celebranda.*" (*Spec. Nat.* xviii. 75.) In still colder climates the shearing would be even later. Thus Tusser, writing for England, says:—

"In June washe thy shepe, where the water doth runne :

* * *

"Then share them and spare not, at two daies anende."

Op. cit. No. 81.

The following tokens are laid down by Dyer, in his *Fleece* (Book i.), to mark the proper time in each climate:—

"If verdant elder spreads

"Her silver flowers; if humble daisies yield

"To yellow crowfoot and luxuriant grass,

"Gay shearing-time approaches."

(21). Compare the Anglo-Saxon name of the month, *Heymonat* (Verstegan, *ubi supra*), and old German *Hooy-monat*, or hay-month. "*Julius ergo secatur graminis fœnumque reservat.*" (Bede, *edit. cit.* i. 202.) This occupation is also attributed to the month by Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, vii. 36.

"Then came hot July boyling like to fire,

"That all his garments he had cast away.

* * *

"Behinde his back a sithe, and by his side

"Under his belt he bore a sickle circling wide."

According to Pliny, "The ordinarie season to mow meddowes is about the Calends or beginning of Iune." (*op. cit.* xviii. 28.) And Tusser (*op. cit.* 86, 87) appropriates it to the same month:—

"At midsommer downe with thy brimbles and brakes :

"and after abrode, with thy forkes and thy rakes.

"Set mowers a worke, while the meddowes be growne,

"the lenger they stande, so much worse to be mowne.

"Pronide of thine owne, to have all thing at hande ;
 "els worke and the workman shall oftentimes stande.
 "Love seldome to borow, that thinkest to save ;
 "who lendest the one, will loke two thinges to have."

Haymaking in July is, however, also spoken of (90, 91). And Olaus Magnus says—"Medio Julii fœnum, tandemque in Augusti medio messem collecturi Septentrionales agricolæ."

(22). Said by Nigidius and others to be Ceres, "eo quod spicas teneat" (Hoffmann, *Lex. Univ.* in *Virgo*); or Demeter, the mother of the maid Persephone, through whose return from wintry sojourn in the under-world spring awakens, the air is filled with summer fragrance, and the autumnal corn-fields wave with ripening grain. (Cox, *Ar. Myth.* ii. viii. 2.) The brightest star in the constellation is still called *Spica Virginis*, the ear of corn in the virgin's hand. In Spenser (*op. cit.* vii. 37), August

"led a lovely mayd
 "Forth by the lilly hand, the which was cround
 "With eares of corne, and full her hand was found."

And Shakespeare (*Tempest*, iv. i.) represents Ceres bearing

"Wheat, rye, barley, vetches, oats, and pease."

(23). "Exactis jam messibus . . . prima silvestria, nec minus genera pirorum et malorum condiuntur." (Columella, *De re rust.* xii. x. 1, 2.)

"Poma dat et gratos September ab arbore fructus."

Bede, *edit. cit.* p. 223.

"The mone in the wane gather fruit on the tree."

Tusser, *op. cit.* 26. (See also note 7.)

"September his fruit biddeth gather as fast."

Idem. *A sonet or brief rehearsall.*

There is a very charming love-scene connected with the autumnal apple-gathering in Longus (*Pastoralia* iii. 26, 27).

(24). The harvest ended, and food thus brought out of the earth, next comes the vintage and wine that maketh glad the heart of man. Compare the Anglo-Saxon name of the month—*Wyn-monat* (Verstegan, *ubi supra*), and the old German—*Wyn-monat*, or wine month. "Spumanti musto pomisque Octimber onustis." (Bede, *edit. cit.* i. 209). "Mense Octobri optima est vindemia." (Palladius, lib. ii, and Vinc. Bellovac. *Spec. Doct.* vi. 125.) For full details respecting the ancient vintage and method of making wine, see Pliny, *op. cit.* xiv. *passim*, and xviii. 31; also Vinc. Bellovac. *Spec. Doct.* vi. 125-7; and on the hooped wooden barrels used in cold climates, Pliny, lib. xiv. 21. The processes are pleasingly alluded to, incidentally, by Longus, *Pastoralia*, lib. ii. cap. i. § 26.

(25). "Glans quercina diffusam atque gravissimam facit suam." (Vinc. Bellovac. *Spec. Nat.* xii. 91.) "Delectatur autem in comedendo glandes, que reddunt humiditas ejus carnes." (Id. xviii. 79, *De Porcorum cibo*. See also Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 519, 20).

"Venit hyems . . .
 "Glande sues læti redeunt."

And Olaus Magnus (*De Gent. Septent.* xii. 6): "Fagorum nuces . . . quarum esu, sicut glandium, mire impinguuntur porci." The seal of Evesham Abbey has a representation, on the obverse, of Eove, the swain or countryman who first gave name to the place, standing in a wood, with his porcine herd near him. He carries a long staff, such as was probably used for the purpose of beating down acorns and beech-mast. (*Archæologia*, xix. 66, and plate v.) The 96th capital from the entrance of the Chapter House of York Minster has finely sculptured upon it a branch of oak, bearing leaves and acorns, with squirrels feeding upon it above and swine below. (Brown, *York Minster*, plate lxxxvi.) The custom was, from a very early period, in autumn, for the tenants of manors to send their swine into the lord's forests, either as a privilege incident to their holdings, or on some small payment. The forest laws were arbitrarily exercised even in the royal forests prior to the *Charta Forestæ*, 9 Hen. III., confirmed 28 Edw. I. This protects from seizure in the royal forests any pig except within sight and on the view of the rangers of the forest, and permits swine to be driven through the forests on their way elsewhere, and to pass a night therein if necessary and to feed without impediment. Hameline and John, Earls of Warren, at an early period regulated the admission of swine in *nemore nostro de Wakefeld*, and many charters of a similar character, doubtless, are in existence. It was not only upon the ground that the acorns were eaten; they were also gathered for home consumption. Thus, Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Doct.* vi. 148., says, "Hoc tempore (Novembri) glandes legendæ ac servandæ cura nos excitet; quod opus fœmeneis ac puerilibus operis celebrabitur facile, more baccarum." Brown (*York Minster*, pl. xcvii., cviii.) gives two engravings of key-blocks on which the oak and its fruit are finely sculptured, with men gathering the latter in conical bags hung from the neck. Tusser speaks of this as a work for September:—

"At Mihelmas mast would be loked vpon,

"and lay to get some or the mast time be gon :

"It saneth thy corne well, it fatteth thy swyne :

"in frost it doth helpe them, where els they should pine."

Op. cit. 24.

And in the *Sonet or brief rehearsal*,

"October bid hogges to come eate vp his mast."

Acorns are still knocked down for pigs and eaten by them in the Sussex lanes, and gathered by women and children in bags suspended from their necks for swine at home; and a fine description of the mast season in the New Forest at the close of the last century is given by Gilpin (*Forest Scenery*, ii. 112). The season began about the end of September, and lasted six weeks. The herd contained five or six hundred swine, which were fed, partly on mast and acorns gathered for them, partly on what they themselves were able to pick up. They wandered daily two or three miles from their sty, and returned in the evening with full bellies at the sound of the swineherd's horn, which they learned to follow. It was on account of the plentifulness of provisions in autumn, that sows were made to litter at that time. "Deteriores sunt (porcæ filii) qui (nascuntur) in æstate, parvi, et macri, et humidi." (Vinc. Bellov. *Spec. Nat.* xviii. 83, quoting Aristotle.) "Tunc parit, cum pabulo abundat terra." (Varro, ii. iv. 6.) The horn is used to this day to call the swine in the forests of Germany, and that it was the instrument by which the swineherd called his herd in the middle ages, is clear from various sources. Mr. Peacock informs me that the Louth Churchwardens' Accounts contain several memoranda similar to the following:—"for on horn to y^e swynerd viij d." under the year 1570. But no more interesting memorial has come down to us than the figure of "The Swineherd of Stow," which formerly stood upon the north turret of the west front of

Lincoln Minster, in commemoration of his contributing munificently to the work, A.D. 1209-1235. From the top of the pinnacle he was represented blowing his horn lustily. But in the late disastrous "Restoration," which in so many respects rendered the Minster for ever hereafter useless for scientific study, this precious relic was taken down to make way for a wretched "fac-simile." The original is engraved in Murray's *Handbook of the Cathedrals of England*, under Lincoln. (See note 9.)

(26). "Sues læti" no longer, the swine, fat with acorns, must be killed.

"Let hog once fat,
Loose nothing of that.

When mast is gon,
Hog falleth anon."

Tusser, *op. cit.* edit. 1519.

Pork was the favourite winter food of the middle ages. "Caro . . . levior est carnibus domesticis, fortis ac plurimi nutrimenti est, et velocis digestionis, et est melior quam potest esse in hyeme." (Vinc. Bellov. *Spec. Nat.* xviii. 82.) The mode of slaughter, here represented, was probably that most generally adopted in the middle ages, the animal being then left to bleed to death. Hence Chaucer's allusion—"Thou fallist as it were a stiked swyn." (*Parlour's Tale*, line 94) The modern custom of lifting the pig on to "a cratch," before killing it, was not generally necessary, since then swine were not immoderately fatted, as now, and could readily be lifted on to the cratch after they were dead for the purpose of scalding and dressing them. On a miserere at Bristol Cathedral, however, there is a representation of a large sow upon a cratch alive. One man is holding it fast by its front legs, the snout being secured to a leg of the cratch by a cord; while another, behind, holding the animal's buttocks with his left hand, advances with a sharply-pointed knife in his right. The mode of killing by decapitation, sometimes represented, can scarcely have been general, or the plan of stunning the animal by a blow upon the head before sticking it. The latter device appears to have been introduced into England by the German pork-butchers, and is barbarous and improper.

(27). "Cold February." *Faerie Queene*, vii. 43. This is one of the most frequent of any of the modes of symbolizing the month, and suggests the inhospitableness of the winters of former times, just as in poetry the same idea is suggested, as has been remarked, by the enthusiastic delight in spring which is found so strikingly in Chaucer and in some of our older ballads, as contrasted with the more chastened and refined allusions of modern times. (See notes 11 and 90.)

(28). The grafting of various trees and dressing of such vines as (on account of the coldness of the climate,) have not been done in March, is a work of this month. (Vinc. Bellov. *Spec. Doct.* vi. 102.) See also note 2 above.

(29). The weeding implements are not so clear in this example as in some others below; but there can be no doubt as to what is intended. A staff, terminating in a small fork, with which the weeds were pressed down and fixed, was held in one hand, and another staff of equal length, terminating in a small sickle-shaped hook, with which they were cut off close to the ground, was held in the other. The latter appears to have been, or to have closely resembled, the implement described by Vinc. Bellov. *De instrumentis rusticis. Spec. Doct.* xi. 104. "*Falcastrum*, a similitudine falcis vocatum: est autem ferramentum curvum cum manubrio longo, ad densitatem veprium succidendam. Hi et runcones dicti, quibus vepres secantur, à runcando dicti." Palladius (lib. i. *sub fin.*) speaks of "*Falcicula*, . . . quibus filicem solemus abscindere; and also of *Runcones*. Besides the hoeing of corn in the blade, grain crops are to be weeded, he says, just

before or after the time of flowering, either by hand or by means of a *Runcus*. (See also Pliny, xvii. 21.) Tusser (edit. 1599, xl. 10) evidently refers to the same implement under the name of a "Weedhooke."

"In May get a weedhooke, a crotch and a glove."

In the edition of 1557 (79-80), we have—

"In June get thy wedehoke, thy knife and thy glove :
 "and wede out such wede as the corn doth not love.
 "Slack no time thy weding, for darth nor for cheape :
 "thy corn shall reward it, or ever thou reape.
 "The maywede doth burne, and the thistle doth freate :
 "the tine pulleth downe, both the rie and the wheate.
 "The dock and the brake noieth corne very much :
 "but bodle for barley, no weede there is such."

It was on account of the weeds which grow so freely in this month that, according to Bede (*De temp. rat.*) it was called by the Anglo-Saxons—*Weyd-monath*, or, "*Mensis zizaniorum, quod ea tempestate maxime abundant.*" Whether this interpretation is correct or not it is valuable as being the earliest with which we are acquainted, and the one which, probably, was generally received subsequently. See also note 87.

(30). Compare the Anglo-Saxon name for the month—*Gerst-monat* (*Verstegan, op. cit.* p. 67), or barley-month, because this was the month for brewing beer, and hence the corn must needs be thrashed for this purpose. And again, under August, Tusser (Edit. 1599, 34), recommends that such corn shall now be thrashed as is necessary for the autumnal seed-sowing.

"Threshe sede and goe fanne, for the plough may not lie,
 September doth bid to be sowing of rye," &c. No. 20.

As winter was a season of great hardship (see notes 11, 27, and 90), that in which the "newe corn cam to chepyng" (*Piers Ploughman*, ed. Wright, i. 135-6) was one of joy and plenty.

(31). That vineyards were common in England during the Middle Ages is well known. They are mentioned no fewer than thirty-eight times in Domesday Book, and appear to have been attached to most of the larger monasteries (*Archæologia*, i. 319). The accounts of the keeper of the vineyard at Windsor Castle in the reign of Edward III., detail every operation of the vintage, from planting, grafting, and manuring, till the fruit was pressed, casks made or repaired, and the wine barrelled. (*Archæol. Journ.* v. 299.) In countries too cold, however, for the vine to flourish to perfection, large quantities of home-made wine were also manufactured, hydromel, mulse or mede, &c. (*Olaus Mag. op. cit.* xiii. 19-25.) Also cider, perry, ale, and beer. (See also note 24 above.)

(32). Compare the Anglo-Saxon name of the month—*Blod-monath* (Bede, *De Temp. Rat.* cap. xv.) or blood-month, and the old German—*Slagt-monat*, or slaughter-month. "*Mensis immolationum, quia in eo pecora quæ occisuri erant, Diis suis voverent.*" (Bede, *loc. cit.*) Though Christmas was formerly, as now, the principal season for "pig-cheer," yet, as Vincent of Beauvais remarks—"Pernas etiam et lardum conficimus, non solum mense hoc (Decembri), sed omnibus quos hyemalis algor astringit." (*Spec. Doct.* vi. 149). (See also note 26.)

(33). Compare the Anglo-Saxon name of the month—*Giuli* (Bede, *De temp. rat.* cap. xv.) or *erra-Geola*,

before-Yule, and see note 15 above. It will be observed that, in this series, the year both begins and ends with feasting:—

“Mensis amat tepido Jani decurrere victu,
Et refici grato sæpe liquore jubet.”

Bede, *edit. cit.* i. 215.

“Juxta mense focum calidis utare Decembri.”

Idem. p. 226.

“Torpentes invitat hyems genialis ad ignem,
Otia, luxuriam, potumque, cibumque suadens.”

Idem. *De celebritate quat. temp.*

Four lines of Chaucer, likewise, are recalled, by four of the compartments of this font:—

“Janus sit by the fuyr with double berd,
“And drynketh of his bugle horn the wyn;
“Biforn him stont the braun of tuskid swyn,
“And *nowel* crieth every lusty man.”

Frankelene's Tale, 516-20.

The two first lines answer respectively to the second and first compartment; the “tuskid swine” is being killed in the eleventh; and “*nowel* crieth every lusty man” of the twelfth.

(34.) *Eboracum*, facing p. 308. The plate, though poor in execution, is of great value as showing the sculptures more than 130 years ago, when many features, now indistinct, appear to have been discernible. To apply the elegant lines upon the title-page, true then, but truer now:

“Nec manet ut fuerat, nec formam servat eandem,
“Sed tamen ipsa eadem est.”

(35.) See Bede, *De Temp. Rat.* cap. xliii., xliiii.; and cap. xv., as follows:—“Cum vero Embolismus, hoc est, xliii. mensium lunarium annus occurreret, superfluum mensem æstati apponebant, ita ut tunc tres menses simul Lida nomine vocarentur, et ob id annus ille Thri-lidi cognominabatur, habens iv. menses æstatis, ternos ut semper temporum cæterorum.”

(36.) “The dissolved hospital of St. Nicolas *extra muros*.”

(37.) Janus, with, probably, the name of the month of which he is here the symbol. The god presided over the beginnings of all things, and had many attributes—most of them, however, connected with the idea of opening and shutting, derived apparently from the alternation of day and night occasioned by the sun, who in the earliest ages of ancient Rome was worshipped in the attributes of this god. Thus, Janus is said to be the guardian of the universe:—

“Quidquid ubique vides, cælum, mare, nubila, terras;
“Omnia sunt nostra clausa patentque manu.
“Me penes est unum vasti custodia mundi:
“Et jus vertendi cardinis omne meum est.”

Ovid, *Fasti*, l. 117-21.

But, in a more special sense, the idea of change being here still more prominent, he presided over the four seasons, and hence in some instances is represented with four heads, looking out at right angles with one

another (*Janus quadrifrons*); particularly over winter, because it was in that that the old year went out and the new began change again. Thus,

"Bruma novi prima est, veterisque novissima solis,

"Principium capiunt Phoebus et annus idem."

Ibidem, 163-4.

And hence the representations of the god with two heads (*Janus bifrons*), the one looking back upon the past, the other forward into the future; the one back upon the old year, the other forward into the new; and the apportionment of the first month of the year to the god, and the derivation of its name from him.

"Jane biceps, anni tacite labentis origo."

Ibidem, 65.

It is obvious that the derivation of the name of the month from *Janna* is secondary to this idea. Both are referred to in the Cologne edition of Bede, in treatises known to be spurious, but which, being productions of the same mediæval spirit which conceived the works of art we are considering, are, as we have already had occasion to remark, almost as valuable for our purpose as if they were genuine. Thus, it is said, "Januarius a Jano nuncupavit (Numa Pompilius), primumque anni esse voluit, tanquam bicipitis Dei mensem; respiciente ac prospiciente transacti finem, futuri principia. Quidam autumant, eum inde vocatum, quod limes et Janna sit anni." *Comp. Vulg. qui dicitur Ephem. Bede, edit. cit. i. 190.* And again,

"Est mensis primus, vel Jani nomine dictus,

"Olim gentili qui more Deus fuit anni,

"Vel quod janna sit, per quam venit et exit,

"Ex ipso frontem nunc appellamus eundem."

Versus de variis computus regulis, in same.

See also Spenser, Sonnet iv. edit. 1869:—

"New yeare, forth looking out of Janus gate,

"Doth seem to promise hope of new delight:

"And, bidding th' old Adiew, his passed date

"Bids all old thoughts to die in dumpish spright."

(38). See note 17, above; and compare the lateness of the vintage on the Deepdale font.

(39). Probably, as appears to be intended in Drake's engraving, a flower, indicative of opening spring. (Compare the Latin *Aprilis, Aperire*.) Thus "Fresh Aprill," in Spenser, was

"Garnished with garlonds goodly dight

"Of all the fairest flowres and freshest buds

"Which th' earth brings forth."

Faerie Queene, vii. vii. 33.

The flower held in the hand, here and elsewhere, reminds us of the rose given to the statue of Venus after the April washings (Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 124-131), and of some of the antique representations. (See Table III. and note 51.)

(40). *Henmonath*, similar to the German *Hainmonat*, or leafy month, is said (Sayers, *Disquisitions*, p. 255) to have been one of the Anglo-Saxon names for July. But this name is as applicable in our

climate to June as to July, and one at least of our poets (Coleridge, *Ancient Mariner*, part v.) speaks of the former as "The leafy month of June;" the leaves being then fully unfolded, and not yet touched by the decay of autumn. (See note 90.) Leaves were constantly employed as food for cattle in the middle ages. Their use is systematically spoken of by the *Scriptores rei rusticæ*. "Bobus frondem ulmeam, populneam, querneam, ficulneam, usquedum habetis, dato. Ovis frondem viridem, usquedum habetis, præbeto. Ubi sementim facturus eris, ibi oves delectato, et frondem usque ad pabula natura dato. Pabulum aridum quod condideris in hieme, quam maxime conservato, cogitato hiems quam longa fiet." (Cato, xxx. See also caps. v. and liv.) Columella writes to the same effect (xi. ii. 55, 83, and 99-101.) From the middle of May (Id. 48), "usque in ultimum Autumnum frondem cassam præbebimus," though the newly-opened leaf was of course the best, either to gather green or to dry and preserve.

(41). On the passing of the sun through the solstice, supposed to be about the centre of the arch, the relative position of the signs and of the symbols of the month becomes reversed.

(42). In common years, this would be the occupation of the latter end of June or beginning of July. (See note 21.)

(43). "Hoc mense locis tepidis maritimisque celebranda vindemia est." Vinc. Bellov. *Spec. Doct.* vi. 124.

"Sidere virgo tuo Bacchum September opimat,
"September lectos terit hic cum fuste corymbos."

Bede, *edit. cit.* i. 206, probably taken
from some old calendar.

The 97th capital from the entrance of the Chapter House, at York, has exquisite vine branches sculptured upon it, richly laden with leaves and fruit, and two men are represented cutting the latter with curved knives set in straight wooden handles. Brown, *York Minster*, p. 106, and Pl. lxxxvi. (See also note 24.)

(44). In another instance this occupation is attributed to November. (See note 27.) October was, however, the more general month for fattening pigs, in order that they might be killed in November (see note 26); as indicated in the following lines:

"October good blast
"To blow the hog mast."

Tusser, *op. cit.* edit. 1610.

(45). The edge of the axe is turned backwards, so that, in falling on the animal, the axe would strike not with the edge but with the back of the blade; and this is the same in the medallion of painted glass, at Dewsbury, described further on. I am convinced, however, that this arises in both instances, not from the deliberate intention of the artist, but from mere convenience in the arrangement of the subject. The early mediæval designers of medallions, whether in stone or glass, habitually made great sacrifices in order to leave as little of the surface as possible unoccupied, and to fill up the field as evenly as possible; in this respect resembling the designers of antique cameos. "Hence the forced attitudes and violent exertions expressed by the figures of men or of beasts, which were purposely chosen by the artist in order to accommodate the flexure of the bodies to the elliptical form of the surface upon which he was engaged." King, *Antique Gems*, p. 166. At St. Ursin, *post*, the cutting edge of the axe falls on the animal's neck.

(46). The doorway to the south aisle of this church has at some period (perhaps in the last century) been

rebuilt, and as a good many new stones have been added, and some are evidently misplaced, it is now impossible to say what the original arrangement and sequence was, or even whether the doorway in the first instance occupied its present position. It is not, however, unlikely that it may have done so, protected by a porch, which now no longer exists. The sculptures are thus exposed nakedly to the weather, and are so rapidly cracking and crumbling that it may be worth while here to make a note of them before they are entirely lost.

Outer Arch.

1. A fox, lying on its back, and two birds pecking at it ; with the inscription—UVLPIſ.
2. A quadruped walking after, and apparently calling to another smaller apparently winged animal, which is looking back, as if listening ; with the inscription—PANT[H]ERA.
3. An eagle, flying, with the inscription— π [QVI]L π .
4. An ox, with an inscription ending—ENA. (? whether LEENA).
5. A man lying on his side on a couch ; an eagle pecking at his ear. Inscription obliterated, except the two last letters, which look like R π .
6. An ox, feeding at conventional herbage, on the ground.
7. Modern sandstone.
8. An animal, much defaced.
- 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. Modern.
15. A capricornus, or dragon, with the head of a quadruped, wings of a bird, and tail of a dragon. Inscription obliterated.
16. Two figures standing, each with the left hand raised and the right laid across the chest. Something like flames behind, perhaps wings. Inscription—CEROB[ϵ I]EM.
17. Defaced.
18. Two heads, sailing in a ship, with the inscription—AFRICO (not quite sure of the last letter but one).
19. Defaced.

Inner Arch (medallions).

1. Lamb and cross (no banner).
2. A quadruped with the head of apparently a young one of the same kind in its mouth, devouring it.
3. A quadruped.
4. A quadruped devouring the branch of a tree.
5. A quadruped.
6. A man with his arm down an animal's throat, and something in his right hand.
7. Grotesque winged animal.
- 8, 9. Modern.
10. Defaced.
11. A pelican vulning herself, and child.
12. A quadruped.
13. An eagle.
14. A man holding a pig by the ear, and striking it with an axe.
15. A capricornus ; with the bearded and horned head of a goat, wings of a bird, and nowed tail of a dragon.

The tower arch and large font for immersion, in the interior, are evidently coeval ; and belong, probably, to the reign of Stephen.

(47). Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, ii. 271. But for valuable additional notes of this, and of the next six following examples, the writer is indebted to Mr. R. W. Twigg, of York. On the St. Mark's example, see also *Annales Archéologiques*, xiv. 165.

(48).

" Numbd with holding all the day
" An hatchet keene, with which he felled wood."

Faerie Queene, vii. vii. 42.

See also notes 11 and 16.

(49). An adaptation of the heathen Mars, to whom the month was dedicated by the Romans.

" Signatusque tuo nomine mensis adest."

Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 862.

(50). Oves in locis calidis mense Aprili oportet tonderi. Palladius, lib. 5. quoted in Vinc. Bellov. *Spec. Nat.* xviii. 75. The leafy branch is one of the most expressive tokens of Spring. See the Thorp Salvin font, and notes 19, 51, and 90.

(51). Compare the Anglo-Saxon name of the month—*Unnemonath*, and the old German—*Bloumonat* or Flower-month. And Spenser, *op. cit.* vii. vii. 34:

" Then came faire May, the fayrest mayd on ground,
" Deckt all with dainties of her seasons pryde,
" And throwing flowres out of her lap around."

See also, Bede, *edit. cit. De Embolismo*, i. 219:

" Omnia jam florent, jam formosissimus annus,
" Jamque sibi cuncti mollius esse volunt."

Chaucer, *Knights Tale*, 652-4:

" May, with all thyn floures and thy greene,
" Welcome be thou, well faire freissche May!
" I hope that I som grene gete may."

And Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 427-438:

" Valle sub umbrosa locus est, adspergine multa
" Uvidus ex alto desilientis aquæ.
" Tot fuerant illic, quot habet natura, colores;
" Pictaque dissimili flore nitebat humus.
" Quam simul adspexit; Comites, accedite, dixit;
" Et mecum vestros flore replete sinus.
" Præda puellares animos prolectat inanis,
" Et non sentitur sedulitate labor.
" Hæc implet lento calathos e vimine textos,
" Hæc gremium, laxos degravat illa sinus;
" Illa legit calthas, huic sunt violaria curæ,
" Illa papaveræas subsecat ungue comas."

The ancient Floralia were probably the foundation of the mediæval May-day rejoicings. (See note 4)
" They goe some to the woodes and groves, some to the hilles and mountaines, some to one place, some to

another, where they spende all the night in pastymes (compare *Mids. Night's Dream*, *passim*), and in the mornyng they returne, bringing with them birch bowes, and braunchis of trees to deck their assemblies withall." (Stubbs, *Anatomic of Abuses*, 1585, fo. 94, quoted by Brande, *Pop. Antiq.* i. 212.)

"furth goith all the courte bothe moste and leste,
 "To feche the floures fressh, and braunche and blome;
 "And namly hawthorn brought both page and grome,
 "With fresshe garlantis partie blewe and white."

Chaucer, *Court of Love*, 1431-4.

But flowers, independently of their loveliness and beauty, were of importance for their medicinal virtues, and still more, before the introduction of cane sugar, as food for bees, being specially cultivated for that purpose. (Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 30-32, 109-148; Varro, III. xvi. 10, 13, 25, 26; Columella, ix. iv. and iv. 6; Pallad. I. xxxvii. 1-3; Pliny, xxi, xxii; Tusser, *passim*.) Vincent of Beauvais (*Spec. Nat.* xx. lxxxvii.) thus summarizes:—"Apum causa oportet serere thymum, rosam, violas, lilium, fabam, papaver, et hujusmodi, horum enim florum avidissimæ sunt." "Greene," as well as "floures," is attributed to May in the first passage from Chaucer, above, to indicate not merely the beauty, but the productiveness of the month. The pastures were then the greenest. The milk was then the richest. The Anglo-Saxons called the month *Tri-milchi*, "quod tribus vicibus in eo per diem pecora mulgebantur." (Bede, *Temp. Rat.* xv.) Then also—"tempore Maii butyrum Maicum . . . butyrum formatum admodum quo villanæ tempore Maii vendere in foro solent." (*Malleus Malef.* Par. ii. quæst. i. cap. xiv.) On milk, as a symbol of the all-nourishing power of the earth, see Cox, *Ar. Myth.* ii. 305.

(52). Doubtless intended to represent the autumnal preparation of the ground, analogous to that of the field by ploughing. See note (1,) and Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Doct.* vi. 132. *De hortis eodem mense (Octobris) conserendis*.

(53). On the approach of winter, larks, fieldfares, sparrows, finches, thrushes, blackbirds, and such like small birds innumerable, pressed by cold and hunger, were caught partly for sport, partly for food. "Tempore hoc, per humiles sylvas, et baccis fecunda virgulta, ad turdos, cæterasque aves capiendas, laqueos expedire conveniet; hoc usque in Martium mensem tendetur aucupium." (Vinc. Bellov. *Spec. Doct.* vi. 149, quoting from Palladius.) "Aucupium fit laqueis, pedicis, retiibus, arcu, visco, hamo." (Id. xi. 101.) Five different kinds of nets are described. The catching of cranes in winter is alluded to by Virgil (*Georg.* i. 307); and of various other birds, for food, by Longus (*Pastoralia*, iii. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7). In winter, when the snow was thickly fallen and all agricultural labours were interrupted, with cunningly contrived traps, or snares, or birdlime on long twigs, blackbirds, thrushes, doves, and such birds as fed upon the berries of the ivy, were caught by Daphnis in plenty; and having killed and plucked them, he is represented bringing them into the house where Chloe was sitting by the fire, and laying them on the table to be cooked. (See note 12, *sub fin.* and contrast.)

(54). The preceding subject and this appear to bear the relationship to one another of type and antetype. "As the birds that are caught in the snare, so are the sons of men snared in an evil time, when it falleth suddenly upon them." (Eccles. ix. 12.) "With her much fair speech she caused him to yield . . . as a bird hasteth to the snare." (Prov. vii. 21, 23.) With which compare Plautus, *Asinar.* Act I. sc. 3, v. 68:

"Esca est meretrix, lectus illix, ast amator avis."

And Burton, *Anat. Mel.* Part 3, sec. 2, memb. 1, subsec. 2, speaking of the power of Love: "Jupiter

himself was turned into a satyr, shepherd, a bull, a swan, a golden shower, and what not, for love; that as Lucian's Juno right well objected to him, *ludus amoris tu es*, thou art Cupid's whirligig." The employment of classical subjects in medieval decoration is not uncommon. Thus, on the Runic whalebone casket in the British Museum, side by side with the Adoration of the Magi and beheading of John the Baptist, and on a diptych in the Vatican Museum, side by side with the Nativity and Crucifixion, we have representations of Romulus and Remus. On the archiepiscopal throne at Burgos, in company with subjects from the Old and New Testament, is a representation of Jupiter and Europa. On the shrine of the Magi at Cologne, with various religious subjects, are Leda, and Cupid and Psyche. In the latter case, however, it is believed that the subjects are genuine antiques, not designed originally for the situation they now occupy.

(55.) The first of the three subjects probably is the symbol of the month; the two latter suggest the sign, though neither of them is the sign as usually represented, and there is nothing beneath analogous.

(56.) Elsewhere attributed to March (see note 3), but the occupation suitable to one month in one climate is the occupation of another in another, as we have had so frequently to notice. Spenser, *F. Q. vii. vii. 43*, attributes to February—

"Plough and harness fit to till the ground."

And the spade is to the garden what the plough is to the field. (See note 52.)

(57.) Possibly Adam and Eve—the first pair. See compartment 6 of S. Margaret's porch, York.

(58.) Hawking;—"mery at his ease (in the) swete ayre of the swete sauoure of the mede floures, that makyth him hungry"; or as Olaus Magnus at Eland, with its—"Prata, et campi odore herbifico, indicibili suavitate mirabundi." (*Gent. Septent. ii. 22.*) Hentzner (*Journey into Eng. 303*), writing as late as 1598, says of the English, "Hawking is the general sport of the gentry;" and Burton (*Anat. Mel. Pt. 2, sec. 2, mem. 4*),—"He is nobody that in the season hath not a hawk on his fist;" adding that the Persian kings were wont, in default of better game, to hawk after butterflies with sparrows, and stares, or starlings, trained for the purpose.

(59.) Probably intended to represent some agricultural employment.

(60.) The hammering, &c., of a barrel, here and elsewhere, has reference to the approaching vintage. Pliny specially cautions the husbandman against driving the repair of the barrels until the time of their being wanted, and says that they are to be done in the hot weather, that they may be ready when the vintage begins. *Lib. xviii. 31.* Longus (*Pastoralia, ii. 1*) refers to the repair of presses and cleansing of vessels before the commencement of the vintage. The timely repair and pitching of vessels, the sharpening of cutting hooks, the cleansing of cellars and presses, &c. is enlarged on more systematically by Columella (*op. cit. xii. xviii.*) and by Cato (*de re rustica, cap. xxiii.*) Columella again refers to the same (*xi. ii. 71*), when speaking of the September vintage. "*Sed antequam fructum cogere incipiat, cuncta preparanda erunt superiore (si fieri possit mense . . . dolia . . . torcularia vero . . . preparataque ligna, &c.*" Compare also the advice of Virgil, that the instruments of husbandry be seen to and provided in the winter, to be ready for the spring:

"Omnia quæ multò ante memor provisa repones."

Georg. i. 167.

And Spenser's October :

"eeke by his side

"His ploughing-share and coulter ready tyde,"

F. Q. vii. vii. 39,

in preparation for November. Tusser also constantly insists on the same foresight :

"Thy servant in walking thy pastures aboute :

"for yokes, forkes and rakes, let him loke to finde oute.

"And after at leyser let this be his hier :

"to trimme them and make them at home by the fier."

No. 64.

"Thy cartes would be searched, withoute and within :

"well cloughted and greased, or hay time begin

"the cartes bottome borden, is sawing of corne."

No. 89.

"Thy houses and barnes would be loked vpon :

"and all thing amended, or haruest come on, &c.

No. 95.

It is obvious, further, that the best time for repairing the barrels is when their staves, in July for instance, are most shrunken by reason of the heat and drought ; so that when wet again they may be tight and sound.

(61). (?) Whether sowing corn.

"Seminat October, quod maturum metit."

Bede, *edit. cit.* i. 208.

"The rye in the ground while September doth last :

"October for wheate sowing, calleth as fast."

(62.) "Nunc tempus est ad instituendas vites." Vinc. Bellov. *Spec. Doct.* vi. 149.

(63). (?) Whether there may not once have been a fire, as in the Deepdale February compartment ; a man warming himself being not an infrequent symbol for January. It will be remarked, throughout this series, that the occupations are early.

(64). This, again, is early for the vintage. The earliest period mentioned by Vincent of Beauvais is the latter end of August . . . "Nunc (Mense Augusto circa Calendas Septembris) quoque maritimis locis vindemiæ apparatus urgetur." *Spec. Doct.* vi. 116.

(65). This, also, in most climates would be early for killing pigs. Vincent de Beauvais, *Spec. Nat.* xviii. 72, says:—"Porcinæ carnes in æstate nocivæ sunt, ad comedendum usque ad æquinoctium autumnale, quia dormit porcus calido tempore plusquam competit naturæ," quoting Avicenna. (See notes 26 and 32.)

(66). Compare the old German name of the month—*Launmonat*, cold, or frosty-month.

(67). As characteristically the occupation of women as the various labours we have noticed are of men :

"When Adam delved, and Eve span,

"Who was then the gentleman?"

"Go spin, you jade! Go spin!" was the most natural advice which occurred to the Earl of Pembroke to offer the Abbess of Wilton, when he usurped her convent and property. In England, the day after Twelfth Day, or very end of the Yule-tide feastings, was called *S. Distaff's Day*, and was a special holiday for spinsters:

"If the maides a spinning goe,
"Burne the flax and fire the tow;
" * * * * *
"Give St. Distaff all the right,
"Then give Christmas-sport good night."

(Brand, *Pop. Antiq.* i. 32.) With this exception, the good housewife *Domum mansit—lanam fecit*. "She keepit close the hous, and birlit at the quhele." "Her candle goeth not out by night; she layeth her hands to the spindle, and her hands hold the distaff." (Prov. xxxi. 18, 19.) Spinning is mentioned amongst winter occupations by Longus, *Pastoralia*, iii. 2. Compare also Thomson, *Seasons*, Winter, 133:

"E'en as the Matron, at her nightly task,
"With pensive labour draws the flaxen thread,
"The wasted taper and the crackling flame
"Foretel the blast."

And see Clogg Almanac, No. 1. above, *December*. See also note 12.

(68). "Julius hinc flavis humeros redimitus aristis."
Bede, *edit. cit.* i. 203.

This is the great work of the month in Tusser, *op. cit.* 95—100.

(69). "Direptis crura cothurnis." Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 8. The grapes were first trodden by the feet, and afterwards pressed. See Pliny, *op. cit.* xiv. *passim*, and xviii. 31; also Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Doct.* vi. 125-7; and note 43. "Venerat Autumnus calcatis sordidus uvis." Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 897.

(70). Mense Novembri triticum seremus." (Vinc. Bellov. *Spec. Doct.* vi. 134.) *De frugibus et leguminibus in Novembri seminandis*. See also note 1, above.

(71). "Yule-logs." See notes 13 and 35, above.

"No season to hedge,
"Get beetle and wedge,
"Cleave logs now all,
"For kitchen and hall."

Tusser, Edit. 1599, *December's Abstract*.

(72). Compare the Anglo-Saxon name of the month—*Hlydmonath*, or stormy-month (Sayers, *op. cit.* 254). This month is said to "come in like a lion and go out like a lamb," and its proverbial character is indicated in the familiar rhyme:

"March winds and April showers,
"Bring forth May flowers."

Shakespeare (*Winter's Tale*, iv. 3), speaks of the

"Daffodils,
"That come before the swallow dares, and take
"The winds of March with beauty."

The importance of a dry season for advantageously getting the spring seeds into the ground is expressed in the household saying :

" A peck of March dust is worth a king's ransom."

The representation in art of a figure blowing horns, for wind, is parallel with the following, in poetry :

" The southern wind

" Doth play the trumpet to his purposes ;

" And, by his hollow whistling in the leaves,

" Foretells a tempest and a blustering day."

(First part of King Hen. IV. v. i.)

And—

" Therefore, the winds, piping, &c."

(Mids. N. Dream, ii. 2.)

(See also note 3, above.) The infant gazing on the trumpeter at St. Mark's, Venice, probably symbolizes the Spring. On the varied sounds of the wind originating the myths of Hermes—the inventor of the lyre, of Orpheus and his harp, and of Pan—singing among the reeds by the river's bank at eventide, see Cox, *Ar. Myth.* II. v. 2, 3, 4. Among the Northern nations the harp of Orpheus is replaced by the horn of Oberon.

(73). This is early for thrashing. The custom of the Northern nations was to thrash in winter, or at least not until autumn. (See notes 12 and 30.)

(74). Indicating the close of the vintage. " Ne porcis autem præter alia illud etiam commodum reperitur, quod immisi vineis, nec dum turgentibus vel post vindemiam gramine præsecto diligentiam fossoris imitatur." (Vinc. Bellov. *Spec. Nat.* xviii. 79. *De porcorum cibo.*) The animal was thus fed, and the ground tilled, at once. Thus Dion Chrysostomus, *Orat.* 35 : " Terra ubi oves stabulantur optima agricolis ob stercore."

(75). " Lo, the winter is passed, the rain is over and gone ; the flowers appear on the earth ; the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land ; the fig-tree putteth forth her green figs, and the vines with the tender grape give a good smell." (*Cant.* ii. 11-13.)

" Sumer is i-cumen in

" Lhude sing cucu :

" Groweth sed and bloweth med

" And springeth the wde nu," &c.

Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, 1824, i. 32.

" In somer when the shawes be sheyne,

" And leves be large and longe,

" Itt is full merry in feyre foreste

" To here the foulys song.

* * * *

" ' This is a mery morning'

" Be hym that dyed on tre ;

" A more mery man than I am one

" Lyves not in Christianté."

Perry Ballads Folio, vol. i. p. 12.

"What bright, healthful happiness in a May morning . . . O evil day, if I were sullen!" Who can resist the cheering influence—

"When everything doth make a gleeful boast?
 "The birds chant melody on every bush;
 "The snake lies rolled in the cheerful sun;
 "The green leaves quiver with the cooling wind,
 "And make a checker'd shadow on the ground:
 "Under their sweet shade, Aaron, let us sit."

Titus And. ii. 3.

"On May Day," at least, writes Stowe (*Survey of London*, 98, 9, edit. 1603), "every man, except impediment, would walke into the sweete meadows and greene woods, there to rejoyce their spirites with the beauty and savour of sweete flowers, and with the harmony of birds praying God in their kind;"—resting from toil, away from the clamour of the market-place;—in peaceful meditation and calm enjoyment, drinking in the loveliness and beauty of the month, "Under the grene-wode tre . . . as mery as bird on bughe;"—or, in more serious mood, "chewing the food," it may be, "of sweet and bitter fancie," "Recoursing to thinges forepaste, and divining of thinges to come." (See note 90.)

(76). See note 21. In this subject we are brought face to face with the innermost spirit of Gothic, which, like Nature herself, in inexhaustible profusion, scatters her beauties even "where no man is; on the wilderness where there is no man." The flowers are buttercups and daisies, or such like, the

"daisies pied, and violets blue,
 "And lady-smocks all silver white,
 "And cuckoo-buds of yellow hue,
 "To paint the meadows with delight."

" . . . lilia agri autem nec Salomon in omni gloria sua coopertus est sicut unum ex istis. Si autem fenum agri, quod hodie est, et cras in clibanum mittitur, Deus sic vestit, quanto magis vos . . . ?"

(77). June, called in Venice "the month of cherries"—"mese delle ceriese," in a rhyme quoted by Mr. Ruskin. These "June cherries" grow also in Switzerland and France. They are usually ripe at the beginning of the month, and are called by the peasantry—"les cerises de St. Jean," St. John the Baptist's day falling on the 24th, and the tradition being that the Saint travelling about the lake of Geneva found the cherries there and ate of them.

(78). As characteristic of the Venetian winter as the cherries of the Venetian summer. (Ruskin.)

(79). "Christmas Beef," the ox being included in the "pecora occisuri erant" of note 32, and the "mihi macto" of note 13. Salted beef was one of the principal articles of winter store. Tusser speaks of "Martilmass Beefe" as wholesome food for farm servants; and Hall, in his *Satires*, mentions

"Dried fitches of some smoked beeve,
 "Hang'd on a writhen wythe since Martin's Eve."

"A piece of beef hung up since Martlemass" is also mentioned in a version of the Pinner of Wakefield.

1599. And, as late as the last century, the custom of killing and salting beef from Hallowmas to Christmas still prevailed. (Brand, *Pop. Antiq.* i. 399.)

(80). "The April's in her eyes: It is love's spring.

Ant. and Cleopat. iii. 2.

"Men are April when they woo, December when they wed; maids are May when they are maids, but the sky changes when they are wives."

As You Like It, iv. i.

(81). Hare-hunting is referred to, incidentally, as an autumnal occupation and pleasing amusement, by Longus (*Pastoralia* ii. 8, and iv. 9). See also Tables II. and III. (Antique Representations).

(82). "*Locis frigidis fici plantaria disponemus. Nunc etiam ficum debemus inserere.*" Vine. Bellov. *Spec. Doct.* vi. 102.

(83). Closely allied to weeding (see note 29), June being the most important month for mediæval gardening. Compare the Leicester Compartment, *post*.

(84). ? Whether treading grapes. (See notes 69 and 43.)

(85). "They feed chiefly on worms and the larvæ of insects, but likewise eat grain, seeds, and vegetables, whence they are sometimes injurious to the farmer; but they amply recompense him by destroying the vermin in his fields, by digging for which with their bill the base of it is generally bare of feathers." Introd. to *Syst. Naturæ* of Linnæus, 1801, vol. i. p. 167. "He giveth fodder unto the cattle, and feedeth the young ravens that call upon him." Ps. cxlvii. 9.

(86). "In some places the fashion is to cut with a hooke or syccle the straw in the midst." Pliny, *edit. cit.* xviii. 30. The long stubble left standing on the ground was then either mown afterwards for bedding and other purposes, or got rid of by burning it, which at the same time destroyed the weeds which were upon the ground, together with any seeds which chanced to have been shed. Pliny, xviii. 30, and Virgil, *Georg.* i. 84. The serration of the edge of the sickle is mentioned by Columella, *De re Rustica*, ii. 21. ". . . . falcibus denticulatis medium culmum secant." My impression is, however, that in the Dewsbury example the straw is intended to be cut near the ground (as evidenced by the shortness of the stubble where the ground is already cleared), but that the artist sacrificed here, as so often elsewhere, strict accuracy to beauty. There is a beautiful coin engraved by Pellerin (*Med. de Rois*, Par. 1762, p. 208), on the reverse of which a man is cutting corn with a sickle. The general resemblance between it and the Dewsbury medallion is striking. (See notes 6, 22, and 68.)

(87). This compartment is of great value, giving a clear picture of the weeding implements mentioned in note 29, and their use. They are represented in some of the earlier series, but very indistinctly, owing to the decay of the stone and other causes; at Deepdale and York for instance. The finest carved representation is that at Malvern, though, when perfect, the one at Worcester of three figures, weeding amidst standing corn, must have surpassed it.

(88). Is it possible that these arches can represent *Janæ*, or vaulted passages, and so be emblematical of the change of seasons (see note 37), especially if the succeeding subject be Apollo, Janus having originally

being worshiped as the sun, who, as it were, walks through the passages of the seasons? The arches are different from the rest, without any necessity so far as mere ornament goes.

(89). Not improbably a Norman rendering of the bearded Apollo with which we are familiar in Roman pavements, in the Stonesfield one for instance, or more strikingly still in the one at Littlecote Park, Wiltshire, where a human face is three times represented, emitting streams of white, crimson, and yellow rays from the chin.

(90). It will be observed in the Table of Mediæval Representations of the Months that most of the May subjects are similar, and indicate that intense love of nature which characterised the Gothic mind. (See notes 75, 76.) Opening summer was sweet and cheering in proportion as winter was cold and inhospitable. (See notes 11, 27.) What four ideas of summer can be more delightfully characteristic than these which are here assembled: the open air, a horseback ride, running water, and waving foliage? (See note 40.) The holding of something in the hand to denote the season will be observed in the second Table of Classical Representations to be of antique origin.

(91). The explanation of the subjects at Thorp Salvin, given by the old parish clerk, is worth preserving in order to show the suggestiveness of sculpture even to those who are entirely ignorant of its meaning. Instead of taking them in the order from east to south, &c., as we have done, he takes them from south to east, &c., as follows:—

1 and 2. Baptism, symbolical of infancy. 3. Reaping, symbolical of labour, the employment of youth, in order in due time to enjoy 4. Pleasure, in manhood, and 5. Profit; before 6. Old age, overtake him, and 7. The Devil (symbolized by a head, supported on non-descript legs, terminating in something which, to a quick imagination, might seem like hoofs), bar his way to 8. Paradise, symbolized by the intersecting arches.

The application of the four seasons of the year to four ages of man, attributed to Pythagoras, is also contained in the Golden Legend, cap. xxxv., where spring is compared to childhood, or the period of innocence; summer to youth, the period of strength in overcoming temptation; autumn to maturity or manly age, the period of constancy and justice; and winter to old age, or the period of prudence and honest living. In Tusser (*op. cit.* edit. 1599, chap. xxiii.) the following comparison occurs:—

“ In spring time we reare, we sow and we plant,

“ In summer get vittels, leasť after we want:

“ In harvest we carry in corne, and the fruit,

“ In winter to spend, as we need of ech suit.

“ The yeare I compare, as I find for a truth,

“ The spring unto childhood, the summer to youth;

“ The harvest to manhood, the winter to age,

“ Al quickly forgot as a plaie on the stage.”

(92). In Mr. Ruskin's *Stones of Venice*, ii. 276, there is the following tabulation of the symbols of the months from six MSS., the titles and localities of which, however, are not given :—

MONTHS.	MS. French, late 13th Cent.	MS. French, late 13th Cent.	MS. French, late 13th Cent.	MS. French, early 14th Cent.	MS. French, early 14th Cent.	MS. Flemish, 15th Cent.
JANUARY .	Janus feasting.	Janus feasting.	Drinking, and stirring fire.	Warming feet.	Janus feasting.	Feasting.
FEBRUARY .	Warming feet.	Warming feet.	Pruning.	Bearing candles.	Warming feet.	Warming hands.
MARCH . .	Pruning.	Pruning.	Striking with an axe.	Pruning.	Carrying candles.	Reaping.
APRIL . .	Gathering flowers.	Gathering flowers.	Gathering flowers.	Gathering flowers.	Pruning.	Gathering flowers.
MAY . . .	Riding, with a hawk on the fist.	Riding, with a hawk on the fist.	Playing on a violin.	Riding, with a hawk on the fist.	Riding, with a hawk on the fist.	Riding, with a lady on pillion.
JUNE . . .	Mowing (grass).	Mowing (grass).	Gathering large red flowers.	Carrying (? fagots).	Carrying fagots.	Sheep-shearing.
JULY . . .	Reaping.	Reaping.	Mowing (grass).	Mowing (grass).	Mowing (grass).	Mowing (grass).
AUGUST . .	Threshing.	Gathering grapes.	Reaping.	Reaping.	Reaping.	Reaping.
SEPTEMBER	Sowing.	Sowing.	Drinking wine.	Threshing.	Threshing.	Sowing.
OCTOBER .	Gathering grapes.	Beating oaks.	Sowing.	Sowing.	Sowing.	Beating oaks.
NOVEMBER.	Beating oaks.	Killing swine.	Killing swine.	Killing swine.	Killing swine.	Pressing (? grapes).
DECEMBER.	Killing swine.	Baking.	Killing oxen.	Baking.	Baking.	Killing swine.

(93). The mention by Homer of the operations of husbandry on the shield of Achilles, implies that such representations might fitly occupy such a position :

PLOUGHING - - -	" And there was graven a wide-extended plain	
	" Of fallow land, rich, fertile, mellow soil,	(615)
	" Thrice ploughed ; where many ploughmen up and down	
	" Their teams were driving ; and as each attained	
	" The limit of the field, would one advance,	
	" And tender him a cup of generous wine :	
	" Then would he turn, and to the end again	(620)
	" Along the furrow cheerily drive his plough.	
	" And still behind them darker showed the soil,	
	" The true presentment of a new-ploughed field,	
REAPING - - -	" Though wrought in gold ; a miracle of art.	
	" There too was graven a corn-field, rich in grain,	(625)
	" Where with sharp sickles reapers plied their task,	
	" And thick, in even swathe, the trusses fell ;	
	" The binders, following close, the bundles tied ;	

REAPING - - -

" Three were the binders ; and behind them boys
 " In close attendance waiting, in their arms (630)
 " Gathered the bundles, and in order piled.
 " Amid them, staff in hand, in silence stood
 " The king, rejoicing in the plenteous swathe.
 " A little way removed, the heralds slew
 " A sturdy ox, and now beneath an oak (635)
 " Prepared the feast ; while women mixed, hard by,
 " White barley porridge for the labourers' meal.

VINTAGE - - -

" And, with rich clusters laden, there was graven
 " A vineyard fair, all gold ; of glossy black
 " The branches were, on silver poles sustained ; (640)
 " Around, a darksome trench ; beyond, a fence
 " Was wrought, of shining tin ; and through it led
 " One only path, by which the bearers passed,
 " Who gathered in the vineyard's bounteous store.
 " There maids and youths, in joyous spirits bright, (645)
 " In woven baskets bore the luscious fruit.
 " A boy, amid them, from a clear-toned harp
 " Drew lovely music ; well his liquid voice
 " The strings accompanied ; they all with dance
 " And song harmonious joined, and joyous shouts, (650)
 " As the gay bevy lightly tripped along."

Iliad, transl. Derby, Book xviii.

(94). These lines are preserved both by Vincent of Beauvais (*Spec. Nat.* xv. 64) and by Durandus (*Rat. Div. Off.* viii.) They do not fully embody the idea, but they indicate it. Whole calendars formed of Saints' Days, in verse, will be found in the Cologne edition of Bede; and the Clogg Almanacs were to a great extent on the same principle. The next quotation in the text is from the verses *ad Lectorem* prefixed to Marcelli Palingenii Stellati *Zodiacus Vita*, 1569.

(95). For an engraving of a valuable mural painting in Kirton church, Lincolnshire, in which the Seven Sacraments are supplied by streams from the Crucified Saviour, see Peacock, *Church Furniture*, frontispiece; and in Nostell Priory church there is a later representation of the same subject in painted glass. The Seven Sacraments and the Crucifixion also occupy the eight sides of a font at Melton, Suffolk; at East Dereham, Norfolk; and at Grantham, Lincolnshire. (*Archæologia*, vol. x. plate xxix. &c.)

(96). See *Legenda Aurea*, cap. xxxv. for eight such mystical lessons of the Four Seasons. On the symbolization of the twelve Apostles and four Evangelists by the months and seasons, see further S. Melito, *Clavis*, III. xlviii.; and the notes by Petrus Cantor and Gregorius Lingonensis (edit. Paris, 1855)—"Annus Dei quatuor habet tempora, id est quatuor evangelistas; et duodecim menses, id est

apostolos." On the symbolization of the eternity of God by the year, of particular interest in connection with Zodiacal Norman doorways,—Petrus Capuanus, *Regula Sermocinandi*, i. 13; S. Melito, *op. cit.* iii. xlix.; and Ps. cii. 24, 27. On the mystical interpretation of the Four Seasons, *Legenda Aurea*, cap. xxxv.; Petrus Capuanus, *op. cit.* v. 18, viii. 2, xx. 11; and S. Melito, *op. cit.* iii. l.-liii. On the mystical interpretation of the labours of the months—the same, and sermons of mediæval preachers, *passim*. (See also note 91.)

(97). There are a few exceptions to this rule, but they only prove it. At Cluny, for instance, the Seasons are represented by female figures because associated with female Virtues; each of the Seasons being contained in an elliptical aureole like the Virtues with which they are associated. (*Ann. Arch.* xxvi. 387.)

XII.—*A Test of Certain Centurial Stones.* By HENRY CHARLES COOTE, Esq., F.S.A.

Read April 18th, 1872.

A few years ago, in commenting upon certain inscriptions published by Dr. Bruce, I contended that they referred to the estates of Roman colonists called *centuriæ*, and not to the cohortal divisions known by the same name, as maintained by Dr. Bruce.^a In a later publication Dr. Bruce controverts my view and reasserts his own. Thus there is a distinct antiquarian issue between us. As such divergences of opinion will never be rare in archæology, I should have left the matter where it stood if there were not something else to import into the question, which at the time I had the honour of bringing the subject before the Society I did not think necessary to state, believing that my evidences were sufficient without it. What I now refer to, and propose to import, are two rules of the formal language of Rome, which of their own force determine the meaning of the word *centuria*, according as it occurs in conjunction with one quality of proper name or another. The rules which I refer to are these:

1. Whenever a *centuria* of land is mentioned in conjunction with a single name of its proprietor, that name must be the *nomen*.
2. Wherever a military *centuria* is mentioned in conjunction with its centurion, and a single name only of the latter be given, that name will be the *cognomen*.

These rules will constitute a test able to determine the meaning of the word, whenever it is found in epigraphy conjoined with a single proper name. That these are true rules it will be my endeavour to show.

Hyginus, speaking of the inscriptions upon the centurial stones which were put up on the original setting out of the colonists' allotments, says of these stones, that some of them stated who were the allottees: "*Alii ipsarum centuriarum*

^a Proc. Soc. Antiq. 2 S. iv. 21.

sic quem ad modum qui in lateribus inscripserunt." (*De limitibus constituendis*, p. 172, Lachman.)

A similar rule is laid down by Siculus Flaccus in similar terms (p. 146, Lachman): "Etiam titulos finitis spatiis positos habent, qui indicent, ejus agri, quis dominus, quod spatium tueatur."

A later compiler of a treatise attributed to Boëthius uses expressions nearly identical with those of Siculus Flaccus: "Aliquotiens enim petras quadratas et scriptas, quæ indicant ejus agri, quis dominus, quod spatium tueantur." (*Demonstratio artis geometricæ*, p. 402, Lachman.)

These three authorities, while they prove that the colonist had his name inscribed on the centurial stones of his estate, as we see, omit to say whether it was his full name or any and what part of it. We are not however without means of supplying the omission, for the mode in which the estate was registered will afford a reflected light on the question. Speaking upon this point, Siculus Flaccus says distinctly, that, in addition to certain agrimensorial details, the *nomen* of the grantee and no more was recorded in the register: "Inscriptiones itaque in centuriis sunt tales, dextra aut sinistra, decumanum totum, ultra citrave, cardinem totum, assignatum illi tantum. Inde subscriptum est nomen, cui concessum est." (*De conditionibus agrorum*, p. 155, Lachman.)

Further on the same writer says that two persons of one and the same *nomen* are often found upon the original register as grantees of the same allotment: "Et æs respicitur, id est, quas quique acceptas defendant, quibusque personis redditum aut commutatum sit pro suo. Sæpe etiam unius ejusdemque nominis duo domini acceptam sibi defendunt." (*Ib.* p. 161.) This circumstance is said by the same author to be a cause of confusion, "quæ res quamvis sit confusa," &c. and we may easily imagine that it would be so. Such is the rule laid down by Siculus Flaccus.* The *Libri Colianarum* (Lachman) use the same phraseology, *e. g.* "Ager ejus in nominibus possessorum est adsignatus." (p. 239.)

Another agrimensor (Hyginus) varies this rule slightly. He gives us the entries of the colonists' names upon the register, "quod in æris libris sic inscribemus," (*De limitibus constituendis*, p. 201, Lachman,) as of *prænomen* and *nomen*, but omits the *cognomen*, as the others have done, viz. "Lucio Terentio, Luci filio, Gaio Numisio, G. F. Aulo . . . Numerii filio."^b

* The same writer says, at p. 160, "agri . . . assignantur viritim nominibus."

^b For Numerius as a *prænomen* see Festus. For Numisius as a *nomen* see Orelli, 449, 7, "Numisia, C. L. Glafyra." Also *Revue Archéologique*, vol. xvii. N. S. p. 289.

The foregoing statements, though not all identical, are not discrepant. The entry on the register simply gives us one more name than the text-writer Flaccus and the Libri Coloniarum. But this additional name is, as we see, the *prænomen* only, not the *cognomen*. In none of these authorities is the *cognomen* given, and this omission is the more important, because, if it did not appear on the register, it would be (officially at least) unknown to the agrimensor, one of whose duties was, as I shall afterwards show, to inscribe the centurial stones. All the authorities which I have cited make it therefore abundantly clear that the *cognomen* of a grantee did not appear upon the register. Moreover, though probably sufficient of themselves, they do not stand alone, but are confirmed by the practice of the lawyers and conveyancers of Rome, who, in describing an estate, invariably call it by the *nomen* of the original colonist to whom it was granted. (Dig. lib. 30, l. 85, s. 10, "fundus Cornelianus;" *ibid.* lib. 32, l. 35, s. 2, "fundus Trebatianus," and *passim*. *Tabula Alimentaria Trajana*, Zell, p. 393, "fundus Aurelianus, fundus Petronianus, fundus Munatianus, fundus Licinianus." *Tabula Alimentaria Ligurum Bæbianorum*, *ibid.* pp. 396 and 397, "fundus Flavianus, fundus Clodianus, fundus Pompeianus." Amongst the *fundi* belonging to the Collegium Silvani, Zell, p. 50, are "fundus Lollianus, fundus Pescennianus, fundus Statullianus, fundus Junianus.")

The house-agents also followed the same rule. When they sold or let a house they called it by a name derived from the *nomen* of the proprietor—K. (casa) Oppiana, K. Postumia,^a Insula Arriana.^b Suetonius also illustrates this in a fragment of his lost work "De viris illustribus." He says that an estate allotted to the tragic poet L. Accius, when Pesaro was colonized, was in his (Suetonius') own days called "fundus Accianus:" "A quo et fundus Accianus juxta Pisaurum dicitur, quia illuc ex urbe inter colonos fuerat deductus." (Roth's edition, p. 295.) The choice of the *nomen* for registration and for the appellation of the estate was most probably a reminiscence of the old time when land belonged collectively to the *gens* and not to the individual. That such a state of things once existed is demonstrable out of the fact that even in the historic period the *gens* was the last remainder man in law whenever a *gentilis* died without lawful heirs, *i.e.* agnates: "Si nullus agnatus sit, eadem lex XII. tabularum gentiles ad hæreditatem vocat." (Gaius, lib. 3, s. 17.) But whatever was the real ground of this selection of a name it is quite certain that the *nomen* of the original grantee once imposed became so essentially a part of the estate that it never left it. We have

^a Orelli, 4333.^b *Ibid.* 4324.

seen what Suetonius says, and Italian deeds of the tenth century give us instances of these names being even then in existence in Italy, appended to the estates to which they were first given. See Centuriation of Britain, *Archæologia*, xlii. 147.) As I have intimated, the centurial stones were inscribed and placed in their due positions by the agrimensor,* who accompanied the commission under which the lands of a colony were to be set out and allotted. This agrimensor could not go beyond the four corners of the commission and the panel of names attached to it, for, under that commission, he was, though an important, yet a subordinate and assistant, officer only. The position of the agrimensor accordingly was this, as regarded these stones and their inscriptions: If the *nomen* only appeared on the register, as some of my authorities state, he had no choice but to inscribe that name only upon the stones, for he could find no other name. If the *prænomen* and *nomen* both appeared on the register, and he elected to inscribe one only of such names, that name must have been the *nomen*; for the *prænomen*, like our Christian name, was no name of itself to place formally before the world as the sole designation of an individual. In either case, therefore, when there was one name only inscribed upon the stones, that name was by necessity the *nomen*.

But when we turn to the designations of military *centuriæ* we find an entirely different rule followed out in regard to them. Of this rule we have evidences of the very first order in the various *latercula militum* collected and published by Olaus Kellerman in his great work upon the *Vigiles* of the city of Rome.^b In the Appendix he has given us not only *latercula* of the *Vigiles*, but of Roman soldiers of other denominations. But, as the *Vigiles* were organized upon precisely the same plan as the legion, evidence of their practice is evidence of the general military practice also, and what is true of the epigraphy of the one is applicable to the other as well.^c

* "Hyginus Gromaticus *de limitibus constituendis*" (p. 195, Lachman). "Incipiamus ergo ponere lapides a decumano maximo et Kardine inscriptione qua debet."—"Inscribendi nobis una sit ratio." (*Ibid.*)

—"Cum centurias omnes inscriptiones lapidibus terminaverimus, &c." (*Ibid.* p. 196), and *passim*.

^b *Vigilum Romanorum latercula duo Cælimontana magnam partem militiæ Romanæ explicantia*. Romæ, 1835.

^c The constitution of the *Vigiles* was the same as that of the Legion. Kellerman (who wrote under the inspiration of the great Borghesi) says (p. 1, *ibid.*): "Ea vero peropportune est diversorum militiæ urbanæ generum inter se similitudo, ut optimo tuo jure tibi liceat ad alium genus transferre munera atque instituta quæ in alio existere cognoveris. Ita quæcunque nova apud vigiles inveneris (invenies autem neque pauca neque levia) eadem recte cohortibus et prætorianis et urbanis attribueris, si ea modo exceperis

In regard to the *Vigiles* we have (iv. *ibid.*) the full names of the centurions given thus:—

Centuriones.

C. Antonius, C. F. Antullus.
 Ti. Claudius, T. I. F. Rufinus.
 M. Antonius, M. F. Valens.
 M. Mummius, M. F. Verinus.
 P. Ælius, P. F. Romulus.
 Severus.
 . . . Julius Sohæmus.

At v. *ibid.* we have the muster-roll of the *gregarii* of each *centuria*, the latter taking the cognomen of its centurion, viz. of one of the persons whose full names I have quoted, and of others whose full names are lost:—

Centuria Antulli.
 Centuria Rufini.
 Centuria Valentis.
 Centuria Verini.
 Centuria Romuli.
 Centuria Severi.
 Centuria Sohæmi.
 Centuria Senecionis.
 Centuria Torquati.
 Centuria Rutiliani.
 Centuria Taurisci.
 Centuria Anluporis.

At p. 26, *ibid.* we have the full names of other centurions and similar muster-rolls of their men under each of their *centuriæ*. These are the centurions of this list:—

C. Julius Ingenuus.
 C. Valerius Victor.
 C. Julius Quintinus.
 C. Mancilius Juvenis.

quæ nisi solorum vigilum esse non potuerunt. Tota autem militia urbana non ita dispar erat militiae legionariæ, ut non magnam partem munerum novorum legionariis quoque cohortibus recte attribueris. Ut paucis dicam, his monumentis totæ Romanorum rei militari lux affertur, maxime erro militiae urbanae imprimisque militiae vigilum urbanorum." Borghesi (vol. iii. *Œuvres complètes*, p. 542) takes the same view: "Ora l'ordinamento dei vigili non era così discorde da quello del resto della milizia urbana, ed anche dalla legionaria che nella massima parte non convenissero insieme," &c.

Their *centuriæ* are thus designated :—

Centuria Ingenui.
Centuria Victoris.
Centuria Quintini.
Centuria Juvenis.

At p. 30, Appendix, we have another list of *centuriæ* :—

Centuria Serotini.
Centuria Cæsi.
Centuria Marcellini.
Centuria Provincialis.
Centuria Juliani.
Centuria Quadrati.
Centuria Juventini.
Centuria Cordulonis.
Centuria Zenonis.
Centuria Peregrini.
Centuria Verini.
Centuria Rufini.
Centuria Candidiani.
Centuria Severiani.
Centuria Victoris.

At p. 46, Appendix, *ibid.* we have another list :—

Centuria Rufi.
Centuria Sabini.
Centuria Grani.^a

At p. 48, Appendix, *ibid.* we find a similar list :—

Centuria Placidi.
Centuria Catti.
Centuria Clementis.
Centuria Justi.
Centuria Prisci.
Centuria Severi.
Centuria Vitalis.
Centuria Potentis.
Centuria Kani,

^a See next note.

and so on. The same rule is followed in general epigraphy.* There was a reason why the *cognomen* was selected for the designation of the *centuria*, viz. because it was the name by which men were socially known, Cæsar, Brutus, Cicero, Atticus, Hadrian, &c.

From these rules I will turn to their application. But to spare the time of the Society I will take one only of the three inscriptions commented on by me, as for the present purpose that will be quite sufficient for the whole question. The inscription which I will take contains the words (or their equivalents) "Centuria Claudii." We have seen that, where the quality of the name used in combination with the word *centuria* varies, the meaning of the latter varies also, being different according as the proper name is a *nomen* or a *cognomen*. That this was not accidental, but was done in obedience to established rules, viz. those which I have hereinbefore propounded, I submit is more than probable. Taking these therefore to be true rules, there can be no objection to apply them to the two words upon which Dr. Bruce and I differ, viz. "Centuria Claudii." If we do so, we find that they can only mean the estate of Claudius, a Roman colonist, as I have contended, and cannot mean the *centuria* of Claudius, a Roman centurion, as Dr. Bruce maintains, for the simple but convincing reason that Claudius is a *nomen* and not a *cognomen*.

Before concluding, I will remark that the centuriation typified by the old stone to the inscription on which I have called attention is still not altogether effaced in England, for one of its most conventional regulations is alive and at work amongst us as a principle of our common law. What I refer to is this. By the common law whenever a highway is closed by competent authority, the soil of which it is composed reverts to the landlords whose properties lie on each side of the way, and they divide it equally between them—"ad medium filum viæ" is the black-letter expression. And this is done because the soil of the highway really belongs to those landlords, the public having had only the easement of walking, riding, and driving upon it.

* "Centuria Barbati" (No. 1620, Zell); "Centuria Reperti" (Orelli, 3541); "Centuria Lucani Augurini" (a double cognomen. No. 1032, Zell); "Coh. III. Centuria Probiani" (Dr. Bruce's *Roman Wall*, p. 264); "Centuria Bassi" (Muratori, p. 790, 2); "Centuria Sabiniani" (*Ibid.* p. 544, 4); "Centuria Grani" (*Ibid.* p. 1093). [This is Grannus, and should not be confounded with Granus. Granus is found in company with other unquestionable cognomina: in an early Martyrology (Ruinart's *Acta Martyrum*, p. 512, in note)—"Grannus, Hilarius, Donatus, Concessus, et Saturninus."] In Reinesius (28, 11) occurs "Centuria Vari": this is Varus. For this cognomen see Orelli, 3892; Gruter, 172, 2; and Zell, No. 900.

Now this prescriptive rule of our common law is nothing more than a usual clause of the *Lex Colonica* which established a colony and regulated the settlement of a country. Such a clause provided that, where the contemplated colonial roads were to pass, the colonists having allotments on each side should contribute in equal portions the land required for each highway.* Another clause of the same law also dedicated these roads to the public,^b but did not convey to it any greater interest than a usufruct therein, the proprietary right remaining in the colonists who had so contributed the soil of the roads. In this it is not too much to say that we have the *raison d'être* of the principle of English law which I have referred to.

* Sic. Flaccus (p. 158, Lachman): "Limitum quoque modus in quibusdam regionibus per amplum spatium exceptus est; in quibusdam vero, modo adsignationis cessit." So Ulpian, Dig. 43, tit. 7, c. 3. "Vie vicinales quæ ex agris privatorum collatis factæ sunt, quarum memoria non extat, publicarum viarum numero sunt." This also is the meaning of the expression continually used in the LL. Coloniarum, "iter populo non debetur."

^b See the *Lex Thoria* (Zell, p. 235): "Limitesque inter centurias itineri publico inserviunt."

XIII.—*Further Facts in the History of the Early Discovery of Australia.* By
RICHARD HENRY MAJOR, Esq., F.S.A.

Read 14th March, 1872.

In the year 1861 I had the satisfaction of laying before the Society of Antiquaries, and thereby making known to the world for the first time, the important fact that the great continental island of Australia had been discovered in the year 1601 by a Portuguese navigator, named Manoel Godinho de Eredia. Up to that time the earliest *authenticated* discovery of any part of the great southern land was that made a little to the west and south of Cape York by the commander of the Dutch yacht the *Duyfhen*, or *Dove*, about the month of March 1606. Thus the fact which I announced in 1861 gave a date to the first authenticated discovery of Australia earlier by five years than that which had been previously accepted in history, and transferred the honour of that discovery from Holland to Portugal. The document on which this fact, so entirely new to the world, was based, was a MS. *Mappe-monde* in the British Museum, in which, on the north-west corner of a country which could be shown beyond all question to be Australia, stood a legend in Portuguese to the following effect:—"Nuça antara was discovered in the year 1601 by Manoel Godinho de Eredia, by command of the Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha." This *mappe-monde* had the great disadvantage of being only a copy, possibly made even in the present century, from one the geography of which proved it to be some two centuries older. Still, the mere fact of its being a copy laid it open to a variety of possible objections, which fortunately I was able to forestall by arguments that I believe to be unanswerable, and which I think I need not repeat now, as they are already printed in the "*Archæologia*," vol. xxxviii. I will merely say that I had the good fortune at the time to find a happy confirmation of what was stated in the map in a little printed work which described the discoverer as a learned cosmographer and skilful captain, who had received a special commission from the Viceroy at Goa to make explorations for gold mines, and at the same time to verify the descriptions of the southern islands.

The Viceroy thus mentioned was the immediate predecessor of Ayres de Saldanha, under whose viceroyalty the map declares the discovery to have been made.

I have now the pleasure to announce that within the last few months there has been found in the Royal Burgundian Library at Brussels, by M. Ruelens the Librarian, a valuable batch of original autograph documents by Eredia himself, embodying the official report to King Philip III. of the discovery of Australia in 1601 by Manoel Godinho de Eredia, and accompanied by views, two maps on which Australia is laid down, and portraits. These documents bear the date of 1613. M. Ruelens communicated this discovery to me in November 1871, and I have been since hoping that he would adopt some means of editing these valuable papers, till at length, in the course of the month of February last, I learned from him that His Excellency the Chevalier d'Antas, Portuguese Minister at the Court of Brussels, has procured from his Government an authorization and a credit for their publication under his own care.

The title of this precious manuscript is as follows :—"Declaração de Malacca e India meridional com o Cathay em III Tract. ordenada por Manoel Godinho de Eredia. Dirigida a S. C. R. M. de D. Phelipe Rey de Esp. N. S. (Goa, 1613)." The translation of which is : "Declaration of Malacca and Southern India with Cathay in III Treatises, put in order by Emanuel Godinho de Eredia, and addressed to His Catholic Royal Majesty Don Philip III., King of Spain, Our Sovereign." M. Ruelens in his letter of February says : "J'espère que l'impression du volume pourra commencer sous peu, et je me ferai un devoir de vous en adresser un exemplaire."*

Now although I have thought it desirable to lay this announcement before the Society without any longer delay, yet, if, as I trust, the Council should deem the communication worthy of being printed in the "*Archæologia*," I would take the liberty to suggest that the paper be held over until His Excellency the Chevalier d'Antas shall have published the MS., when I would translate those portions which bear upon the subject in question, and so add sinew and muscle to what I am now only able to lay before you in the shape of a skeleton.

But now that I have had the pleasure of announcing to you this happy circumstance of the complete corroboration of what in 1861 I first made known to the world as the earliest authenticated discovery of Australia, I have the satisfaction to inform you that I myself have had the good fortune to make an entirely new discovery, which I shall proceed to relate to you. Till now I have

* Mr. Ruelens has since published a notice of this manuscript under the title of *La Découverte de l'Australie*, Anvers, 1872, in which will be found a fac-simile of one of the maps.

been speaking to you only of the first *authenticated* discovery of Australia. I use the word *authenticated*, for want of a better, to express discoveries of which we know the date, and the name, if not of the discoverer, at least of the ship in which the discovery was made. But although these can be traced back to no earlier date than 1601, it is a matter of demonstrable certainty that Australia was discovered at least some seventy years before. I have treated fully on this subject in my "Early Voyages to Terra Australis," edited for the Hakluyt Society in 1859, but, as I have now something new to communicate, I will recite to you the points of evidence on which our knowledge of this less distinctly authenticated, but no less certain, fact is based. There are in France two, and in England five, manuscript maps, but all of them French, on which is laid down a large country which I will presently give my reasons for describing as Australia. One of these is anonymous and without a date, but it bears the arms of the Dauphin, and was doubtless executed in the time of Francis I., and probably for his son the Dauphin, afterwards Henry II., who came to the throne in 1547. It formerly belonged to Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford, after whose death it was taken away by one of his servants. It was subsequently purchased by Sir Joseph Banks and presented by him to the British Museum in 1790. The next is a volume, dated 1542, which contains two maps bearing the same evidence. The author is one Jean Rotz, who, although the work is dedicated to Henry VIII., and much of it is written in English, himself declares the King of France to be "Mon Souverin et naturel Seigneur." It is in the Map Collection at the British Museum. The next is an Atlas drawn at Dieppe in 1547, and in the collection of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps at Cheltenham. At the beginning of the century it was in the possession of Prince Talleyrand. Another is a map of which M. Jomard gave a fac-simile in his "Monuments de la Géographie," and which he describes as a "Mappemonde peinte sur parchemin par ordre de Henri II. Roi de France," but which I suspect from its bearing the arms of the Dauphin to have been made before that sovereign's accession. Another is a superb map by Pierre Desceliers of Arques, near Dieppe, bearing the date of 1550, of which the British Museum gained possession by purchase in 1861. The last is a map in a Portulano at the Dépôt de la Guerre, Paris, drawn for Admiral Coligny in 1555 by Guillaume le Testu, a pilot of Havre de Grace. On all these maps, with one exception, immediately below Java, and separated from that island only by a narrow strait, is drawn a large country stretching southwards to the verge of the several maps. This country is called Jave la Grande (Great Java). In most of these maps this large

country is continued all along the southern portion of the world, forming the great Terra Australis which from time immemorial had been so extensively believed in, and again joining the known world at Tierra del Fuego. In one of the maps, however, in the volume of Jean Rotz, dated 1542, a striking exception to this rule occurs, for while agreeing with all the rest in the delineation of the northern portion of this great country, named in them Jave la Grande, but by him "the Londe of Java," the coast line both on the east and west side of that country ceases at points which present remarkable evidence that they represent actual discoveries. For example, the southernmost point at which the western coast line terminates is in 35 degrees, the real latitude of the south-western point of Australia. The eastern coast line is not so correct, but extends far lower even than the southernmost point of Van Diemen's Land, but from its distant position it would be the part least likely to be explored, and, though incorrectly delineated, it accords with the general fact that the southing of the eastern coast line is much greater than that of the western; but what I principally want to call your attention to is that this country is on this map absolutely severed from the great imaginary Terra Australis. This individual map is too small to bear any legend beyond the name "the Londe of Java," but all the others bear inscriptions indicative of real discovery, such as the names of bays and rivers, coasts, &c. Le Testu's map, also, though not showing this severance, bears legends which distinguish the discovered from the undiscovered parts. As regards the longitude of this Great Java, it may be advanced that, with all the discrepancies observable in the maps, there is no other country but Australia lying between the same parallels and of the same extent between the east coast of Africa and the west coast of America, and that Australia does in reality lie between the same meridians as the great mass of the country here laid down. As regards the contour of the coast, a single glance of the eye will suffice to detect the general resemblance on the western side, but on the eastern the discrepancies are, as might be expected, much more considerable. I will observe, however, that the dangers existing on the north-east coast of Australia are distinctly laid down on these maps, and that the discovery of New Zealand is clearly indicated.

I think, then, from what I have here recited to you as to the peculiarities of these maps, you will agree with me in the conclusion that in those early times Australia was really and truly discovered. In no printed book or manuscript, however, have I found the slightest trace of descriptive confirmation of the circumstances of the discovery; and the date of it, as you have seen, is entirely left to inference from the maps themselves. Eleven years ago I offered the

conjecture that what I thought to be the earliest of them, viz., the so-called Dauphin map, might possibly be carried as far back as 1530, but mere conjecture in these matters is always very unsatisfactory. I have now, however, to announce to you the following remarkable fact. There has recently fallen into the possession of the British Museum, by purchase, a small map of the world, entitled "*Nova et integra universi orbis descriptio*," laid down on a stereographic projection, but each hemisphere drawn in the eccentric shape of a heart. On the southern hemisphere is delineated that great southern land which is almost universally in sixteenth-century maps made to surround the whole southern pole, the recognisable starting point of which is the north of *Tierra del Fuego*, discovered by Magalhaens in 1519, though Cape Horn, its southern point, was not discovered till a century later by Schouten. On this great land is laid down the inscription "*Terra Australis recenter inventa sed nondum plene cognita*." So much of all this is of necessity imaginary, that it might be supposed that the said inscription bore reference solely to Magalhaens discovery, and that fiction supplied the whole of the rest. But here I would invite your attention to the fact that in the longitude of Australia, which you will detect by reference to the position of Java to the north-west, are two indications, vague if you will, but yet very suggestive indications of actual discovery. The one is the representation of a vast gulf, suggestive of the Gulf of Carpentaria, the other the presence of a distinct name for the country, viz., "*Regio Patalis*." I think it must be conceded that there seems intention in all this. Indeed, so strong is this semblance, and so remarkable the coincidence with our present knowledge, that we may truly say, with the Italians, "*Se non è vero, è ben trovato*." Moreover, you will observe that to the south of the said *Regio Patalis* is a curious indication of the termination of land. You have already seen that on the MS. maps which I have described to you the same vast southern land starting from *Tierra del Fuego* is depicted, but still leaving unimpaired the fact that in its own proper longitude the true Australia is recognisable. The engraved map differs from them very materially, inasmuch as, though bearing a name on the assumed Australia, it does not carry the same legends, of which in them there are several, and it is very far indeed from being so definite in geographical delineation; but that which it does exhibit, and which is of the greatest importance, is the remarkable date of 1531, a very early date indeed for any engraved map, but specially remarkable in one presenting such indications as these. I need scarcely say that I have made great search, both in likely and unlikely places, for any elucidation of the name of *Regio Patalis*. The chances of success, under the circumstances, were naturally but small, and the search has

been fruitless. The name of the author is given on the map, at the head of an address to the reader, in this form: "Orontius F. Delph.," an abbreviation for Orontius Finæus Delphinus, *i.e.* Oronce Finé of Dauphiné. It is a name that I have known for more than a quarter of a century as that of a celebrated astronomer and mathematician, a native of Briançon, born in 1494, and deceased in 1555, the maker of a remarkable clock, now in the Library of St. Geneviève, in Paris.* I have also been cognizant of a map of the world bearing his name, brought out in 1566, eleven years after his death, but which, being posterior to the French MS. maps already described, presented no special claims on my attention. I have also seen it stated that an edition of Pomponius Mela, of 1540, is illustrated by a map of the world by him, not improbably a duplicate of that now in question, but as the copy in the Museum does not contain the map, and consequently I have never seen it, it was impossible for me to predict what story it might tell.

A very natural objection might at first sight be raised against the application to Australia of this country named Regio Patalis, that the name Brasilies occurs on a part of the imaginary great Terra Australis too far to the west to meet with a counterpart in reality, but I think this objection will disappear when I inform you that on the north-west side of the Grande Jave of all the MS. maps, also occurs the name "Baye Bresille;" while to look for accuracy in longitude in the year 1531, on a map where the hemisphere is formed in the shape of a heart, would be scarcely a reasonable expectation. But now I have to submit to your judgment some conclusions of my own from these dates, which are of a very startling character. You will have noticed that the MS. maps which exhibit this unauthenticated discovery of Australia in the sixteenth century are all French, but as the legends on all of them were sufficiently similar to show a common origin, and were in a language that looked like Gallicized Portuguese, as for example, "Terre ennegade" for "Terra anegada," "Submerged land;" "Baie basse" for "Bahia baja," "Low Bay;" "Cap de Fremose" for "Cabo Feroso," "Handsome Cape;" I argued thirteen years ago the high probability that the original discovery was Portuguese, not only because the Portuguese predominated at that time in those seas, but because Frenchmen would undoubtedly not record Portuguese names on a country which they had themselves discovered. Meanwhile, amid the scanty details handed down to us of French explorations in the Southern Seas, one fact was known as an indisputable

* For an account of his dials and clocks by Mr. Octavius Morgan, see *Archæologia*, vol. XXXIV. p. 259.

certainly, viz., that in the year 1529 a Dieppese, named Jean Parmentier, had made a voyage to Sumatra, and in that voyage died. He was accompanied therein by his intimate friend the poet Pierre Crignon, who, on his return to France, published in 1531 the poems of Parmentier, in the prologue to which he says that "Parmentier was apparently the first Frenchman who had discovered the Indies as far as Sumatra, and, if death had not prevented him, I believe he would have gone as far as the Moluccas." This did not look very favourable for anything like French claims to the discovery of the country laid down on these remarkable MS. maps. Then, as regarded the Portuguese, their exclusiveness was such that in a document preserved to us by Ramusio, relating also to Parmentier's voyage, Pierre Crignon, the probable author, says, "They seem to have drunk of the dust of the heart of King Alexander, for they seem to think that God made the sea and the land only for them, and, if they could have locked up the sea from Finisterre to Iceland, it would have been done long ago." With such facts as these before my mind, I think I may be excused for having advocated the high probability that the Portuguese were the discoverers of the land laid down on these maps, and that the maps had been made by French cartographers from some Portuguese original, of which they had been fortunate enough to gain possession. This opinion was certainly shared by Captain Matthew Flinders, by Alexander Dalrymple, the Hydrographer to the Admiralty and East India Company, and by M. Barbié du Bocage, which last wrote a memoir on the Talleyrand map, now in Sir Thomas Phillipps's collection.

Still there remained the inexorable fact that all these MS. maps were French, and the new appearance of the discovery of Australia on this engraved map of Oronce Finé, himself also a Frenchman, caused me very seriously to reconsider my old conclusion; and I began to attach more value than I had hitherto done to the fact that on a magnificent Portuguese portulano in the British Museum, by Diogo Homem, of the date of 1558—a date sufficiently late for the purpose—not the slightest indication of Australia is laid down. The thought then presented itself to my mind that, *cæteris paribus*, it was far more reasonable that on French maps the legends should be French than Gallicized Portuguese, and the question arose whether it was possible for them to be French, even though not, as Chaucer would say, "Frenche of Paris." Several of them indeed were really in genuine French, as, for example, "Rivière de beaucoup d'isles;" "Coste dangereuse," on that really dangerous N.E. coast; "Coste des Herbaiges," &c. I now set myself to see whether the supposed Portuguese legends might not prove to belong to some of those branches of the old Langue Romane which prevailed

in the South of France from Gascony to Provence. The result has been the discovery that every one of them which is decipherable belongs to the language of Provence, and two of them are deserving of somewhat special notice. In one of them—namely, Coste de Gracal—we have a word which exists in Provençal, and means a bowl or cup, the equivalent of “Graal” in the famous word “sangraal,” but for which, though it would, and did, bear to a pre-occupied mind a Portuguese aspect, no equivalent is found in the Portuguese dictionary at all. In another legend, Baye de Gao, we have a word meaning in Provençal “a cock,” and applied by the people of the Bouches du Rhône to a kind of crab, the *coq de mer*, or Cock of the sea, so called from the form of its claws. Two of the maps are Dieppese, and this will account for the false grammar of one of the legends “Cap de Fremose,” which in the Provençal map would, I doubt not, stand in true Provençal “Cap Fermoze,” or handsome cape, the Dieppese copyist being naturally ignorant of the southern language. I may incidentally state, not as an argument, but merely as a suggestive fact, that two of the MS. maps, in common with the engraved map of Oronce Finé, himself a native of Dauphiné, bear the arms of the Dauphin as well as those of the King, and the contiguity of Dauphiné to Provence makes me strongly suspect the likelihood of their having been originally made by men of Dauphiné. At all events, from what I have now stated to you, I think there only remains the inevitable conclusion that Australia was discovered by Frenchmen, and chiefly by the men of Provence, in or before the year 1531.

If anybody asks me how it came to pass that I, who have had this subject of Australia before my thoughts for nearly twenty years, could have remained in this state of misapprehension all that time, I can merely reply that, for reasons which I have recounted to you, my mind was pre-occupied with the belief that the discoverers were Portuguese, and thus all idea of looking for them in another country was precluded. Meanwhile the French themselves, who were unquestionably the earliest rivals of the Portuguese in South Sea explorations, have put forth no claim to the discovery of Australia, except in the one single case of a voyage by one Binot Paulmier de Gonneville in 1503, which is utterly untenable, and which good French critics have themselves acknowledged to apply to Madagascar, and more lately to Brazil, but certainly not to Australia. Of one thing I am quite sure, that the omission to make such a claim would never result from any deficiency of patriotic zeal. But when I state to you that three Frenchmen of distinction, viz., M. C. Coquebert Montbret in 1803, M. Frédéric Metz in 1805, and M. Barbié du Bocage in 1807, wrote three several

dissertations on these important French MS. maps, not only without entertaining the slightest idea that they represented French discoveries, but two of them took the legends specially in question to be Portuguese, I, an Englishman, may fairly be excused for not having my suspicions awakened. M. Frédéric Metz, however, objects that if the Portuguese had really visited Australia we should know the name of the intrepid navigator and the date of the voyage. In like manner it may be said to me that if the French had really made the discovery now attributed to them, we should have known the name of the navigator and the date of the voyage. In reply I beg to remind you that this very evening I have had the honour to announce to you that only just now in Belgium has been found the documentary confirmation of that first authenticated discovery in 1601 by Manoel Godinho de Heredia, of which the Portuguese themselves were entirely unaware until I had the good fortune to be able to make it known to the world 260 years later. I have now only to wait in the patient hope that a similar corroboration may some day be found of that earlier discovery, the indications of which I have now had the honour to submit to your consideration; and I will merely say, in addition, that should such confirmation ever present itself, I earnestly trust that it may not take the shape of an infamous French forgery, such as that which I had the pain of exposing in my "*Life of Prince Henry the Navigator*," with respect to pretended early discoveries by the French on the West Coast of Africa. Such vile attempts can only serve to throw a momentary tarnish on the glory of a noble nation, which has in reality too much to be proud of to deserve to be slandered by the falsehood of any of her children.

*Supplementary Facts in the History of the Discovery of Australia.**By* RICHARD HENRY MAJOR, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read 9th January, 1873.

On the 14th of March last I had the honour of laying before this Society some new facts which had fallen under my notice in connection with the early discoveries of the great continental Island of Australia. One of these new facts was the very promising circumstance that there had been found in the Royal Burgundian Library in Brussels, by M. Ruelens, one of the Conservators of the Library, who had obligingly communicated to me the fact, the original autograph report to King Philip III. of a discovery of Australia in 1601 by a Portuguese named Manoel Godinho de Eredia, which discovery I had been the first to make known to the world in a paper read before this Society on the 7th of March, 1861. The report was accompanied by maps and views and portraits, and as at the time of my announcing its discovery to you I had received through M. Ruelens an obliging promise from the Chevalier d'Antas, the Portuguese Minister in Brussels, that an extract should be sent me of that portion with which I was immediately concerned, I begged that the printing of my paper should be postponed until I should possess the opportunity of incorporating into it the translation of the said extract. My reason for appearing before you without waiting till I had examined the Report with my own eyes was, that, while I had no reason to entertain the shadow of a doubt as to the corroborative nature of its contents, I had a still more important announcement to make to you respecting a yet earlier discovery of Australia in the first half of the sixteenth century. Since then I have received the promised extract, and I am sorry to have to report to you that a more unsatisfactory document has never fallen under my notice. But, in order that you may rightly estimate both it and the case to which it refers, it will be necessary that I repeat to you the leading facts and circumstances of the whole story. Up to 1661, the earliest visit to the coasts of Australia known in history in connection with the name of any ship or captain, was that made by the Dutch yacht the "Duyphen," or "Dove," about the month of March, 1606. This vessel had been despatched from Bantam on

the 18th of November, 1605, to explore the islands of New Guinea. Her course from New Guinea was southward along the islands on the west side of Torres Strait to that part of Terra Australis a little to the west and south of Cape York, but all these lands were thought to be connected and to form the west coast of New Guinea. The Commander of the "Duyphen," of whose name we are ignorant, was of course unconscious of the importance of his discovery. Indeed, of the discoveries made subsequently by the Dutch on the coasts of Australia, our ancestors of a hundred years ago, and even the Dutch themselves, knew but little. That which was known was preserved in the "Relations de divers Voyages curieux," of Melchisedeck Thevenot (Paris, 1663-72, fol.); in the "Noord en Oost Tartarye," of Nicolas Witsen (Amst. 1692-1705, fol.); in Valentyn's "Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien" (Amst. 1724-26, fol.); and in the "Inleidning tot de algemeen Geographie" of Nicolas Struyk (Amst. 1740, 4to.). We have, however, since gained a variety of information, through a document which fell into the possession of Sir Joseph Banks, and was published by Alexander Dalrymple (at that time hydrographer to the Admiralty and the East India Company) in his collection concerning Papua. This curious and interesting document is a copy of the instructions to Commodore Abel Jansz Tasman for his second voyage of discovery. That distinguished commander had already, in 1642, discovered not only the island now named after him, Tasmania, but New Zealand also; and, passing round the east side of Australia, but without seeing it, sailed on his return voyage along the northern shores of New Guinea. In January, 1644, he was despatched on his second voyage, and his instructions, signed by the Governor-General Antonio Van Diemen and the members of the Council, are prefaced by a recital, in chronological order, of the previous discoveries of the Dutch. From this recital, combined with a passage from Saris, given in Purchas, vol. i. p. 385, we derive the above information respecting the voyage of the Duyphen, the date of which constituted it the first authenticated discovery of Australia with which a vessel's name could be connected. In 1861, however, I ventured to dispute this priority, and I think I cannot do justice to you and to myself better than by reciting the grounds on which I did so in the very words with which I then addressed you. They are as follows: "Within the last few days I have discovered a MS. Mappemonde in the British Museum, in which on the north-west corner of a country, which I shall presently show beyond all question to be Australia, occurs the following legend: Nuca antara foi descuberta o anno 1601 por mano (*sic*) el godinho de Evedia (*sic*) por mandado de (*sic*) Vico Rey Aives (*sic*) de Saldaha," (*sic*) which I scarcely need translate, Nuca

Antara was discovered in the year 1601, by Manoel Godinho de Eredia, by command of the Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha.

"The misfortune is that this map is only a copy, but I think I shall be able to answer from internal evidence any doubt that might be thrown upon the authenticity of the information which it contains. The original was made about 1620, after the discovery of Eendraght's Land, on the west coast of Australia, by the Dutch, in 1616, but before the discovery of the south coast by Peter Nuyts in 1627. So far from its author suspecting the existence of a south coast, he continues the old error which had obtained throughout the sixteenth century, of representing the Terra Australis as one vast continent, of which the parts that had been really discovered were made to protrude to the north as far as the parallel in which these discoveries respectively lay. Thus, in this map, we have Australia, as already described, on the right side of the map, and the Island of Santa Cruz, in the New Hebrides, there called Nova Jerusalem, discovered by Quiros, on the left side, but both connected and forming part of the one great Southern Continent. Now, it may be objected that, this map being only a copy made at the beginning of the present or close of the last century, the statement which forms the subject of the present paper may have been fraudulently inserted. But to give such a suggestion weight, a motive must be shown, the most reasonable one being that of assigning the honour of the first authenticated discovery to Portugal instead of to Holland. For this purpose we must suppose the falsifier to have been a Portuguese. To this I reply, that, while all the writing of the map is in Portuguese, the copy was made by a person who was not only not a Portuguese himself, but was ignorant of the Portuguese language. For example, the very legend in question, short as it is, contains no less than five blunders, all showing ignorance of the language: thus, the words 'por Manoel' are written 'por mano el'; 'Eredia' is written 'Evedia'; 'do' is written 'de'; 'Ayres' is written 'Aives'; 'Saldanha' is written 'Saldaha,' without the circumflex to imply an abbreviation. But further, if we attribute to such supposed falsification the ulterior object of claiming for the Portuguese the honour of a prior discovery, whence comes it that that object has never been carried out? It is not till now that the fact is made known, and those most interested in the ancient glory of the Portuguese nation are ignorant of the discovery which this map declares to have been made. That it never became matter of history, may be explained by the comparatively little importance which would at the time be attached to such a discovery, and also by the fact that the Portuguese, being then no longer in the fulness of their prosperity, were not keeping

the subject before their attention by repeated expeditions to that country, as the Dutch shortly after really began to do.

"Again, the speculation might be hazarded that, as this map is a copy, the date of the discovery may have been carelessly transcribed; as, for example, 1601 may easily have been written in the original 1610, and erroneously copied. Fortunately, the correctness of the date can be proved beyond dispute. It is distinctly stated that the voyage was made by order of the Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha, the period of whose viceroyalty extended only from 1600 to 1604, thus precluding the possibility of the error suggested, and terminating before the period of the earliest of the Dutch discoveries. But yet, again, it may be objected that a country so vaguely and incorrectly laid down may not have been Australia. The answer is equally as indisputable as that which fixes the date. Immediately below the legend in question is another to the following effect: 'Terra descuberta pelos Holandeses a que chamarao Enduacht (*sic*) ou Cõcordia' (land discovered by the Dutch, which they called Endracht or Concord). Eendraghtsland, as we all know, was the name given to a large tract on the western coast of Australia, discovered by the Dutch ship the Eendragt in 1616.

"Moreover, if the legend in question were not a genuine copy from a genuine ancient map, how came the modern falsifier to be acquainted with the name of a real cosmographer who lived at Goa, at a period which tallies with the state of geographical discovery represented on the map, but none of whose manuscript productions had been put into print at the time when the supposed fictitious map was made or the legend fictitiously inserted?

"I think these arguments are conclusive in establishing the legitimacy of the modern copy from the ancient map. As regards the discoverer, Manoel Godinho de Eredia (or rather Heredia, as written by Barbosa Machado and by Figaniere), I find the following work by him:—'Historia do Martyrio de Luiz Monteiro Coutinho que padeceo por ordem do Rey Achem Raianancor no anno de 1588, e dedicada ao illustrissimo D. Aleixo de Menezes, Arcebispo de Braga;' which dedication was dated Goa, 11th of November, 1615, fol. MS. with various illustrations.

"Barbosa Machado calls him a distinguished mathematician; and Figaniere, a cosmographer resident at Goa. It follows as a most likely consequence that the original map was made by himself. The copy came from Madrid, and was purchased by the British Museum, in 1848, from the Señor de Michelena y Roxas. It will be matter of interest to discover at some future day the existence of the original map, but whether that be in the library at Madrid, or elsewhere, must be a subject for future inquiry.

“ In a scarce pamphlet, entitled ‘ *Informação da Aurea Chersoneso, ou Peninsula e das Ilhas Auríferas, Carbunculas e Aromaticas, ordenada por Manoel Godinho de Eredia, Cosmographo,*’ translated from an ancient MS. and edited by Antonio Lourenço Caminha, in a reprint of the ‘ *Ordenações da India, do Senhor Rei D. Manoel,*’ Lisbon, Royal Press, 1807, 8vo., occurs a passage, which may be translated as follows :—‘ Island of Gold. While the fishermen of Lamakera, in the Island of Solor, were engaged in their fishing, there arose so great a tempest that they were utterly unable to return to the shore, and thus they yielded to the force of the storm, which was such that in five days it took them to the Island of Gold, which lies in the sea on the opposite coast, outside of Timor, which properly is called the Southern Coast. When the fishermen reached the Land of Gold, not having eaten during those days of the tempest, they set about seeking for provisions. Such happy and successful good fortune had they, that, while they were searching the country for yams and batatas, they lighted on so much gold, that they loaded their boat so that they could carry no more. After taking in water and the necessary supplies for returning to their native country, they experienced another storm, which took them to the Island of Great Ende; there they landed all their gold, which excited great jealousy amongst the Endes. These same Endes, therefore, proposed, like the Lamacheres fishermen, to repeat the voyage, and when they were all ready to start, both the Endes and Lamacheres, there came upon them so great a trepidation that they did not dare, on account of their ignorance, to cross that Sea of Gold.

“ ‘ Indeed it seems to be a providential act of Almighty God that Manoel Godinho de Eredia, the cosmographer, has received commission from the Lord Count-Admiral, the Viceroy of India within and beyond the Ganges, that the said Eredia may be a means of adding new patrimonies to the Crown of Portugal, and of enriching the said Lord Count and the Portuguese nation. And therefore all, and especially the said Lord, ought to recognise with gratitude this signal service, which, if successful, will deserve to be regarded as one of the most happy and fortunate events in the world for the glory of Portugal. In any case, therefore, the discoverer ought, for many reasons, to be well provided for the gold enterprize: First, on account of the first possession of the gold by the crown of Portugal; Secondly, for the facility of discovering the gold; Thirdly, because of the gold mines being the greatest in the world; Fourthly, because the discoverer is a learned cosmographer; Fifthly, that he may at the same time verify the descriptions of the Southern Islands; Sixthly, on account of the new Christianity; Seventhly, because the discoverer is a skilful captain who proposes to render very

great services to the King of Portugal, and to the most happy Dom Francisco de Gama, Count of Vidigueira, Admiral and Viceroy of the Indies within and beyond the Ganges, and possessor of the gold, carbuncle, and spices of the Eastern Sea belonging to Portugal.'

"Short of an actual narrative of the voyage in which the discovery, which is the main subject of this paper, was made, we could scarcely ask for fuller confirmation of the truth of that discovery than that which is supplied by the above extract. Manoel Godinho de Eredia is there described as a learned cosmographer and skilful captain, who had received a special commission to make explorations for gold mines, and at the same time to verify the descriptions of the Southern Islands. The Island of Gold itself is described "as on the opposite coast outside of Timor, which properly is called the Southern Coast." It is highly probable from this description that it is the very Nuca Antara of our MS. map, which does lie on the southern coast opposite to Timor. It is still further most remarkable that, by the mere force of facts, the period of the commission here given to Eredia is brought into proximity with the date of his asserted discovery of Australia. The Viceroy Francisco de Gama, who gave that commission, was the immediate predecessor of Ayres de Saldanha. His Viceroyalty extended only from 1597 to 1600, and the asserted discovery was made in 1601, though we know not in what month. A more happy confirmation of a discovery, unrecorded except in a probably unique map, could scarcely have been hoped for."

It was in these words that in 1861 I submitted to the Society the facts which I had discovered and the reflections which they presented to my mind. They received the expressed approbation of the meeting at the time; they commended themselves to the judgment of the Council, who ordered them to be printed in the *Archæologia*; they were accepted by geographers at home and abroad: in short, they passed into history, and were repeated abundantly in works where information of the kind would be expected. At length the wished-for narrative is discovered and presents itself in the most emphatic form that such a narrative could assume, viz., in the autograph report of the supposed discoverer himself to his sovereign, King Philip III. To it we look for the *ne plus ultra* of confirmation of that which the above-recited facts and circumstances had so plausibly impressed upon the minds of all of us. To say of the testimony that it bears that it is unsatisfactory merely, would be to pay it a very high compliment. It is as when one cracks a fair-looking filbert, and finds one's mouth unexpectedly filled with dust in lieu of the ripe kernel. But I will proceed to read to you the trans-

lation of the words of Eredia's report, merely premising that the reputed country in the south about which he treats has received from him the name of "India meridional," a designation which I will retain, in preference to Southern India, for the sake of avoiding confusion with the country to which the latter name more properly belongs. I shall presently explain to you how this country received its existence on maps and became a subject of ambitious thought to Manoel Godinho de Eredia, and finally became identified with the real Australia, of which I now find that Eredia had no knowledge whatever.

"The India meridional," says Eredia, "is that continent which extends from the Promontory of Beach, the province of gold, in 16 degrees of south latitude, to the tropic of Capricorn and antarctic circle, with many large provinces, such as Maletur, Locach, and others, as yet unknown, in that sea, in which lies the island called Java Minor, so celebrated by the ancients and so unknown by the moderns, with other adjacent islands, such as Petan, Necuran, Agania; and nearly all these produce a great quantity of gold, cloves, mace, nutmegs, sandal-wood, and spices, not known or seen in Europe, as is testified by Ptolemy, and Vartomannus, in their writings, and by Marco Polo from eye witness, for he lived a long time in Java Minor." [Here follows a learned dissertation on Marco Polo and Java Minor, with which I need not trouble you until he approaches the part which concerns our subject.] "The annals of Java Major," he says, "make mention of the India meridional, and of its commerce, and of the ancient navigation from Java Major to Java Minor, where was the greatest emporium in the world for gold and spices. This commerce was subsequently stopped by wars for the space of 331 years until the year 1600, when by chance a boat from Luça Antara, in the India meridional, driven by weather and currents arrived in the harbour of Balambuan in Java Major, where the king of the province, who was present at the time with some Portuguese, gave them a good reception and entertainment. These strangers of Luça Antara, although in form and features like the Javanese of Bantam, differed from them in language, and showed themselves to be Javanese of another race. This novelty caused so much pleasure to the Javanese and satraps of Balambuan, and especially to Chiaymasiuro, King of Damuth, that the latter, being a prince, resolved for curiosity's sake to venture on the discovery of Luça Antara. Embarking with some companions in a calabuz or rowing-boat provided with necessaries, he left the port of Balambuan for the south, and after twelve days' voyage arrived at the said harbour of Luça Antara, a peninsula or island of 600 leagues in circumference, where he was well and hospitably received by the

Zabandar of the country; and while Chiaymasiuro was enjoying the freshness of the country, he took note of its wealth, for he observed in it much gold, cloves, mace, nutmegs, sandal-wood, both white and coloured, with other spices and aromatics, of which he took samples. With the south monsoon he returned safely to his country and the harbour of Balambuan, where he was received by the king in presence of the Portuguese, and particularly of Pedro de Carvalhães, overseer of Malacca, who will be witness to his arrival and to his voyage from Luça Antara to Balambuan in the year 1601. According to the roteiro or log of Chiaymasiuro's voyage, Luça Antara must be the general name of that peninsula, in which are the harbours of the kingdoms of Beach and Maletur, because between the sixteen degrees of latitude of Beach and the nine degrees of Balambuan is a space of eight degrees, which amounts to the 140 Spanish leagues of Chiaymasiuro's twelve days' voyage from Balambuan to Luca Antara. This shows that Luça Antara cannot be the Java Minor of Marco Polo, because it is in a higher latitude of the Tropic of Capricorn, viz., in $23^{\circ} 30'$. And for this enterprise was Manoel Godinho de Eredia at the same time despatched in the said year of 1601, and provided with the habit of the order of Christ and the title of Adelantado of the India meridional, to pass to the southward in order to carry out the southern discoveries, and to take possession of those lands for the crown of Portugal. But this did not take place, because being in Malacca and ready to make the voyage of the India meridional, there supervened the wars of that fortress with the Malays and Dutch, which prevented the discoveries, as the people were wanted for the defence of Malacca, the governor of which was Andrea Furtado de Mendoça."

This is Eredia's report, and it is followed by a statement to the same effect written by Chiaymasiuro, King of Damuth, to the King of Pam, but embodying the following additional facts. The King of the country presented Chiaymasiuro with handfuls of gold coin, such as that of Venice. The natives wore their hair long, down to the shoulders, and had the head bound with a fillet of wrought gold. They wore kreeses adorned with precious stones, and with curved blades, like the kreeses of Bali. Their common pastime was cock-fighting. This letter of Chiaymasiuro's is followed by a like statement, agreeing in all particulars with the two preceding, indited by the Portuguese Pedro de Carvalhães, who declares that he received it from the lips of Chiaymasiuro and his companions, whom he met in Surabaya. This document contains one statement in addition to the foregoing, viz.: that Luça Antara contained many populous cities and towns. At the close of the document, Carvalhães swears on the holy gospels to the truth of his

statement, and signs it with his name. I shall have to speak of other matters treated of in Eredia's MS. presently. Accompanying the extract which I received from Brussels are two maps, also by Eredia, the one of Luça Antara and its surroundings, the other a map of the world, in which Luça Antara is placed on the north-west of that part of the great southern land, which, if it represented the truth, could only tally with what we now know to be Australia. Now we need not be very profound geographers to see that the Luça Antara of Eredia, thus described, will in no way agree with what we know to be Australia, and I should have been compelled to acknowledge the perplexity into which the narrative had thrown me, had not my memory recalled certain events which have shed a flood of light upon the whole subject.

I recollect that one evening, some five or six years ago, I asked my friend, the late Mr. John Crawfurd, a great authority on the Malay language, whether he could in any way help me to the meaning of the local designation, Nuça Antara, when he told me that Nuça, in Javanese, meant an island, and Captain Richard Burton, who was standing by, said that "Antara" was Sanscrit for "between" or "inner," and was parent of the Latin word "inter." At a later period I questioned my friend Colonel Yule, to whose vast knowledge it is difficult to make a fruitless appeal (witness his literary illustrations to that noble book, an honour to this country, his recent edition of Marco Polo), as to what locality he thought Nuça Antara (the island between, or the inner island) could signify. He immediately told me that he believed he had met with the name elsewhere, and before long he came to me with Raffles' "History of Java" in his hand, and on page 92 of vol. ii. showed me that it was the ancient designation of the island of Madura, which, as you will recollect, is off the northern part of the east end of Java, being separated from that island by a strait, which, at its narrowest point, is not more than a mile broad, sufficiently near, in fact, to form, with the opposite coast, the important harbour of Surabaya. On learning this I need scarcely say that I reverted with anxiety to the map on which I had originally found this designation applied to the north part of Australia in connection with Eredia's asserted discovery. To my great satisfaction I found Madura inserted, in all its independent integrity, in its proper place, leaving the like integrity to the Australian Nuça Antara, and my mind was tranquilised with the supposition that the latter designation, being a generic one, might easily be applied to different localities. But since receiving from Brussels this astounding and irreconcilable report of Eredia's, I was led to consult Crawfurd's "Grammar and Dictionary of the Malay Language," and under the word Nusa I found the following definition "(Javanese)

an island. Like 'pulo,' it is often prefixed to the names of islets in several parts of the archipelago ;" and on looking further into the same author's "History of the Indian Archipelago" (T. 2, p. 128), I find that "Nusa" is in Sunda the ordinary, and in Java the ceremonial, word for island, while, to the eastward and northward, not Nusa but Pulo, and other equivalents, are used for that word.

Being thus led back by a combination of testimony to the immediate proximity of Java, I revert to the description of Luça Antara given by the native prince, Chiaymasiuro, and by P. Carvalhães, and I find that it tallies with Madura to a nicety.

The men of Luça Antara, who were driven by stress of weather into the port of Balambuan, are described as in figure, face, and complexion, like the Javanese of Bantam, but differing somewhat in their language, "insomuch as they showed themselves to be Javanese of another species or race." Crawford, in his "History of the Indian Archipelago" (T. 2, p. 69), says that the languages of the two islands are scarcely more like than any other two languages of the western portion of the Archipelago. The long hair down to the shoulders, the fillet of cloth of gold round the head, the kreese adorned with precious stones, and with the blade curved, the cock-fighting, the gold, spices, and sandal-wood, all bear their abundant testimony to the fitness of the application of the description to the island of Madura. The island itself was described as 600 leagues in circuit, and containing well peopled cities and towns, which is all in accordance with the real description of Madura. Moreover as it is difficult, with our present geographical knowledge, to conceive the possibility of our finding any other island which can present so many elements of identification as I have here adduced in reference to Madura, to wit, the name of the island, its appearance and its products, the form, features, complexion, dress, ornaments, language, habits and occupations of the inhabitants, I hope that I shall have your suffrages in coming to the conclusion that the Luça Antara of Eredia's report is effectively and indubitably Madura. This preliminary *certainty* is requisite, because I have now to lead you from that which is certain to that which is discrepant. You will perceive, *in limine*, that there are discrepancies to be traced somewhere, inasmuch as it is impossible to apply the description of Luça Antara, afforded us by Eredia, to the country to which he has applied it, viz., Australia, but I am at the same time anxious that a clear distinction should be drawn between that which can be traced to certainty in the report and that which is manifestly either false or inaccurate. You will at once see my reason. So soon as I have established a certainty, I possess a fulcrum, a stand-point from which I can track discrepancies and not

impossibly misrepresentations : but we shall see. The first glaring discrepancy is this, that the Javanese prince reports himself to have made a voyage of twelve days to the *south* from Balambuan to reach an island whose name and description in every particular belong to an island lying *north* of Balambuan. The distance from Balambuan to the coast, assumed to be reached by the southward course, namely, Australia, would be about six hundred miles ; that by the northern course to Madura would be barely ninety. The time occupied in accomplishing the voyage with oars, viz., twelve days, would apply much more reasonably to the former distance than the latter, a noteworthy circumstance to which I shall have to recall your attention presently. And, in the interval, be it remarked that both the southern course and the time occupied cannot be mis-stated in error, because, having been first written down in the letter of Chiaymasiuro to the King of Pam, they are both repeated by the former to Pero de Carvalhães, as recorded by the latter in his sworn certificate.

Now this personal narrative of Chiaymasiuro to Carvalhães took place in Surabaya, which is some 140 miles from Balambuan across country, and it took place on land, because Carvalhães tells us that "the affairs of Luça Antara became public talk and rumour in Surabaya." Now, it is not perhaps easy to conceive that a chieftain of the district of Balambuan, whom we find making a visit to Surabaya, should be so utterly ignorant of Madura, its duplicate name, its people, and characteristics, as to speak of it as a matter of curiosity and surprise, when we take into account that Madura is only separated from the province of Surabaya by a narrow strait, and even if *he* had been previously ignorant on these points, it seems scarcely credible that the inhabitants of that province should not have had their suspicions awakened by the recital of their visitor, when at their very doors they had an island bearing the very name, and exhibiting all the peculiarities specified in that recital. The only circumstance which could divert such suspicion would be the declaration of Chiaymasiuro that he had reached Luça Antara after a voyage of twelve days southwards from Balambuan. This circumstance, however, would be only one proof more that Chiaymasiuro deliberately maintained that declaration, and in so doing maintained a deliberate falsehood. In any case, we have a manifest falsehood before us, and it remains to see whether we may be able to trace it to its author. The question lies between Chiaymasiuro, on the one side, and the two Portuguese officials, Eredia and Carvalhães, on the other. It will be remembered that Chiaymasiuro's statement is represented as not only made *virá voce* to Carvalhães, but as forming the subject of a letter from himself, as king of Damuth, to the

king of Pam. My first aim will be to test whether this letter does not present internal evidence of being itself a forgery. Great as are the facilities for such a purpose at my command, all my research has failed to find this name of Damuth on either old or modern maps of Java. Pam, judging from a tracing that Mr. Ruelens has kindly sent me, from a map by Eredia, would seem to be Pahang, in Malacca. Now, supposing that the kingdom of Damuth is genuine, and that Chiaymasiuro himself is not altogether a myth, I will ask what earthly object could a Javanese prince have in gratuitously writing to a friend in Malacca a lying letter of the sort, a letter which, if the Malay prince were at all acquainted with Java, as from the fact of the correspondence he would be likely to be, would read uncommonly like a hoax. It would be as if a man in Plymouth were to write to a friend in Scotland, that he had discovered some 600 miles away in the Atlantic, we will say in a southerly direction, a verdant island named Hibernia, the natives of which spoke English, but with a remarkable brogue, that their dress was for the most part like the English, although the peasantry had a predilection for blue swallow-tail coats with brass buttons, knee breeches, and worsted stockings; that they were a light-hearted, witty race, ever ready with an answer, and, if that proved insufficient, equally ready to enforce their arguments with a bludgeon, which they called a shillelagh. Imagine such a letter detailing the prominent peculiarities of the country, as well as of the people, of the sister island, yet, without one word of comment on the singular coincidence, both in name and characteristics, between the newly-found island and the Ireland whose specialities we all know so well. Let us even suppose this King of Pam, in Malacca, to be less conversant with the characteristics of Madura than a Scottish chieftain with those of Ireland, yet such could not be the case with Chiaymasiuro himself, who wrote the letter, since we find him recounting his story in the City of Surabaya, the east side of the harbour of which was formed by the west coast of Madura. Do not the purposelessness and transparent delusiveness of such a letter suggest to us the high probability of its being an entirely spurious production, and that we must look elsewhere than to Java for the author, for the motive, and for the original incentives and suggestions for the fabrication of such a document? In doing this there will be but little difficulty. The materials are abundant. You have seen that the story contained in Chiaymasiuro's letter is certified by Pero de Carvalhães, who declares that Chiaymasiuro related it to him, at Surabaya, with his own lips, and then swears on the Holy Gospels that his declaration is true, and signs the certificate at Malacca, under date of October 4th, 1601. Now when I tell you that I am cognizant of a printer's blunder in the name of a place men-

tioned by Marco Polo, which Eredia, unconscious of the mistake, unwarily adopted on Marco Polo's authority; that he and Pero de Carvalhães between them invented a voyage to the said place, of which they supplied the circumstantial details from fancy; the said place being marvellously rich in gold, Eredia declared that the said name (the offspring of the printer's blunder) meant gold in the language of the country, and that Pero de Carvalhães, at the request of Eredia, swore to the truth of all this on the Holy Gospels, at the same time and place as he made the former attestation, perhaps we shall not find it very difficult to decide at whose door we are to lay the origination of the falsehood respecting Luça Antara. Eredia's report, and his maps, distinctly show that Marco Polo and the Low Country maps of the previous thirty years, which, as regards this part of the world, were based upon Marco Polo, formed his stock-in-trade. They were the basis of his hopes and his pretensions, and I will presently show you how they became the suggesters to him of the falsehoods which he perpetrated on paper. In the seventh chapter of the third book of Marco Polo, we read:—"When you leave Java and sail for 700 miles on a course between south and south-west, you arrive at two islands—a greater and a less. The one is called Sondur, and the other Condur. As there is nothing about them worth mentioning, let us go on five hundred miles beyond Sondur, and then we find another country which is called Locach. In this country the Brazil which we make use of grows in great plenty, and they also have gold in incredible quantity. They have elephants likewise and much game. In this kingdom, too, are gathered all the porcelain shells which are used for small change in all those regions." All the MSS. and texts of Marco Polo read, as above, "when you leave Java;" but Marsden has shown that the point of departure is really Champa, a name in old times applied by western Asiatics to a kingdom which embraced the whole coast between Tongking and Cambodia, including all that is now called Cochin China. Colonel Yule has shown that the country meant by Locach was Lo-Kok or the kingdom of Lo, which, previous to the middle of the fourteenth century, formed the lower part of what is now Siam. Sondur and Condur are the Pulo Condore Islands. The introduction of the word Java into the text instead of Champa was a mistake, the retention of which inevitably led geographers to place Locach in the southern ocean. But now mark what occurred. In the Basle edition of Marco Polo in 1532 the printer blunderingly altered the L into a B and the first c into an e, so that the word Locach became Boeach. This was afterwards shortened into Beach, and the blunder was repeated in books and on maps with so much confidence that we find it even

occurring on a semi-globe which adorns the monument of Sir Henry Savile in Merton College Chapel, Oxford. As, however, some editions of Marco Polo retained the word *Locach* and others *Beach*, both names came to be copied on to maps, and the point of departure being Java, the map makers, following the course indicated in Marco Polo, laid these countries down as forming part of the great southern land which was supposed to occupy the entire south part of the globe. This was the *India Meridionalis* of Eredia's dreams and ambition. You will have observed that *Luça Antara* was said to be also reached by *Chiaymasiuro* after a voyage of twelve days south from Java, and accordingly it is domiciled by Eredia on this same southern land with *Lucach* and *Beach*, a thought evidently suggested by Marco Polo's text. But you will also have noticed that in this *Locach*, mis-spelt *Beach*, there was gold in considerable quantity, and the result was that *Beach* was specially described on many of the maps of that time as "*provincia aurifera*," and Eredia at the commencement of his report, you will recollect, speaks of it as the province of gold. Let us now trace the effect which this produces on Eredia's geography. In the first place he lays down both *Lucach* and *Beach*, showing, in common with the other geographers, his ignorance of the misprint. To these he adds *Luça Antara* with an elaborate and complex outline, even with rocks and shoals minutely laid down, which I fear he never derived from the surveying skill of his friend *Chiaymasiuro*, but in the same manner as the Portuguese named the Cape Verde Islands from the promontory off which they lay, so also, off the coast of *Beach*, Eredia lays down an island to which he gives the names of *Luça Veach*. I need not tell you that on an Iberian tongue the B and V are interchangeable. A whole chapter is devoted to the description of how some natives of *Ende* were carried southwards by a typhoon, and came upon the island of *Luça Veach*, where they landed to take in water and provisions. The natives, in exchange for *syvallas*,* the fruit of wild palms, gave them gold in abundance, for the sand at the foot of the trees consisted of gold ore. The island was more than eight Spanish leagues in circumference, and the land, although mineral, was full of forests and woods and very productive in all sorts of esculents, in palms and cocoa-nuts and sugar cane, and there were an abundance of fresh streams of excellent water flowing from auriferous rocks, and from which they drew their supply. After taking on board a cargo of gold they set sail, but were again overtaken by a storm, and threw into the sea all the gold except what was necessary for ballast, but after the storm subsided they

* *Soewallen*, the Javanese name of the *Borassus flabelliformis* of Linnaeus, the *Palmyra* palm.

reached the harbour of Sabbo, where they discharged their gold, the great quantity of which amazed all the Sabbos. The greed of such wealth made them propose a second voyage to Luça Veach, but it did not take place, on account of the ignorance of the Sabbos of the latitude and situation of the island. This is manifestly only another version of the story of the Lamacheres fishermen, which I have recited to you from my paper of 1861, the difference consisting in the introduction of a new set of actors into the farce. "The island," says Eredia, "is called Luça Veach, because among the natives of Ende, Sabbo, and Java, 'Luça' signifies 'an island' and 'Veach' of gold." The printer's devil in Basle, in 1532, little dreamed that he was inventing a Javanese word, nor does Crawford, in his "Malay Dictionary," corroborate that he did so. So far is it otherwise, that on page 152, vol. ii., of the same author's "History of the Malay Archipelago," there is a list of all the words representing "gold" throughout the Archipelago, but not one of them in the slightest degree approaches to either Beach or Veach. Nevertheless the next chapter in Eredia's report consists of a certificate from our friend Pero de Carvalhães, captain of the fortress of Ende, in which he swears on the Holy Gospels that it is all true, and affixes his signature thereto under date of Malacca, 4th of October, 1601, the same date as his other certificate.

In one of the chapters of Eredia's report, entitled "Of Discovery by Chance," he tells us that a vessel from Malacca was carried to the south by the Bali currents between Java and Bima, and discovered the islands of Luça Tambini, peopled only by women, like Amazons, who with bows and arrows prevented any one from landing. "These women," he says, "must have their husbands from another separate island. The same boat further south discovered another island of eight days' voyage in circumference, in which they saw in some of the harbours sumptuous edifices of stone and brick belonging to great cities and fortresses now deserted, which present proofs that in the India meridional they possess the pomp of civilization and the liberal and mechanical sciences." *Credat Judæus!* Every one has heard of the fable of the Male and Female Islands. It has existed from time immemorial, and was repeated by Marco Polo; but I doubt if the noble Venetian would have sworn on the Holy Gospels, as of his own knowledge in the character of a local and official authority, that a vessel from Malacca went there. This, however, Pedro de Carvalhães did in his last-mentioned certification; and I am glad that he tells us that after having discovered the island of women, Luça Tambini, they then came in sight of Luça Veach. The one statement deserved to be made in the same breath with the other. I think I need not weary either you

or myself with any further details from the utterances of these vile accomplices. Suffice it that there are plenty more falsehoods in them built up on the basis of the Low Country maps, the conjectural or imaginary portions of which are dressed up by Eredia as solid realities, confirmed by all the circumstance of detail. I think, after this, I may ask you with confidence to decide as to the authorship of the falsehood respecting Luça Antara. That Eredia received a commission from the Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha to make discoveries of supposed islands in the south is pretty certain. The Alvará, or patent, signed 5th of April, 1601, accompanies the report. It constitutes him Governor-in-chief of any such islands falling within the limits of the Crown of Portugal, promises him the Order of Christ, and engages that, in the event of his death being ascertained, provision should be made for the honourable marriage of his daughter, to whom such recompense and honours would be accorded as the services of her father might merit. He was to receive also the twentieth part of the profit of his discoveries, or what his Majesty was in the habit of giving to discoverers of mines in his own kingdoms. It is very clear that he occupied a responsible position, and that much might be expected from him. Carvalhães in both his certificates uses the words "The discoverer Manoel Godinho de Eredia asked me for this information for the good of his voyage and for the accomplishment of the service of the King." It was evident that he was to be a discoverer on paper, if not a discoverer at sea. In the map of the world which accompanies his report, and which is itself a reduction from a map by Ortelius, he writes on the southern land "India meridional descoberta anno 1601." The map-maker who followed him, and from whose handiwork was made the copy which I brought forward in 1861, had a constructive mind. On a country which bore a legend which proved it to be Australia, he with unflinching positiveness grouped into one distinct declaration the reputed discovery, the date, the name of Eredia, and the name of the Viceroy. "Nuça Antara was discovered in 1601 by Manoel Godinho de Eredia, by order of the Viceroy, Ayres de Saldanha." I confess I am not ashamed that I believed him. Moreover, I can well conceive that this later map-maker laid down this statement with perfect integrity and with absolute confidence in its truth. When he made his map the Dutch had already in 1616 discovered that large tract of land on the west coast of Australia which they named Eendrachtstland, from the ship's name, Eendracht, or Concord. Eredia had sent home to Portugal a map of the world with the inscription on his India Meridional, "descoberta anno 1601." How could we expect any Portuguese to question the assertion, put forth as it was by the man who was officially appointed to occupy himself with such discoveries, who bore

the title of "Adelantado de la India Meridional," and was even named "Descobridor" in anticipation of what he might find? When I remind you that until this evening the deception has never yet been exposed, and when we reflect on the marvellous accidental approximation of Eredia's "India Meridional" to the real position of Australia, we can look for no other result than that the reputed Portuguese discovery and the genuine Dutch discovery should ratify, and as it were clench, the reality of each other, and produce in the later map-maker's mind the firmest conviction of the perfect truth of that legend which, from his map, I introduced to your notice in 1861.

For what reason Eredia should have selected Madura for transplantation to his "India Meridional" I cannot guess, nor do I care to inquire. If I allowed myself to enter into such doubtful intricacies, I should suspect that the change of N into L in Luça Antara, and of B into V in Veach, were but small attempts to throw an additional veil over the deceptions he was practising on King Philip III.; for although the liquids are easily interchangeable, and in the Peninsula B and V are often used indifferently, yet it is obvious that in the initials of proper names such changes are less admissible than elsewhere. But it is neither a safe nor a pleasant task to speculate on the motives and movements of a dishonest mind; it is quite sufficient to expose the facts which prove its dishonesty. Meanwhile I congratulate myself that whereas it was I who introduced to the world that reputed discovery, the falsity of which could only be detected by the examination of a MS. which has hitherto lain *perdu*, it is with my own hands that, now that I have seen that document, I have been able to shake the bran out of this puppet of a discoverer. It is also some satisfaction that when I read to you, in March last, the paper to which these lines form a supplement, I was able to adduce some important facts in connection with a discovery of Australia so much earlier than the reputed one of which I have now been writing, as to render the non-reality of the latter comparatively insignificant.

XIV.—*On a Manuscript Book of Prayers in a Binding of Gold Enamelled, said to have been given by Queen Anne Boleyn to a lady of the Wyatt Family; together with a Transcript of its Contents; by the Honourable ROBERT MARSHAM.*

Read March 7, 1872.

THE remarkable little book which forms the subject of this communication is interesting alike from its binding, its contents, and the tradition which connects it with the ill-fated Anne Boleyn.

The binding of gold, enamelled in black, resembles closely one of the exquisite designs for goldsmiths' work, by Hans Holbein, now preserved in the Print-room of the British Museum: a *fac-simile* of the original drawing is engraved in Plate 18 of Shaw's *Encyclopædia of Ornament*. The only difference between the design and the executed work is that the former is on a larger scale, and includes the letters T. W. I.,^a which the enameller has altogether omitted, though he has retained exactly the same arabesque ornaments. These initials may possibly stand for Thomas Wyatt Iunior, or Thomas and Iane Wyatt, Sir Thomas Wyatt the younger having married Jane Hawte in 1537.

The contents are all in English, and consist of a series of twelve prayers and thanksgivings, including the 35th and 37th psalms: none of them are in metre. They appear to have been written at the time of the quarrels between Henry VIII. and the Pope, and some expressions in the second prayer about "the knowledge of God's holy will and glad tidings of our salvation having been this great while kept close under Latin letters and now at length promulgate, published, and set at liberty by the grace poured into the heart of our prince," make it probable that the manuscript was written about 1536, when Henry VIII. had just ordered that an English Bible should be laid for public use in the choir of every church.

In the fifth prayer the writer avows that "it was neither of malice, nor pre-

^a There is a second design in the same plate, which differs considerably from that of the work before us. On both designs however are the initials in question, though differently arranged in each.

sumption, nor for any desire of glory, that he would not bow down himself nor worship yonder proud presumptuous Haman, but because he would not set the honour of a man in stead of the glory of God."

May not this refer to the visit of Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder to Rome in 1526-7 when he accompanied Sir John Russell in his unsuccessful embassy, mentioned in Mr. John Bruce's article on the Wyatts in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for September 1850? and in this case is it not likely that the manuscript was written by or for Sir Thomas himself rather than Anne Boleyn; possibly as a present to his son Sir Thomas the younger?

Indeed I much fear that the tradition of its having been given by Anne Boleyn to one of her ladies is quite incapable of proof. Nothing is said of it either in the life of that queen by George Wyat, who lived in the reign of Elizabeth, or in the family memorials compiled by Richard Wiat in 1727. The first mention of it* that I have been able to find is in the MSS. of George Vertue, who in his Notes on the Fine Arts, under date 1745, says that he saw in the possession of Mr. Wyat "a most curious little prayer-book MS. on vellum, set in gold, ornaments graved gold enamelled black—such were given to Queen Anne Boleyn's maids of honour—and was thus given to one of the Wyat family, and has been preserved for seven generations to this time. The ornaments of this little book are like the designs of Hans Holbein."

Horace Walpole embodied this note of Vertue's in an article on the Wyatts, in his *Miscellaneous Antiquities*, No. ii. p. 13; and this appears to have been the source, direct or indirect, of all subsequent notices of the little book, which is mentioned by Dr. Nott in the preface to his edition of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poems, by the anonymous editor (supposed to be Mr. Triphook) of George Wyat's Life of Anne Boleyn (privately printed in 1817), by Miss Bengier in her Life of Anne Boleyn, and by Miss Strickland in her Lives of the Queens of England.

The editor of the privately printed Life of Anne Boleyn states in his notes

* Since making this communication, my attention has been called by the Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries to the following entry in the manuscript Minutes of the Society, vol. i. p. 151, accompanied by a drawing of the book in question.

"24 Mar 172 $\frac{1}{2}$. Mr. Corry brought a manuscript on vellum in a gold case enameled curiously, being forms of devotion from the Psalms &c. or Consolations in distress. This belonged to Queen Anna Bollen and now in the hands of Mrs. Wyat of Charter House, in which family it has been ever since her death. She has also an original picture of her."

This carries the tradition a few years further back, but does not substantially confirm it. The above mentioned portrait of Anne Boleyn is in the possession of the Earl of Romney.

that he was then, *i.e.*, in 1817, in possession of the little book, but fortunately he gives a minute description of it, which shows beyond all doubt that there are, or were, two of these little books, and that his book and this book differ from each other in almost every detail. For instance, the contents of his book are metrical, with a blank of one leaf after each Psalm, while of this the contents are non-metrical, and the writing continuous. The book before us has never been out of the Wyatt and Marsham families since Vertue saw it. It came in 1753 from Richard Wiat, the last male of the Kentish branch of the family, to his cousin Robert Marsham, second Lord Romney, and now belongs to Charles Marsham, third Earl of Romney, tenth in descent from Sir Thomas Wyatt the poet.

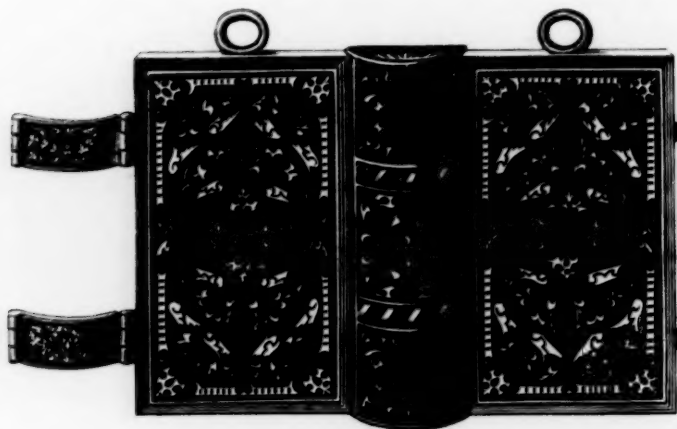
The only mention of the little gold-bound book of prayers that I have been able to find in the whole of the Wyatt MSS. is in an account-book of Richard Wiat, where, in an inventory of plate in his own hand-writing, following immediately upon a catalogue of his books made in 1746, he enumerates "One small fillygreene Trunk, 22 ounces," and among the contents of the trunk, a "Gold Prayer Book."

I may add that not only the "Gold Prayer Book," but also the "small fillygreene Trunk, 22 ounces," and the next item in the inventory, "one Ditto cupp and saucer, 6 ounces," are in the possession of the Earl of Romney at the present time.

Before giving the contents of the little volume, it may be well to describe it shortly.

Prefixed to the book is an illumination, now unfortunately much injured. In the upper part, resting on clouds, is a figure of the Trinity: the Father seated, supporting a Crucifix with the Holy Dove over the right shoulder; on each side, also on clouds, is a kneeling figure, apparently a Saint; the one on the right of the Trinity is an ecclesiastic holding a cross-staff, in a white dress, over which is a black garment; the other is a female in a rich dress, possibly St. Margaret, holding a cross with which she is piercing a dragon, very indistinctly represented; below is a landscape with two kneeling figures, a gentleman in a black dress and red sleeves, with a gold chain, and a lady in the dress of the period, with a gold chain from her girdle. This illumination is fastened down to one of the covers of the book, and is followed by sixty-four leaves inscribed and thirty-five plain leaves. The volume measures $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches in height, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch in width, and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in thickness. The binding is entirely of gold, with portions engraved and filled in with black enamel, so as to leave an arabesque design in gold on a black ground. The back and clasps are similarly ornamented, but the latter have

lost the greater part of their enamel. To the lower edge of the binding are attached two loops of gold, by which the little book was no doubt intended to be hung from a chain fastened to the girdle. The object of their attachment to the lower part of the binding was evidently to enable the wearer to bring the book up at once to the proper position for being read. The accompanying engraving renders any further details as to the binding unnecessary.



GOLD BINDING OF MANUSCRIPT. (Full size.)

CONTENTS OF THE MANUSCRIPT BOOK OF PRAYERS FORMERLY BELONGING TO THE
WYATT FAMILY.

1.

I Thanke the O lorde and king and praise the O god my Sauyour I wylle yelde praise vnto thy name for thowe arte my defender and helper and thowe haste preseruyd my bodye from dystruccon from the snare of traytorous tonges and from the lypyes that ar occupied with lyes Thowe haste bene my helper from suche as stode vppe ageinst me and haste delyueryd me aftr multitude of thy mercy and for thy holy names sake Thowe hast delyueryd me from the roarynge of theym that ppared theym on euerye syde and there was no man to helpe me Loked aboute me if there were any man that wolde succour me but there was non Then thought I vpon thy mercy O Lorde and vpon thyne actes that thowe haste done euer of olde namlye that thow delyuerest suche as putt their trust in the and ryddest them oute of the handes of the heathen Thus lyfte I vp my prayer from the earth and praied for delyueraunce from dethe I called vpon my Lorde the father of my Lorde that he wold not leaue me withoute helpe in the daye of my trouble and in the tyme of the proud I wille praise thy name contynuallye yeldyng honoure and thanke vnto yt and soo my praier was hearde Thowe sauedest me from destrucecon and delyuerest me from the vnrighteous tyme Therfor wille I acknowledge and praise the and magnifie the name of the Lorde When I was yet but yonge or euer I wente astraye I desyred wisdom openlye in my praier I came therfor befor the temple and sought her vnto the laste Then florished she vnto me as a grape that is sone rype My harte reioised in her then wente my foote the right waye yee frome my youthe vpp sought I aftr her I bowed down myne eare and receaued her I founde me moche wysedome and prosperyd greatlye in her Therfor wille I ascribe the glorye vnto hym that geueth me wisdom for I am aduysed to doo therafre I wille be gelous to cleaue vnto the thinge that is good soo shall I nott be confounded My Soule hath wrestled with her and I haue bene dilygent to be occupied in her I lyfte vpp my hande on hye than was my soule lightened throughe wysedome that I knowledged my folyshenes I ordred my soul aftr her she and I were one harte from the begynng and I founde her in cleanes And therfor shall I not be forsaken My harte longed after her and I gate a good treasure Thorough her the Lorde hathe geuen me a newe tonge wherewith I will praise hym O come vnto me ye vnlearned and dwelle in the hous of wisdom withdrawe not yourselues from her butt talke and comnie of these things for

your Soules are verey thirstye I opened my mouth and spake O come and bye wisdom without money bowe your necke vndre her yoke and your soule shall receaue wisdom She is harde at hande and is content to be founde Behold with your eies howe that I haue had but litle labour and yet haue I found moche rest Receaue wisdom and ye shall haue plenteousnes of golde and syluer in possessyon Lette your myndes reioyse in his mercy and be not ashamed of his praise Worke his workes be tymes And he shalle giue yowe your rewarde in dewe season.

2.

O Most mercyfull and euer good Godde of whoose incomparable goodnes we receue all thinges necessary that we lacke and of whoose great grace we vse that thing whiche we receaue soo that at thye wholsome hande we bothe receaue all suche good thinges as we haue and the grace alsoo to vse to our helthe and thye honour that thinge that we receaue Graunte vs most mercifull father this one of the greatest gyftes that euer thowe gauest to mannekynde the knoweledge of thie holy will and gladde tidings of our Saluaçôn this greate while oppressed with the tyrannye of thy aduersarye of Rome and his fautors and kepte close vndre his Latyne lres and now at lenght promulgate publysshed and sette at lybertie by the grace poured into the harte of thy supreme power our prince (as all kinges hartes be in thie handes) as in the olde Lawe dydest vse lyke mercye to thi people of Israell by thie hie Instrument the good king Josia whiche restored the temple decayed to his former beawtie abolyshed all worshippinge of Images and ydolatrie and sette abrode thie Lawe by the space of many hundred yeres befor cleane oute of remembraunce and knowlege by reason wherof he meryted and deserued the renown and name of the best Prince that euer befor raygned or afte shulde beare rule ouer Israell Graunt vs most fauorable father whiche art wont to gyue good gyftes to thie childern this thie gracious gyfte graunted by the and receyued by our Soueraign ruler vndre the thankefullye to receaue and rightly to vse to thie glory of thie holy name and sauegard of our synfull soules.

Graunt vs O Lorde at thie most holye word to learne parfytt and feithfull obedience vnto the and to oure gouernōs ordeyned by the Graunt vs most mercyfull god to reade it with all reuerence to studye yt with all dilygence and in our lyuyng to putt yt in vse and experience that nott alonely our wordes butt that alsoo our workes maye lyuelye expresse yt that we maye nott alonely learne yt butt alsoo loue yt that they whiche haue no knowledge of the maye reade in the lyuelye booke of our good conuersaçôn thi holye learnyng that they by our good

example may be allured and entysed to thy holy Lawe The seruāt Lorde knowyng his maister's will and not fulfylling yt shal be soore scourged and beaten Alas then that euer we shulde be soo farre behyndehande that the thinge whiche is the veray instrument of our saluacōn shulde through our wykednes heape to vs dethe and dampnacōn Lette that Lorde be farre from vs thy Seruants but as thowe hast geuen vs the gyfte of knowledge soo gyue vs power to fulfill the thinge that we knowe.

And thowe Lorde whiche only hast the keye of Dauid with which whan thowe openest no man can cloose and whan thowe closest no man can open whiche haste hidde these hie mysteries from great worldly wise men and hast disclosed theym to the poore symple meke and lowly ones.

Graunt vs Lorde an humble and meke sprete vtterly dystrustyng on our wittes and callynge to the for wisdomē which arte theselve wisdomē and auctor of all wisdomē and whiche geuest yt to all folkes that aske it of the stedfastlye and with faithē Graunt vs Lorde to vse it as a light and a glas to loke spyē and amende our owne fautes by rather than to checke taunt and rebuke other menes Graunt vs Lorde to builde our selves vpon the rocke and stone of stedfast feithe to think and beleue to be true though our symple capacitye can not at the firste attaine ner reche vnto all thinge that is contained in thie most holy worde Too that our senses be captyue to thie holye will Let vs not Lorde be to depe curyous ransakers of the mysterye of thie diuine Maiestie least we be oppressyd of thi glorye. Butt lett vs rather rede it with humble reuerence than to wade to depe therin with subtill questions.

Graunt vs Lord not to mystake ner mysyndrestand thie holie worde Lett not that Lord whiche shulde be a lanterne to our pathes and a light to our steppes be a stomblynge stocke to our fete and through our corrupt and lewde vndrestandyng occasion of darke errours and heresies O corrupt and venemous nature of mankynde which of lightnes sercheth oute darkenes of helthe sicknes of triakle venyme and of life dethe the faute Lorde is nott in the ner in thie holye worde butt in our fleshelye iudgemente and byrthe poyson whiche lorde through thi holye spyrete make of foul cleane of darke cleare of wrong right of fleshly spryтуall that we may sincerely purely and rightlye reade perceauē and vnderstande thie holy testament and laste wyll conformed with thi deth and sealed with thie precious blood and be true faithful and full adminystratours therof that at the last we maie haue that thinge which therin is bequethed vs that beleue loue and labour in thi comaundementes that is to saie the inheritaunce of euerlastyng life.

Graunte Lorde vnto our moste gracious gouernour and kynge that as he hathe
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graciously begon and hetherto hath through thi mercy had prosperous succes in settinge forth of thie holye worde a seruice no lesse acceptable vnto the then profitable vnto vs that he maye vertuously prosper in the same and victoriously to acheue this his hie and godlye enterprise to the vtter abholysheiment of Antecryst and all his sectes and afre this temporall Crowne here he maie haue an euerlasting Crowne which is due by thie promise to all suche as soo valyauntly defende thye faithe. Amen.

3.

The Lorde is longe ner he be angrie full of mercy and suffereth iniquitie and synne and leaueth no man innocent and visiteth the vnrighteousnes of the fathers vpon the children in the thirde and fourthe generacion Be mercifull I beseeche the vnto the synne of this people according vnto thie greate mercye as thow hast forgeuen thie people from Egypt euen vntill now. Amen.

4.

O Lorde allmightie god of our fathers Abraham Isaac and Jacob and of the righteous of theym which hast made heauen and earth with all the Ornament therof whiche hast ordeyned the see by the worde of thie commaundement whiche hast shutte vppe the depe and hast sealed yt for thie fearefull and laudable name dradde of all men and honorable befor the face of thie vertue the fearece angre of thi threatenynge is importunat hevy to synners But the mercye of thie promes is great and vnsercheable for thow art the Lorde god moost hie aboue all the earthe longe sufferynge and excedyng mercifull and repentaunt for the malyce of all men Thowe Lorde afre thie goodnes hast promysed repentaunce of the remysseyon of synnes and thowe that art the god of the righteous hast nott putt repentaunce to the righteous Abraham Isaac and Jacob to those that haue nott synned agaynst the Verely Lord I haue synned moore in nombre then the grauell of the see and myne iniquities ar multiplied I am made croked with greate bondes of Iron and I haue no cōforte not so much as too drawe my brethe bicause I haue prouoked thie displeasaunt wrath and haue done the thinge that is euel befor the settinge vpp abhominacyons and multiplyenge my offences And now I bowe the knees of my hart besekinge mercy of the Oh Lorde I haue synned Oh Lorde I haue synned and I acknowledge myne iniquitie I aske the O Lorde I beseeke the Oh God forgeue me dystroye me nott together with my iniquitie nether reserue those euills to me eternally for though I be vnworthie yet saue me accordig to thie greate mercy and I wille praise the

all the daies of my lyfe ffor all the powers of the heauens prayseth the and thine is the glorie vnto the worlde of worldes. Amen.

5.

O Lorde Lorde thou valyānt and almightie kinge for all thinges ar in thie power and if thou wilt helpe and deliuer Israell there is no man that can withstande or let the for thoue hast made heauen and earthe and what wonderous thinge soo euer is vndre the heauē Thow art lorde of all things and there is no man that can resyste thye maiestie O Lorde Thow knowest all thinges thoue wottest Lorde that it was nether of malyce ner presumpcion ner for anye desire of glorie that I wolde notte bowe downe myselfe ner wurshippe yondre proude presumptuous Hamā for I wolde haue ben contentyd and that with good will if it might haue doone Israell any good to haue kyssed euen his footesteppe but that I did yt by cause I wolde nott sette the honour of a man in stede of the glorie of god and bycause I wold wurshippe non but only the my Lorde And this haue I done in no pride ner presumpcion And therfor O Lorde thoue god and king haue mercie vppō thie people for they ymagyne howe thei maye bringe vs to naught yee their mynde and desier is to distroye and ouerthrowe the people that haue euer ben thyne enheritaunce of olde Dyspyse nott this porcōn whiche thou hast delyuered and brought oute of Egypt for thyne owne selfe Heare my praier and be mercyfull vnto thie people whome thou hast chosen for an heritage vnto thie selfe Turne oure complaynte and sorowe into ioye that we lyue O Lorde and praise thy name Oure Lorde suffre nott the mouthes of theym that praise the to be destroyed. Amen.

6.

O Lorde thoue father and god of my life lette me nott haue a proude lōke butt turne awaie all voluptuousnes from me Take from me the lustes of the bodye lette not the desire of vncleennes take holde vppon me and gyue me not ouer into an vnshamefast and ostynate mynde. Amen.

7. [35th Psalm.]

Pleade thoue my cause O Lorde with them that stryue with me and fight thou ageynst theym that fight ageinst me Laye hand vppon the shilde and buckeler and stand vp to helpe me Bringe forth the speare and stoppe the waie ageynst them that p̃secute me saye vnto my soule I am thie saluacion Lette theym be

confounded and putt to shame that seke afre my soule lette theym be turned
 backe and brought to cōfusyon that ymagyneth myschefe for me Let theym be
 as the dust befor the wynde and the aungell of the Lorde scatterynge theym
 Lett their waie be darke and slypperye and let the angell of our Lorde persecute
 theym ffor they haue pryuilie laide their nett to distroye me withoute a cause yee
 even without a cause haue they made a pytte for my soule Lett a sodayne
 distrucōn come vppon hym vnawares and his nett that he hath laied preuely
 catche hym self into his owne mischefe And my soul be ioie in the Lord hit
 shall reioyse in his saluacion All my bones shall saie Lorde whoo is lyke vnto
 the whiche delyuerest the poore from stronger then hym selfe yee the poore and
 him that is in myserye from hym that spoyleth hym False witnes did rise vpp
 they laide to my charge thinges that I knowe nott They rewarded me euell for
 good to the great discomfort of my soule Neuertheles when thei wer sicke I put
 on sackeloth and humbled my Soule with fastinge and my praier shall turn into
 myne owne bosome I behaued myselfe as thoughe it had ben myne owne frynde
 or brother I wente heuelye as one that mourneth for his mother But in myne
 aduersitie they reioysed and gathered theym together yee the verey abiects came
 together ageynst me vnawares making mowes at me and ceased nott with the
 flaterers were busy mockers and whiche gnashed vpon me with their tethe Lorde
 howe long wilt thoue loke vpon this O delyuer my soule from the calamyties
 whiche they bringe vpō me and my dearlyng from the lyons Soo wyll I gyue
 the thanks in the greate cōgregacion I will praise thee amōg muche people Let
 not they that ar myne enmyes tryūphe ouer me vngodly nether lett theym wynke
 with ther eyes that hate me without a cause And whie their comunyng is not
 for peace but they ymagy disceatefull words ageynst theym that ar quyett in the
 lande They gaped vpō me with their mouthes and said fye on the fye on the
 we did see it with our eyes This thou hast sene O Lorde holde not thy tonge
 then goo not farre frome me O Lorde awake stand vp to iudge my quarrel avenge
 thoue my cause my God and my lord iudge me O Lord my God according to thy
 righteousnes and lett them nott tryumphe ouer me Lette theym not saie in
 their harte there there soo wolde we haue it nether lette theym saie we haue
 deuoured hym Lett they be put to confusyon and shame together that reioyse
 at my troble Let they be clothed with rebuke and dishonour that boast theym
 selves ageynst me Let theym be glad and reioyse that fauour my ryghteous
 dealynge ye lett theym say alwey blessyd be the lorde whiche hath pleasure in the
 prosperytie of his seruauēt And as for my tonge it shal be talkyng of thye
 righteousnes and of thy prayse all the daye longe.

8.

O mercyfull god graūt me to covet with an ardent mynde those thinges whiche maye please the to serche theym wisely to knowe theym truelye and to fulfill theym parfitlye to the laude and glorye of thy name Ordre my lyuīg so that I maye do that whiche thow requyrest of me and gyue me grace that I may knowe it and haue will and power to do it and that I maie optayne thoose things whiche be most conveyent for my soule Good Lorde make my waye sure and streight vnto the soo that I faile not betwene prosperytie and aduersytie butt that in prosperous thinges I maie the thanke and in adūsytye to be pacient soo that I be not lyft vpp with the one ner oppressed w̄ the other And that I maye reioyse in nothing but that whiche moveth me to the ner to be sor for nothing but thoose thinges whiche draweth me fro the desiringe to please no bodye ner fearinge to dysplease any besides the Lorde lette all wordlye things be vile vnto me for the And thou good Lorde most speciallye aboute them all Lett me not be mery with the ioye that is without the and lette me desire nothinge besides the Lette that labour delite me whiche is for the and let all the rest wery me whiche is not in the Take me to lyfte vp my hand often tymes to the and whan I fall make me to think on the and be sory with a stedfast purpose of amendement My God make me humble without fayning mery withoute lightnes sad withoute mystruste sobre withoute dulnes true withoute dobleness ffearyng withoute desperaçon trustinge in the without presumptiōn tellyng my neybouris faute withoute dissymulacyon teachyng theym with wordes and examples withoute mockyngs Obedyent without arguyng pacient withoute grudgyng and pure withoute corrupciō My most louyng Lord and God geue me a wakinge harte that no curyous thought withdrawe me from the Let it be soo strong that no vnworthye affeeyon drawe me backwarde soo stable that no tribulaçiō breake yt And soo free that elleceyon by vyolence make any chalenge to yt My Lord graunt me wit to knowe the diligence to seke the Conuersacion to please the and fynallye hope to enbrace the for the precious blode sake of that ymāculate lambe our onlye Sauour Jesu Cryste to whome with the father and holye goste thre persons and one god be all honour and glorye world without ende. Amen.

9.

I beleue Lord encrease my faith and helpe my vnbelefe that I be not thrust downe and drowned with this afflyciō O most merciful and gentle father thy

mercye is aboue all thie works O Lorde the god of my Saluacion my defendour and socourer enter not into iudgement with thie seruaunt Cryste is my righteousnes redempcyon and ynnocencye whiche suffered moste cruell and bitter dethe for me but thow O father of mercy moved for this thie son Crystys sake haue mercy on me and stablyshe and strenght my harte with faithe in cryst and comforte me with the comfort of the holye gost that I maye haue true ioyes in cryste for euer moore.

10.

O Lorde Ihu wiche arte the only healthe of all men lyuyng And the euerlastyng lyfe of theym whiche dye in thie faithe I wretched synner geue and submytte my selfe holly vnto thy most blessyd will And I beyng sure that the thinge cannot perishe whiche is commytted vnto thy mercy willynglye now I leaue this fraile and wycked fleshe in hoope of the resurreccō which in better wise shall restore it to me agayne I beseche the most mercyfull Lorde Jesu Cryste that thowe wilt by thie grace make strong my soule agaynst all temptacōs And that thowe wylt couer and defende me with the bucler of thy mercy agaynst all the assautes of the deuell I see and knoweledge that there is in my selfe no helpe of saluacyon But all my confidence hope and truste is in thie most mercyfull goodnes I haue no merytes ner good workes whiche I may alledge before the Of synes and euell works alas I see a great hepe but through thy mercy I trust to be in the nombre of theym to whoō thowe wilt not impute their synnes but take and accepte me for righteous and iuste and to be the enheritour of euerlastyng lyfe Thowe mercyfull Lord wast borne for my sake thou dydest suffre both hungre and thyrst for my sake thou dydest preache and teache thou dydest praye and faste for my sake thou didest all good works and dedes for my sake Thou sufferydste most greuous paynes and tormentes for my sake And finally thou gauest thie most precyous bodie to dye and thie bloode to be shedde on the cros for my sake Thowe most mercyfull Sauyour Lette all these thinges profite me which thowe freely hast geuen me that hast geuen thy selfe for me let thy bloode clense and washe awaie the spottes and foulnes of my synnes Lett thie righteousness hide and couer my vnrighteousnes Let the merytes of thye passyon and bloode be the satisfacō for my synnes Geue me Lorde thy grace that my faithe and saluacion in thy bloode wauer not in me but euer be fyrme and constaunt that the hoope of thie mercye and lyfe euerlastinge neuer decaye in me that charitie waxe not colde in me fynallye that the weaknes of my fleshe be not ouercome with feare of deathe Graūt me mercyfull Sauyour that whan deth hath

shutt vp the eyes of my bodye yet that the eyes of my soule may styll beholde and looke vpon the that whan death hath taken away the vse of my tong and speche yet that my herte maye crye and saye vnto the In manus tuas domine commēdo s̃pm meum that is to saye O Lorde into thy handes I geue and cōmytt my soule Domine Jesu accipe spiritum meum Lorde Jesu receaue my soule vnto the. Amen

11.

O ffather conforte our consciens both nowe and in the daye of deathe whiche consciens is nowe abasshed seyng his synne and ynyquitye and than also shal be abasshed remēbryng thyne harde and strait iudgement Gyue thie peas into our harts that we reioyesynge maye look for thie iudgemē Entre not into iudgement agaynst vs with the straite extremitie of thi Lawe For in yt no man shal be founde innocent and righteous butt manyfolde wayes to haue synned agaynst yt Teache vs dere father not to stay or grounde our selves in our good workes or deservynges butt to gyue and submytte our selfe playnlye and feithfullye to thyne infynite and incomparable merce. Amen.

12. [37th Psalm.]

Folowe nott the steppes of the evyll nether envye thou the prosperitie of yl doers For sodenlye lyke heyre ar they cutt doū and lyke the grene grasse be the wythered But thou see thou trust in the lorde and doo good that thou maiste dwell vpon the earth and he maye well fede the And thou shalt delyte in the Lorde whiche shall geue the thie harts desier Laye fer the thye waye befor the lorde and trust vnto hym for he shall sette for the thie good dedes lyke the mornynge and thye iuste dealyng like the myddaye Gyue thie selfe hole vnto the Lorde and abyde his pleasure lett not his life moue the whome all thinges prosperouslye succede even that man which lyueth all in synne Remytte wrathe swage angre Lett not their evell example prouoke the to do euell For euyl doers shal be cut awaye but they that pacyentlye abyde the lordes pleyasure shall possesse the lande Suffre a lytle while and the vngodly shal be clene goone when thou shalt looke for his place he shall nott apere But the meke spryte shall possesse the lande and enioye moch peace The vngodlye layethe awayte for the iust and grynne upon hym with his tethe But the lorde laugheth hym to scorne for he seethe whē his daye shall come The vngodly drawe forthe their

swerde and bend their bowe to throwe downe the poor aflyet and to kill theym that goo the right waye Butt their owne swerd shal perce their own hart and their bowes shal be broken That litle of the righteous is better than the greates goodes of the vngodlye For the armes of the ungodlye ar consumed butt the iust mē the lorde strenghteneth The Lorde alsoo knoweth the daye of the ynnocents for their heritage is perpetuall They shall not be shamed in the perylous tyme but in honger they shal be sated But they vngodlye shall peryshe and the enemyes of the Lorde shal be consumed with fier their smoke fleynge vp lyke the smoke of fatt brent wethers The vngodly boroweth and gathereth his goodes by vsurye neuer to repaye nor geue but the iust genth forthe lyberallye Whoo soo aproue this lyberalytie they shall possesse the land but they that abhorre yt shal be rent vpp by the rootes Yn the lorde ar the steppes of a good man dyrectyd and he loueth his waye Whan he falleth he shall not be hurt for the lorde susteyneth hym w̃ his hande I was a childe and now am I olde and neuer sawe I the iuste forsaken nor his seede seke his brede Allthough he wolde be euer geuyng forthe almosse and for this cause his seade enioyed his goodes prosperouslye He fleeth yll and foloweth good and he dwelleth here many dayes For the Lorde loueth iuste dealyng nether forsakethe he his sayntes but they ar kepte for euer but the seede of the vngodlye shal be cutt awaye Butt the iuste shall possede the lande and shall dwelle long theruppon Wysdome is euer in the mouthe of the iust and his tonge speaketh equitie For the lawe of his god is in his hart wherfor his waies be ferme and faste The vngodlye loketh narrowly of the iuste and honteth to slaye hym But the Lorde leueth hym not into his power nether wyll not let hym dampne hỹ whan he iudgeth hym Truste in the Lorde and kepe his waye and he shall exalte the to possede the lande and that thou maiste see the dystrucōn of the vngodlye I sawe on a tyme the vngodly rootyng and strongly settelyng hymselfe and rysyng vppe floryshyng lyke the grene baye tree but loo in the twynclȳg of an eye he was goone and whan I loked for his place yt coulde not be founde Kepe ynnocency and beholde the right for these thinges at last shall procure a man peace Whan the transgressours shal be banyshed awaye together for the ende of the vngodlye is dethe and distrucōn But the helthe of the iuste cometh frō the Lorde for yt is he that is their strenght in the article of distres The Lorde bryngeth theym helpe and delyuereth theym he defendeth and saueth theym from the vngodly for bycause they truste in hym.

XV.—*Notes on Discoveries in Ehenside Tarn, Cumberland.*

By R. D. DARBISHIRE, Esq., B.A., F.G.S.

Read May 16th, 1872.

IN "The Whitehaven Herald" of the 19th of November, 1870, there appeared a communication entitled "Remains of Ancient British Dwellings at Ehenside, near Egremont," signed by the Rev. J. W. Kenworthy, a paper of striking interest to all who concern themselves with the slowly increasing materials for a better knowledge of the ante-historic state of man in these islands. Some of his generalizations seem rather premature, but it is due to Mr. Kenworthy to quote, at least, the following portions of his communication :—

There are, or were once, a series of tarns lying between the Ehen River and the sea, all so situated as to have the sea on one side and the river (Ehen) close on the other. These tarns are on rather high ground, on the inclosed tongue of land, and, if not made artificially, have been enlarged and deepened by human hands. The probability is that they were all formed for the lake dwellings of the early Britons at a remote and savage age, when the interior of the country had not been penetrated by colonists from other lands.

Less than a year ago Mr. John Quayle, the tenant of Ehenside, proposed to drain a sheet of water extending over about four or five acres, and to add the land thus reclaimed to his farm. He dug a sluice fifteen feet deep and drew the water off to the river; and thus the basin, if not quite dry, was, at any rate, fully exposed to observation. Within this basin the following traces of human habitation were found :—

Along the shore, and continued round within a few yards of the water-mark, was a line of white stones, burned white by the action of fire. * * * Along with these were considerable quantities of ashes and other refuse of the fires. There was a very large quantity of charcoal, burnt wood, broken twigs, nuts, and leaves, and some few, but not many, broken and charred bones of wild cattle, and perhaps deer. Stone and flint implements, such as axes, knives, and chisels, were plentiful, still not one single trace of iron, bronze, or metal of any kind has come to light. The rude and primeval people whose existence these relics indicate were only in possession of implements of flint and stone. Fire they had, abundant proof of

which remains in the ashes, charcoal, and refuse; and there are numerous fragments of broken earthen vessels, the outside of which has been burnt white, and has cracked while the pot has been simmering over the fire. Large quantities of this earthenware remain. One relic is of a pot of large dimensions, perhaps the largest yet brought to light in England; and it is hoped some one may see that these things are kept from destruction and loss. Besides the flint and stone implements, the wood bespeaks the work of simple human intelligence. Some pieces of oak are cut in lengths, evidently from massive full-grown trees, such as have not grown in this locality for many ages. One piece of oak, some four feet in breadth, being half of a tree, has been hollowed out by stone chisels and fire. Another piece has been wrought in the shape of a bench; it bears the marks of blows from a roughly-sharpened axe. Considering the flint tools, some of the cuts are wonderfully clean. The whole of the oak is yet so fresh that handsome furniture might be made of it. Then there are at least two paddles in Mr. Quayle's possession, shaped like the foot of a water-fowl, the web of which, once formed of skin, is now decayed.

. . . . This web-footed shape has in all likelihood been used as an oar. Let the reader now picture to himself a tarn, almost oval-shaped, and four or five acres in extent, the centre ten or fifteen feet deep at the least, and steep at the sides. Let him imagine on the water rafts of oak bound and covered with trees, to form the foundation of cottages or huts. Let him conceive this, and he will realise the idea of a lake-dwelling of the earliest Britons—a dwelling which served at once for a home and a fortress, in an age when beasts warred with men for the possession of the soil, and men warred needlessly with each other because they belonged to different tribes. With a hollow tree and a paddle they went to and fro from the shore, which was surrounded by a thick forest. They gathered acorns and nuts, and captured animals, raised a little wild corn, and ground it in their stone hand-mills, specimens of which have been found on the spot. The men, women, and children partook of their food, as gipsies do now, round a camp fire, and in times of danger and darkness they escaped to their floating rafts, the shores being always occupied with the fires and charred bones. The bison has long been extinct in Briton. Horns of this animal, bearing the marks of fire, have been found in the *débris* of Ehenside.

One remarkable fact remains to be mentioned—near the centre of the undrained tarn was an island several feet above the water, covered with reeds and bog-moss. When the water was withdrawn, this island subsided not less than eight feet. Was it then a *floating* island? Was it formed on one of the abandoned rafts? Was it really the site of an early Briton's home?

One observation more shall suffice. The undisturbed state of the charcoal and the stones mingled with hazel-nuts and small twigs point to a sudden abandonment of the place. Perhaps the possessors were driven away, as Europeans drive out the simple natives of newly-discovered lands. Then the shore would soon be covered with the water rising as *débris* accumulated within the tarn. Perhaps there came a sudden flood from a heavy fall of rain or the bursting of a spring. The pots and vessels, the axes and hammers, and the corn-mills were flooded over, the resources of the neighbourhood were exhausted, and the islanders took up a residence further in the interior of the country.

If the reader (Mr. Kenworthy concludes) be tempted to regard this as an antiquarian or pre-historic romance, let him furnish himself with the facts on the spot, and give us his solution of the phenomenon according to his own notions, as the writer has done according to his.

The foregoing picturesque and highly-coloured sketch suggests many particulars, as to which it is enough to say that the report was the result of one visit only, a few hours long, during which observation was freely supplemented by conjecture.

It may be as well at once to note some necessary corrections as to the facts of the case.

1. There does not appear to be any trace of ancient artificial enlargement of the tarns referred to.

2. The occurrence of burned stones is rare and always localised. The apparent "line of white stones" is nothing more than the marginal beach of stones bleached by long exposure to sun and weather and water.

3 and 4. The occurrence of "ashes," and of charcoal and burnt wood, must be noted with great caution. About 1830 or 1832 a cotton mill in the neighbourhood of Ehenside, then worked by Messrs. Birley, of Kirkham, was burned down. The ruins, about eight years after the fire, became the property of Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Brisco. This gentleman for some time carried on experiments in growing flax in the neighbourhood, and used to steep it in Ehenside tarn. Wanting convenience for drying the stalks, he removed and took up a number of beams and planks from the burned mill. It is probable that it was some of these charred timbers that the author of the article just quoted noticed. The cuts described by him as wonderfully clean undoubtedly appear to have been made by the axe of the (present) period.

5. The identification of the "bison," as the animal to whom a few horns and bones which have been found belonged, is altogether too hasty.

The occurrence of prehistoric remains was first noticed by the Rev. Stanley Pinhorne, the incumbent of Beckermeth, in the neighbourhood, and was then published by Mr. Kenworthy, who shortly afterwards reported the matter in London to Mr. A. W. Franks. This gentleman, recognising its importance, wrote to Mr. Pinhorne on the subject. Mr. Pinhorne however died very suddenly, before he had made any systematic research or any report. His death interrupted communication with so remote a locality. In the summer of 1871 however Mr. Franks was enabled to give sufficient instructions for a formal visit of inspection, with a view to ascertaining what had been done, and what had been found and preserved, and to endeavouring to carry on such research as might appear still possible and useful. The following notes exhibit the results of this visit.

THE DISTRICT.

The coast district of Cumberland, from St. Bees southwards, presents a ridge of stratified marine clays and sands, the former exhibiting numerous bedded or distributed sea-worn stones, and the latter, rarely however, a few traces of marine shells, generally too small and too much worn for identification. One fragment occurred, during repeated searches, apparently of an *Astarte*, and several which could be named without doubt as of *Tellina solidula*. Sections along the coast-line are almost continuous, but the most easily studied exposures have been effected by cuttings of the railway between St. Bees and Netherton station, about three miles, and thence to Braystones, a mile further to the southward. The land at Netherton rises steeply from the shore to a height of 100 to 120 feet above the sea level, and from that point eastward lies nearly level at that elevation for about a mile and a half, beyond which it is cut down abruptly by the valley of the river Ehen, between Rothersyke and Low Mill. Beyond Low Mill to the eastward the surface arises again abruptly to the same level, and thence rapidly to 200 feet, and then, within a quarter of a mile, to 300 feet and more inland. South of Netherton, the 100 feet contour line passes inland eastward for a mile, and then southwards along a sort of promontory, bounded inland by the Ehen Valley, leaving to the southward a district falling gradually to the 50-feet level of the sea-side cliffs, and known as Lowside Quarter, a tract containing with some of the higher level ground about 2,000 acres of fair farm lands, now all but treeless. Scattered over this region are a few small hills, reaching above the 100-feet level, and frequent isolated hollows. Several of these depressions contain shallow tarns, and in others are the remains of such pools, now more or less impassable boggy places called mosses. Such are Braystones Tarn, near the station, covering about 8 or 10 acres, and lying in a depression just under the 50-feet level, and, till lately, Ehenside or Gibb Tarn; also, Silver Tarn at 60 feet above the sea-line, and Hartlica Tarn, both passing into the stage of water-covered moss, and Lady Moss, Hollas Moss, Harnsey Moss, and several other smaller pits or mosses. Southwards, from Ehenside Tarn the ridge of marine deposits extends between Braystones Tarn and the sea about a mile, and is then abruptly cut down by the widening valley of the Ehen, which there forms a low-lying tract known as Bogholes, and after a course of about two miles parallel to the beach debouches south of Sellafield station, in company with the river Calder. Between the two rivers, at a level of 60 feet, lies Sellafield Tarn, about 10 acres in extent.

EHENSIDE TARN.

It is with Ehenside Tarn, or as it is called in the Ordnance map Gibb Tarn, that we are now concerned. This little lake covered about five to six acres of ground, at a level of some 70 feet above the sea, lying east and west in a depression which is sheltered west, north, north-east, and south by hills reaching a little above 100 feet of elevation. Eastward the ground falls slightly from what has been the bank of the lake towards the river, and about 2,000 feet from the lake side is cut down by the narrow channel and low-level boggy fields of the river valley. The hill to the north-east is a simple conical elevation just 100 feet high, in what is called the Stone Field. Upon the highest part of this mound there stood till lately a single erect stone, described as somewhat higher than a man and twice as thick. This monument interfered with the agricultural machines, and frightened the horses that drew them, and was "improved away" in a pit dug for it to fall into.

Ehenside Tarn was distinguished amongst its fellows by the fact that across the centre of it there extended, from north to south, a long narrow island, described as having been three or four feet above the water level on the westward side, and sinking away into very deep water on the easterly side. It was covered with bushes, and was a favourite fishing station, and when the lake was not flooded it was accessible from the northern shore by an isthmus and stepping-stones.

In 1869 Mr. John Quayle, the tenant of Middle Ehenside, set about draining this tarn. He cut an outfall, 15 feet deep at the lake side, up from the river to the easterly corner of the lake, and as the water drained off cut several deep drains across and around the exposed surface. This is described as having consisted of very soft bog. As the water left the tarn an immense number of carp and eels were exposed and taken. The bodies of large eels frequently occurred deep in the bog during the late excavations.

It is stated that as the water left the pit on the east side of the island, this, being no longer supported on that side, "fell over" or "slipped down" into the deep hole. It is however quite possible that the subsidence may have been nothing more than a simple sinking of an earthy and perhaps artificial surface on the withdrawal of the supporting fluid.

It appears that no notice had been taken of any relics of past industry, till on one occasion, in 1869, the Rev. S. Pinborne accidentally detected on some of the banks thrown up by the drainers two specimens of stone implements or celts and some wooden implements.

Mr. Pinhorne was kind enough to put aside a parcel of his discoveries, and to destine them as a contribution to the Christy Collection in London, where they have since been deposited.

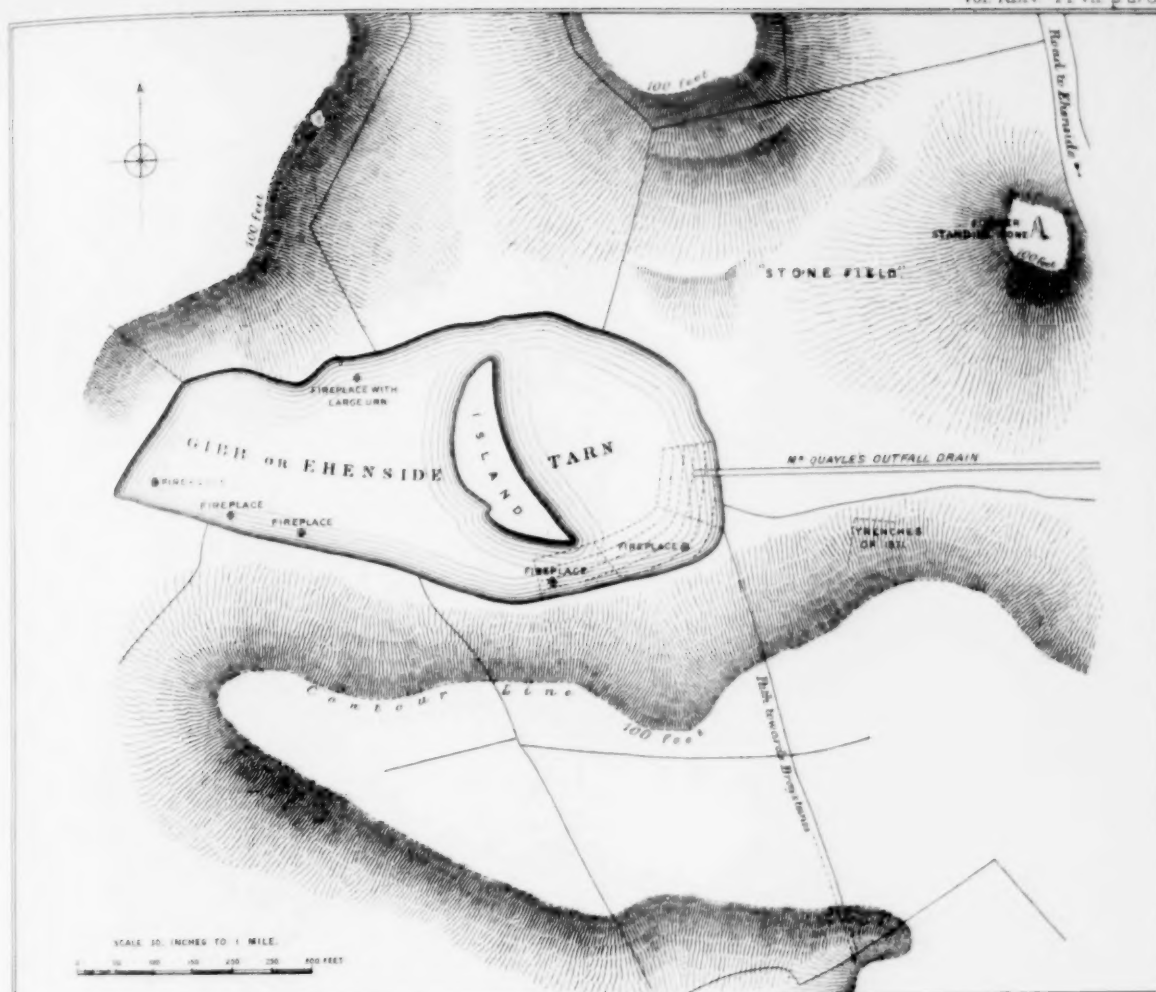
Mr. Quayle also collected and put aside a series of articles, which will be indicated below, and has been so good as to part with them for the same collection, where also the rest of the articles described below will be placed.

In August 1871, by means of assistance on the spot, I examined the ground: a series of new trenches were cut, and a fair amount of tarn bottom turned over. Commencing at a point about 50 feet from the recent water-line and directly south of the island (*see map*), a trench was cut to the depth of eight feet, when a water-level was reached and further excavation stopped, and thence to the shore. A second principal trench was cut to the same depth, extending in a line parallel to the beach line for about 300 feet round the easterly corner of the exposed boggy surface. The whole material was then carefully turned over between the latter line and the shore. The whole was, owing to the effective and now continued action of Mr. Quayle's drains, reduced from "a soft bog that a dog could not have run across" to a solid, heavy, peaty mass, easier to dig into than to throw out or break up fine. The bottom of the lake, wherever it was reached, consisted of an inclined, even, solid bed of very fine, whitish, sharp sand, extremely clean, and in many places already solidifying into consistent stony layers, which broke up under the spade into cakes, less or more friable. Below this was the stony marl of the neighbouring hills. This will be seen by the section given in Plate VII.

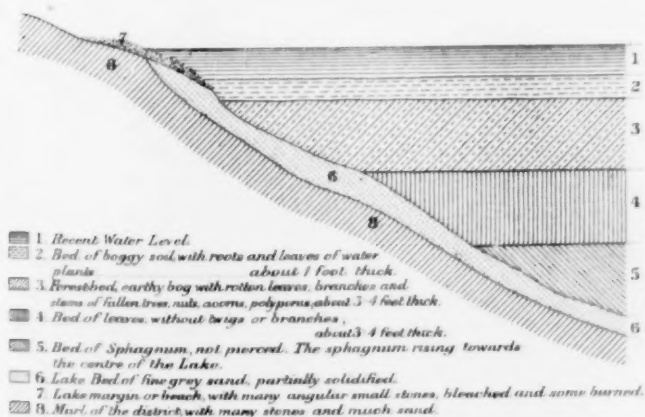
From the shore-line inwards the now dry surface consisted of a mass of vegetable matter, about one foot thick, in which it was difficult to distinguish any particular growth, except at the top the roots and remains of the lake-grass and water-plants. Below this, for three or four feet in thickness, was a bed consisting of leaves and broken branches, with many stems of fallen trees. Underneath this layer, and further in from the shore, was a dense mass of leaves of trees also three to four feet thick, and passing towards the deeper part of the lake downwards and outwards into a mass of *sphagnum*, which being low was loaded with water, and was not cut through. Beyond the second trench, *i.e.* towards the centre of the tarn, this mass appeared to rise to the surface and to form the bulk of the lake-ground.

The upper surface of the leaf-bed was well marked and level, as was also, where the leaves lay over it, the upper surface of the moss.

The bottom sand ran out on the shore over the stony clay of the district, and was mixed with or overlaid by many angular whitened stones of small size.



SECTION SHewing LAYERS IN THE LAKE BOTTOM



Note: Owing to the removal of the water by deep drains, the whole of the beds had suffered considerable vertical compression. It is not easy now to fix the relative levels of the Lake surface and the several layers of deposit.



C. F. Kelle, Lith. London

EHENSIDE TARN.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. 1874.

The leaves appeared to be almost exclusively of oak and beech, with birch, hazel, and alder leaves in places. These and the moss were singularly fresh when first exposed, but rapidly became black, and soon, when thrown out, lost their consistency and form in decomposition.

The forest bed, for such it was, was crowded with many trunks of trees, all of which had apparently fallen inwards, *i.e.* towards the lake. Their roots were rotted off, but the stems were well preserved. Beech trees a foot thick were abundant. Birch and hazel frequent, and oak likewise of common occurrence. One birch-tree, on which the bark was perfect and bright, was eighteen inches thick above the stool. One oak-tree was above two feet in diameter, and many over a foot thick. One oak-stem which had been dug up a year ago, and now lay on the shore much warped and cracked in drying, must have been three feet in diameter. The beech, alder, and birch, and several of the oak stems had lost their texture, so as to be readily cut with a spade, but some of the oak was very hard, and had to be chopped up with axes before it could be removed. So far as could be determined, the oak-wood lay lowest, the beech next, and the birch, alder, and hazel, in this order uppermost, but neither their numbers nor the extent of the observations would as yet justify any attempt to distinguish exactly separate horizons. These stems lay amongst a great accumulation of branches and twigs, many of the smaller of which were carbonized. Acorns and hazel-nuts were abundant, but did not appear in masses. A large piece of honeysuckle occurred with two stems twined rope fashion. Large specimens of a tree fungus (*Polyporus*) occurred frequently, and also great masses of birch-tree wens, each probably indicating old forest growth and decay. In the upper layer of this bed very large *caudices* of the *Osmunda regalis* were common, indicating apparently a period when, after the destruction of the woods which once surrounded the lake, the water still stood at a level considerably lower, or the forest bed somewhat higher, than its present surface. The entire formation appears therefore to be of the class known to the Danish explorers as *skov mose*—forest-pits, into which the trees fell by degrees to be overgrown with lake vegetation. Hitherto no traces have occurred of the piles or platforms which tell of so-called lake dwellings. What may occur when the site of the island is fully explored it is not yet possible to say.

REMAINS OF HUMAN WORKMANSHIP.

It is now impossible to state with any precision at what particular level the relics which the labourers threw out in 1870 occurred. Of those discovered in August 1871, one chipped, unpolished stone celt was found on the surface of the leaf-bed; another high up amongst the forest-bed; two wooden clubs and the fragment of a wooden bowl amongst the branches of this latter deposit; two long flat grinding stones, low down in the same bed; and a curved bow-shaped piece of oak, described below, on the top of the leaf-bed. Amongst the *sphagnum* nothing was found.

In several places amongst the branches nearer to the shore, but still upon some of them, were found built, or rather carefully laid, hearths of burned stones, with traces of charcoal; and throughout this bed there was a singular frequency of rough angular stones of considerable size, from about six inches in diameter to twice or three times that size.

At the south-easterly corner of the pool, the sandy bottom was covered for five or six yards with only a very shallow deposit of the uppermost bed of the lake-weeds, and of the next layer of twigs and leaves, and then shelved very steeply into the deep pit east of the island. Mr. Quavle states that it was at this point the remains found by Mr. Pinhorne and himself chiefly occurred. He says that here were found three paddles, two of which are described below, a rude canoe* consisting of the half of a tree-trunk roughly burned inside, and as roughly hollowed out. Here also he found the quern described below, and several large pieces of sand-stone with rubbed shallow hollows, and several fragments of smaller pots. Amongst the forest bed, chiefly towards the top and near to the shore, occurred several pieces of these flat grinding-stones, mostly broken and divided, probably by frost and ice.

Hearths of considerable extent, about two yards in diameter, occurred at several points along the shore on the southerly side. One very large one was found on the north side near the shore, at a point to the west of the north end of the island. (See map, Plate VII.) At this place was found a large earthenware vessel, described as having stood fifteen inches high, with a round bottom much burned. Fragments of this vessel were preserved, and are described below.

In September 1871 the surface of the island (so far as it remained after the subsidence into the deep on the east), and of the ground to the west, had already been covered by Mr. Quayle with till; but it is intended to endeavour to trench some of the ground along the westerly shore of that isolated and possibly artificial land.

* This "canoe" may, however, have been only one of Sir R. Brisco's beams.



STONE IMPLEMENTS, EHENSIDE TARN.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1874

LIST OF ARTICLES FOUND.

The objects of art which have been preserved consist of stone implements and grinding-stones, and various patterns of wooden implements and rude earthenware.

The objects obtained by Mr. Pinhorne are marked P, those by Mr. Quayle Q, and those from my own excavations D.

I.—Stone Implements.

a. *Celts.*

1. A fine, ground instrument of felstone, externally decomposed to a yellowish grey colour, 11.75 inches long, 3 inches broad at the edge, and tapering gradually to the butt. The edge is evenly convexly ground within 2 inches from a thickness of 1.4 to a sharp cutting edge rounded to an arc of 0.75 of an inch in depth on a chord measuring 3 inches. It is 1.5 inch thick about the middle and tapered to 0.5 at the butt-end, which is somewhat less carefully finished, to a convex cutting edge 2 inches wide. The upper surface exhibits a long entire facet, and each lateral edge has been ground to a similar facet less than half an inch wide. Between 7 inches and 9 inches from the broad edge this tool bears the worn mark of a haft. It weighs 3 lbs. 2 oz. (Plate VIII. fig. 1).—P.

2. A fine, evenly-ground, and polished celt, apparently of fine gritstone. It is 6.4 inches long, 2.75 inches wide at the broader end, and tapers convexly to 1.75 inch at the narrow end, each end being ground to a cutting edge somewhat more obtuse than those of No. 1. The lateral edges are ground down to long narrow facets. It weighs 1 lb. 6 oz.—P.

3. An instrument of the same felstone as No. 1, and similarly decomposed on the surface, 14.5 inches long, 3.5 inches wide at one end, and 2.5 inches at the other, and 4 inches wide at 5 inches from the broader end. It is 1½ inch thick for 7 inches in the middle, and is tapered by chipping and grinding to a cutting edge at each end. At the broader end this edge has been formed by careful grinding, at the other by several chips not yet obliterated by that process. One of the longer lateral edges is finely ground to a sharp edge, the other is still chipped only. One of the faces is ground only half-way from the edge, the rest from the centre line to the other edge is still roughly shaped with chips only partially effaced. The other face has been well finished, and presents a rounded sectional outline with three principal longitudinal facets, each 1 inch wide, and

a lateral one to each edge half an inch wide. The grinding process would seem not to have been completed, as these facets are separated by slight longitudinal angular ridges. Otherwise this face is finely smoothed. This implement weighs 4 lbs. 15 oz. It is a remarkably handsome specimen; but it must be considered as unfinished, the lateral edges not being ground off. There is no indication of any wear in the socket of a haft. (Plate VIII., fig. 2).—Q.

4. A fine, polished celt or stone axe of hard, dark olive grey greenstone, 9 inches long, 3 inches wide at the cutting edge, and tapering to 1·5 inch in width at the butt end, with a slight convexity along the sides. Each lateral edge has been carefully squared off, showing a facet 0·25 of an inch wide the whole length of the tool. This instrument is 1·5 inch thick, about 1·5 inch from the cutting edge, and thence tapers convexly to the butt. The convex edge is carefully ground sharp with a slight concavity. The whole instrument has been carefully ground smooth, almost polished, exhibiting longitudinal facets of slight prominence, and also showing the lines of fine grinding transversely. One face is rather more convex than the other. It weighs 1 lb. 14 oz. This tool was found with a wooden haft, the socket of which it fitted. In order to complete the description of this interesting specimen the haft is described here.

A piece of hard root of beech-wood, 2·5 inches thick, 3 deep, and 13 inches long (but apparently some portion of the handle-end has been broken off and lost), has been carefully shaped at one end into a boat-shaped club, and towards the other end tapered to fit the hand. Three inches from the end there has been carefully cut a clean socket, into which the celt fitted (axewise, and not across like an adze), so as to allow 2·5 inches of the butt of the stone to project above the wood. Above and below, at either end of the socket, the club has been cut down, so that the hole is in a piece only $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep on each side. Between the butt of the stone and the end of the haft the wood appears to have projected upwards; but this portion of the instrument has been chipped off and lost. The handle-end has been made round. The whole surface has been most carefully cut by repeated blows of a cutting instrument, showing cuts and ridges $\frac{1}{8}$ th of an inch apart in small concave facets. Between the celt and the hand these are arranged in a spiral manner round the wood, perhaps while turning the wood in the hand during the process of finishing. The boat-shaped head of this haft has been accurately *ground* across the grain in several facets as truly as any modern joiner could cut it with his sharpest chisel. The whole is a beautiful specimen of the skill and finish of the ancient workman. The chipped dressing of the surface is so neat that one cannot avoid detecting in it a certain idea of ornamentation.

Upon the whole, it is probable that this instrument is the finest specimen of the kind which has yet been found in England. (Plate VIII. fig. 3.)—D.

There is a sketch of a very similar hafted celt in Sir W. R. Wilde's Catalogue of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Part I. page 46, fig. 53, but the drawing seems to have been made from a dried and shrunk specimen. Another is engraved in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, vol. iv. p. 112, and reproduced in the *Archæologia*, vol. xliii. p. 407. It is preserved, though in a shrunk state, in the British Museum, and was found in the Solway Moss, near Longtown.

The Ehenside specimen is figured in Mr. Evans's *Ancient Stone Implements*, p. 139, fig. 92.

5. A small half-polished celt of the grey-coloured felstone, 5·5 inches long, 1·75 inch wide 2 inches from the cutting end, which is 1·5 inch wide, with a convex, sharp edge. From the widest point the stone tapers to 0·75 of an inch at the butt. It is 0·75 of an inch thick where it is widest, and has been ground down steeply to the edge, and less so to the butt. The lateral edges are chipped to shape, and one face is almost flat, the other highly convex. There are traces (in a glazed polish) of this tool having been fastened on to a handle. It weighs 6½ oz. From the shape of the longitudinal section, flat on one face and thickest just behind the cutting edge, the tool looks as if it had been used as an adze rather than as an axe.—Q.

6. An unground celt of heavy greenstone, 9·5 inches long, 3 inches wide from the cutting edge for 6 inches of the length, and then tapering to the butt of 1·5 inch in width. It is tapered to each end and to each edge from a central ridge on either surface, and has a central thickness of 1·75 inch. This tool has been roughly shaped by chipping, but the surface is for the most part deeply corroded away.

It weighs 2 lbs. It was found below the forest-bed, lying on the surface of the leaf-bed.—D.

7. An unground celt of apparently the same material as the last, 7·5 inches long, broadest (3 inches) in the middle, where it is also thickest (1·5 inch), and tapering in every direction from this maximum point towards a cutting edge of 2 inches in length with rounded corners, and towards the pointed edge of the butt 1 inch wide, and to each edge. Each surface exhibits many bold chipped facets. The exterior of this specimen has decomposed to a friable white chalk-like substance. It weighs 1 lb. 3½ oz.

It was found below the recent lake-weed, lying on the top of the forest bed.*—D.

8. There occurred in the forest-bed not unfrequently round stones, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, of some heavy description, but whitened outside apparently by fire and exposure. Could these have been stones for boiling water or cooking with?

It is not out of place to describe here two specimens which, though not found in the tarn, were discovered in the immediate neighbourhood.

8a. A highly-finished polished celt of a fine-veined greenstone with delicate dispersed brown veins, 11.5 inches long, 3 inches wide at the broad end, and tapering thence with a slight convexity to the butt, 1 inch wide. The edge is smoothly ground, with an even convexity on both sides, to a sharp convex edge. The butt is also flattened to a blunt edge. Each lateral edge presents a long narrow facet. It is thickest (1.3 inch) about four inches from the edge. It shows traces of the use of a haft in slight wear between two and four inches from the butt.

This beautiful instrument was found in a cutting or drain in the bogholes or lowland ground near the mouth of the river Ehen named[†] above, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile south of Ehenside Tarn, and is now in the collection of Dr. Clark, of Beckermest, near Braystones.

b. Hammer or Axe.

8b. A stone hammer or rude blunt axe, of dark-grey greenstone, carefully ground and rubbed to shape, 10.5 inches long, 3.5 inches thick at the socket end, and four inches wide in front of the socket-hole. In the plane of the edge it is pierced at the butt with a socket 1 inch in diameter in the centre and widening to each side. Around the mouth of the hole, on each side, there is an oval concavity. The butt and both sides, except near the saucer-like depressions, are evenly rounded. The edge can scarcely be described as such, but rather is rounded off from both sides, and ending in a blunt ridge. It weighs 5lbs. 14oz. and shows signs of hard service in several chipped facets, but these may perhaps be of comparatively recent origin.

This tool was not found in the lake, but in an old wall not far off. It may perhaps be of a later age than the implements from the tarn.—Q.

* Diligent search was made all over the surface of the now dry lake bottom, along the shores, and also over adjoining potato and stubble fields, for flakes or chips, but entirely without success. No flint occurred at all.

c. Corn-grinding Stones.

9. A large corn-muller.

This is a thick oval flag of the new red sandstone of St. Bees Head and other parts of the neighbouring district, taken from one of the finer grained and harder layers. It is ground flat on the under side, rudely chipped round the edges, and rubbed on the upper side into an even shallow basin, with a very smooth surface. It is 20 inches long and 14 inches broad, and at the edges about 5 inches thick. The basin is 1·5 inch deep. The whole weighs 52 lbs. 8 oz.

The upper or hand-stone for grinding upon this rude mill was found with it. It is a heavy spheroidal boulder of greenstone weathered grey, 7·5 inches diameter and 4 thick, and weighs 15 lbs.—D.

10. A quern or hand-mill.

Of this, both upper and lower stones were found together. The lower, of a grey gritstone, has been neatly chipped, or rather picked into a deep hemispherical shape. It is round, of 13·5 inches in diameter, and 9 inches deep. The upper surface is slightly concave, with a central hole for the wooden pivot of the upper stone. The upper stone is also circular, very well-shaped, of nearly the same diameter as the lower, into the concave surface of which it fits exactly. It is rather conical than hemispherical in figure, with a central cup 5 inches wide and 4 inches deep, with the pivot-hole in the centre of a flattish bottom.

The complete machine stands fifteen inches high.*—Q.

d. Stones for Grinding and Sharpening Celts.

11. A mass of soft sandstone 12 inches long, 10 inches broad, and 5 inches thick, carefully shaped by chipping and rubbing to an evenly-rounded flat oval spherical form.

On the upper surface is a well-worn longitudinal concavity, whose even, celt-like shape clearly indicates its use for forming or finishing the edges of such instruments; it weighs 22 lbs. 10 oz.—D.

12. A flat pear-shaped mass of hard coarse gritstone, rudely shaped below and at the sides, 10 inches long, 6 inches wide at one end, and 4 inches wide at the other end, with a shallow longitudinal concavity occupying nearly the whole width of the upper surface. It looks as if it might have been held with one

* The upper part of a similar quern was lately found on the beach at Seacote, where a little stream cuts off the southerly end of St. Bees shore cliff. It is confidently stated that these querns have been actually in domestic use within living memory in some of the deep valley recesses of this part of Cumberland.

hand at the narrow end, while the other hand rubbed the objects backwards and forwards; the broader end may have been longer.—D.

13. Many fragments of more or less hard and more or less coarse sandstone occurred, each showing one or more, more or less deeply worn, concave surfaces.—D.

e. Flat Grinding or Sharpening Stones.

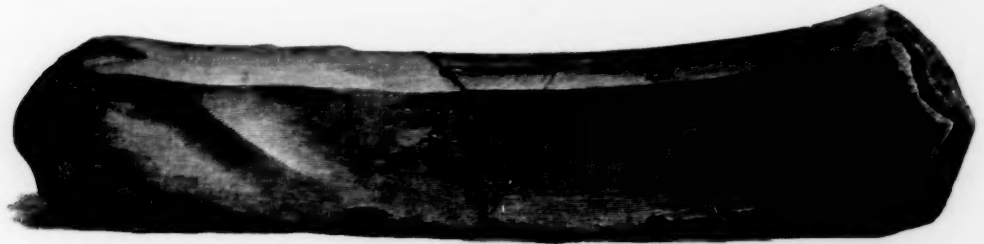
These form a very peculiar series. In each case the grinding surfaces are long and flat, ending each way with a slight upward curvature and a slight transverse convex ridge, which may be supposed to have marked the limits of the side-to-side operation of grinding.

14. A heavy mass of coarse red sandstone, weathered grey on the surface, 26 inches long, 10 inches wide, and 5 inches thick, weighing 48 lbs. 4 oz.

The under side is rudely flattened, so that the stone rests on the table steadily.

The upper surface is a long flat evenly-ground facet, 20 inches by 7 inches in extent.

One side is similarly ground to a face measuring 22 inches by 4, and the other side likewise ground to a similar face, measuring 20 inches by 3. (See woodcut.) —D.



Grinding Stone (No. 14). Length 26 inches.

15. A rude mass of stone like that of No. 14, of the same length and width, but 2 to 3 inches more in thickness, with upper and two lateral grinding surfaces.—D.

16. A narrow slab 5 to 6 inches thick of finer reddish-grey sandstone, rudely chipped on two sides, ground very smoothly on the upper side, with a longitudinally slightly concave face, 24 inches long by 6 inches wide. The under surface also presents a less finished grinding-plane.

This weighs 28 lbs. 11 oz.—Q.

17. A beautiful piece of fine-grained buff-coloured sandstone, 25 inches long and 5 inches wide, weighing 20 lbs. 1 oz.

This fine specimen has two smoothly-ground faces and a third narrow face 2 inches wide, forming as it were a thick back to a rudely knife-shaped prism, the opposite edge being chipped and unworn.

The narrow or back facet consists of two inclined surfaces meeting in the middle.

This stone seems to have been a particularly fine one, and much used.

It was found in the forest-bed amongst the branches.—D.

II.—*Wooden Instruments.*

The wood of all these has suffered much loss of texture in the bog-water. Those which have been simply allowed to dry have cracked and shrunk so as scarcely to retain their figure. Several of oak have retained their longitudinal fibre, but have warped extremely in drying. The recent ones were brought home packed in wet bog-earth, washed clean, and soaked, according to the Danish method of M. C. F. Herbst (*Antiquarisk Tidsskrift*, *Nordisk Oldskrift Selskab*. 1858-60, p. 176), in a hot saturated solution of alum, and then slowly dried. Owing to some inexperience in the mode of treatment, the smaller articles (having been, probably, too effectually soaked) were destroyed by the crystallisation of the alum, suffering a sort of powdery dissolution. The others gave signs of similar injury, and, having been soaked again in warm water to remove surplus alum, are now preserved in a solution of glycerine ($\frac{2}{3}$) and water ($\frac{1}{3}$).

f. Hafts of Celts and Clubs.

18. The haft of celt No 4, described above.

19. A haft of a celt, of oak-wood.

This relic had been left to dry and had shrunk. It is now 8 inches long from the butt to the socket. This hole had apparently not been cut in the wood, but rather formed in a split, the ends being bent, and originally, perhaps, bound together. At the butt is a knob to fit behind the hand, or to be laid hold of.—Q.

20. A fine club of beech-wood, at present 18·5 inches long, 3 inches broad, and 2·25 inches thick at the end (Plate IX. fig. 1). From the ninth inch rounded and tapering towards the handle, where a portion has been lost. Towards the end from this point it has been carefully chiselled by successive long and short cuts with a sharp stone tool into a shape somewhat flattened on the two sides. Above and below at the fifth inch from the end a cut has been made towards the axis, and thenceforward the weapon is flattened to the end, so that its section is rectangular with flat sides top and bottom, and convex ones laterally. The end has been carefully ground round. It might have been intended for a club, in which capacity it would be a serviceable heavy weapon, or prepared for boring for a celt. It was found in the forest bed. It is very like the figure No. 1, plate xi. in F. Keller's "Lake Dwellings," translated by Lee, the knob at the handle having been lost.—D.

21. A simple club of wood 26 inches long and 4 wide at 5 inches from the end, at which point it was $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick. It was carefully cut away to a sharp edge on both sides, ending towards the handle in a round shaft tapered to a point. The head is also two-edged, and tapered more abruptly to a point. This weapon was exactly like the two-edged club which is common in Australian collections, and is known as a sword-club. It was extremely soft when dug out of the forest-bed, and could not be extracted whole. It speedily perished on exposure, and could not be preserved. A reproduction has been made which fairly represents the original (Plate IX. fig. 2.)—D.

From the perishable nature of the material few wooden clubs of a remote antiquity have come down to us. It may therefore be worth noticing that in a *hünengrab* at Remlin, near Gnoyen, Mecklenburg, a club, stated to be of oak, was discovered. It was cylindrical in section, but with an oviform head 5 inches in greatest diameter, and measured $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length. In the same grave was discovered an urn with ashes, fragments of other urns, portions of a skeleton, an amber ornament, and flint flakes.*

22. A cylindrical short club or mallet.

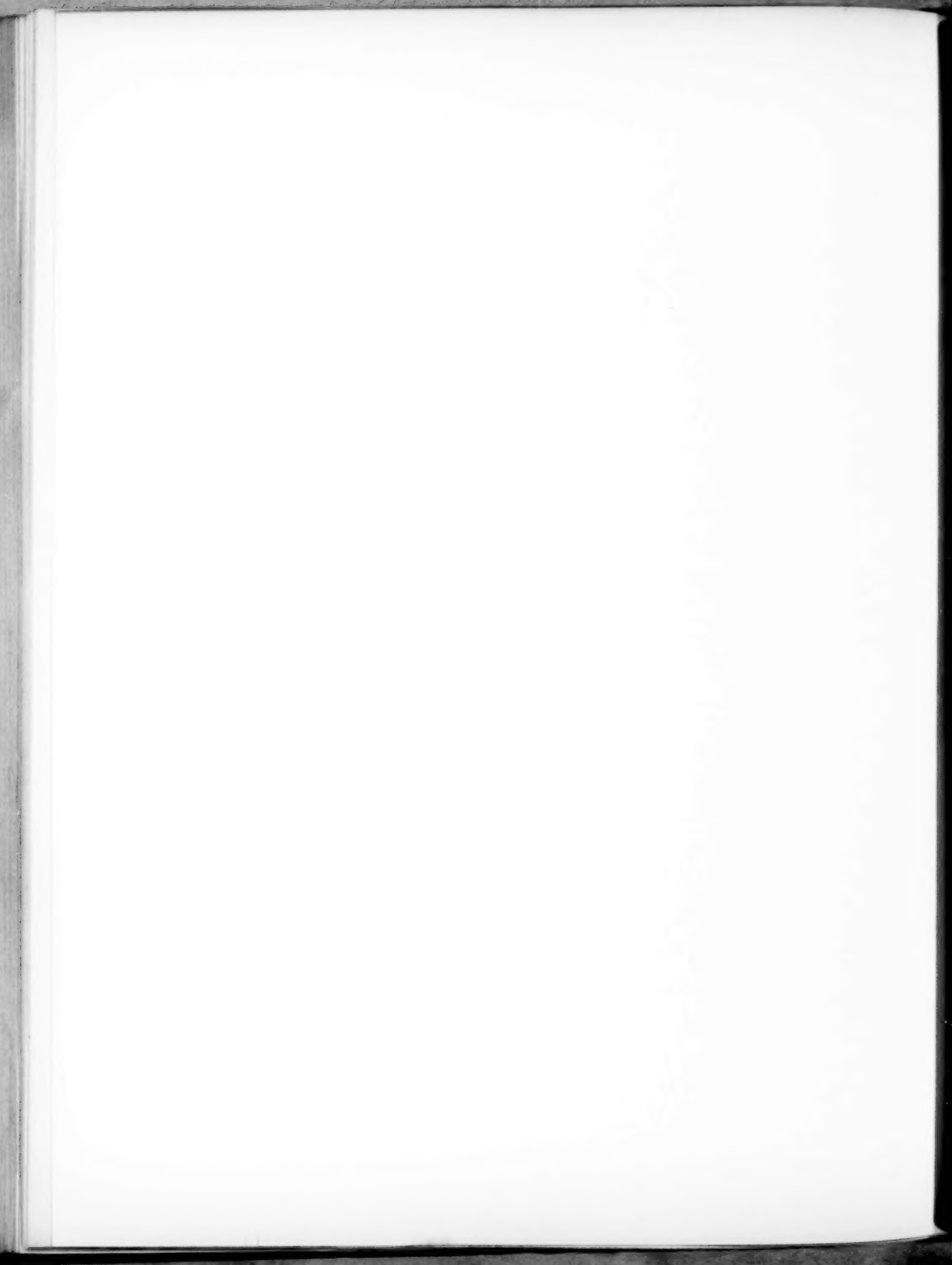
This article was amongst Mr. Pinhorne's collection, and having been allowed to dry is now warped and split with more or less deep longitudinal cracks. At present it consists of a cylindrical mass 7 inches long and 2·5 in diameter, with a

* See *Jahrbücher des Vereins für Mecklenburgische Geschichte*, 1844, p. 364, where the club is engraved.



WOODEN IMPLEMENTS, EHENSIDE TARN.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1874.



blunt round end and square shoulder. The handle, from the centre of the square end, is now 4 inches long, and 1 inch thick, much split and warped.—P.

23. A fragment of the handle end of a haft or club 6·5 inches long and 2 inches in diameter at the butt, tapering slightly towards the broken end. This piece has been neatly shaped with ten uniform straight longitudinal facets.—D.

24. Another similar fragment, 6 inches long and 1·3 inch wide at the butt, tapering more abruptly to ·75, where it is broken off. This has been dried, and the diametrical measurements may not represent the original figure. It is finely ornamented by a very neat and exact cross-hatching of oblique transversely encircling lines. A portion is given full size in Plate IX. fig. 3.—P.

g. Other wooden Articles.

25. A fragment of a wooden basin, found in the leaf-bed, 5 inches by 3, and less than 0·5 inch thick. It seemed to have been part of a low bowl 6 to 8 inches in circumference, or perhaps of some vessel not circular, and had been carefully shaped inside and outside.

This was one of the specimens which was destroyed by the application of too much alum.—D.

26. A paddle.—From Mr. Pinhorne's collection, and now dried, shrunk, and seamed with cracks. The blade measures 1 foot in length by 3·5 inches in width. Nine inches still remain of a stem now an inch thick.—P.

27, 28. Two wooden implements of oak, shaped like a long spade or paddle, with three long prongs and a long stem.

One has been preserved with little fracture. It has been dried and has warped considerably.—Plate IX. fig. 4.

Its measurements are as follows :—

Stem 2 feet 4 inches long and 1·25 by 1 inch diameter, now ending towards the butt with a knotty knob, but apparently some portion beyond this knob has been broken off and lost.

Paddle portion: 5 inches wide at the shoulder and 6 at the end where the prongs begin, and 10 inches long to the same point, and 0·5 inch thick.

At 1·5 inch below the shoulder the sides of the paddle have been cut in, so as to leave on each side in the dry specimen a knob of that depth projecting an inch beyond the side of the blade.

Prongs: The centre one is the least injured, and is now 10 inches long by 1 inch wide. The lateral prongs are wider at the base, but afterwards also 1 inch wide. They are stated by Mr. Quayle to have been as long as the middle

one and in the first instrument parallel to it, and to have continued in a straight line the edge of the paddle.

The paddle portion of the second article is of the same shape as that of the more complete one. It measures 5 inches across the knobs, and 11 inches to the root of the prongs. One of the lateral prongs of this specimen has been preserved perfect. It is 14 inches long and 1 inch wide, and appears to have been furnished with a sharp thin edge on either side, with a strong longitudinal central rib on the back and front, and slightly tapered to a round point. A figure of this paddle is given in Plate IX. fig. 5.

These objects appear to have been very like one described (No. 6 in Wilde's Catalogue, part i. p. 205) as having been found in a bog at Armagh, and now, with two others, in the museum of the Irish Academy. The blade of the Ehen-side specimens is uniformly wider than that of the one figured in the Catalogue, p. 206, fig. 139, No. 8.

Wilde calls his specimens "spades or forks." The prongs would seem awkward appendages, even if the stone-age men digged.* It has been suggested that they were paddles, and finished with a web of skin. Of this, however, no trace appears to have been identified. Perhaps they may have been used as eel-spears, the blade or paddle adding strength to the long prongs, and preventing them from splitting off, or as paddles.—Q.

29. A piece of oak.

This is shaped with the double curve, with which a bow is sometimes drawn. It measures 3 feet from point to point, and 3 feet 3 inches along the curve. In the centre it is 9 inches in circumference, and it tapers evenly to a point at each end. (Plate IX. fig. 6.) Its use is not obvious, nor is it certain that it is artificial. Can it have been a rude shield like some of the rudest Australian shields? It can well be held in the hand at the centre. It was found lying at the bottom of the forest-bed, flat on the surface of the leaf-bed.—D.

III.—*Earthenware.*

Three forms of pottery were found, described below.

30. A large vessel was found, standing on its round bottom, in the lake-bed near the large fire-place on the north side of the tarn. (See map, Plate VII.) It

* It should however be stated that a wooden three-pronged fork, believed to have been used as a pitch-fork, though at a much more recent period than the specimens under consideration, has been obtained at Hoylake, in Cheshire, and is in the possession of Mr. Charles Potter of Liverpool.

is said to have stood about 15 inches in height, but was broken in removal. Several fragments however have been preserved. It appears to have had an edge or lip rounded inside to an angular edge, from which it fell outwards, with a short and then a (1-inch) long flattened facet to a rounded hollow base. Each of these flattened surfaces has been ornamented by indentations, formed apparently with the seal-like impressions of the end of a hollow stick or reed, often duplicated, so as to form an 8-shaped cell.

A large fragment of the side of this vessel has been preserved. It is 1 inch thick above and 1·5 inch thick below. The bottom also remains. It is rounded and burned black. The material is a brown clay (apparently darkened by infiltration of the bog-water) with numerous bits of chert or quartz diffused through the mass. The outside seems to have been burned, and in the fractured edges shows a whiter colour than the inner portion. The fragment looks as if built up of pieces of clay (like a swallow's nest), and then shaped smooth outside by stroking downwards with the hand or moulding-stick.—D. and Q.

31. Fragments occurred, amongst the boggy earth thrown by the side of one of the drains, of another urn of this larger and coarser fabric. The side is thinner and the lip is slightly different in shape, while the ornament is somewhat more regular than in No. 32. In this case there is a regular row of the 8-shaped seal-marks.—D.

Mr. Quayle reports that at the south-east corner of the tarn (where he found most of his specimens) there were abundant pieces of pottery. One vessel was found perfect, but was broken in extraction. Amongst his fragments two sorts were distinguishable.

32. A vessel about 10 inches in diameter of brown clay baked, with numerous small fragments of chert or quartz, and abundant little bits of shining mica interspersed. The sides were upright but with slightly angular shoulders below (1·5 inch deep) a recurved thin lip. The bottom was not preserved.—Q.

33. A similar vessel of rather smaller diameter than No. 34, with a more sharply recurved lip, a sharper shoulder angle, and a rounder figure below. The material is the same, but the vessel was thinner, and of a black colour, with a smoother and even glazed exterior surface.—Q.

Besides the above, both classes of which are of the rudest style and coarsest texture, Mr. Quayle found and gave to Mr. Kenworthy, who has presented them to the Christy Collection, fragments of a pot of much finer manufacture and probably of later date.

34. A vessel about 10 inches in diameter of a fine clay well baked, buff-

coloured internally, and with a brownish black smooth well-finished surface inside and outside; below the edge of a thin vertical edge is a rounded overhanging curved ornamented lip. The inner surface still bears traces of an even and a waved line of ornament, now dully glazed, formerly probably with some colour. This fragment is apparently of Roman origin; its exact place or level of deposit is not now determinable—it may have been imported by the savages of Ehenside Tarn or left by some later passenger.

IV.—*Bones.*

Horns of deer were said to have been found, but the only two specimens that have been recovered prove to be withered and much decayed pieces of thornwood.

A horn about 2 inches long and a couple of humerus bones have been preserved, which are said to have been found in the tarn. These do not look as if they had lain long in the peat, and may have belonged to animals buried at no great distance of time.

A horn 6 inches long and a metacarpal bone, each small and slender, were dug up out of the forest-bed. They belong to *Bos longifrons*.—D.

XVI.—*On an Early French Deed, A.D. 1397, relating to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. Exhibited by EDWARD PEACOCK, ESQ.; with Remarks by C. KNIGHT WATSON, ESQ., M.A. F.S.A., Secretary.*

Read Nov. 30, 1871.

IN calling the attention of the Society to the interesting deed exhibited this evening by our Fellow, Mr. Peacock, it would be superfluous to do more than allude in a most cursory manner to the early history and general organization of the famous order of the Knights Hospitallers to which it relates. I need but refer to the General Chapter held at Montpellier in 1329—the date of the deed before us is 1397—when Elyan de Villanova was Grand Master, and at which the Order was for the first time divided into the seven “Languages,” as they were called, of France, Provence, Auvergne, Italy, Germany, England, and Aragon; a number which was afterwards raised to eight by the addition of Castille and Portugal as a single “Language.” The “Language” of France, I may add, was divided into three Grand Priories: the Priory of France, which contained forty-five Commanderies—the name given to the estate of the Order placed under the control of one of the brothers, called a Commander—the Priory of Aquitaine, which contained sixty-five, and the Priory of Champagne, which contained twenty-four. On the system on which, in the fourteenth century, the property of the fraternity was managed, and its income derived and expended in England, the fullest light has been thrown by the very valuable report of the English Prior Philip de Thame to the Grand Master already mentioned, Elyan de Villanova, for the year 1338, edited for the Camden Society, in 1857, by the Rev. Lambert B. Larking, with an Historical Introduction by Mr. John Mitchell Kemble. No such information however, so far as I am aware, exists in print relating to the fraternity in France, and this circumstance gives to the deed before us an importance which at a first glance it might not be held to possess. For, although in its general features the system which regulated the Priories in different countries at the same periods was probably in substance the same, still we should be justified in inferring *a priori* that differences of detail must

necessarily have arisen from the varieties of custom, of character, and of social condition, which marked the people with whom they were brought into contact. And in point of fact any one who is familiar with the publication of the Camden Society will find as he reads this deed that this *à priori* conjecture is borne out by the result, the general drift of which is to show the greater servitude to which the peasantry and lower orders generally were subjected in France, as contrasted with the comparative freedom enjoyed in this country.

The deed before us is written in French, on vellum, 13 inches wide by 14 $\frac{3}{8}$, including the fold-down. I subjoin a transcript of the original.

A tous ceulz qui ses presentes lettres verront Frere Regnault de Giresme de la Sainte Maison de l'ospital Saint Jehan de Jhrlmz humble prieur en France salut en nostre Seigneur. Comme descort feust meus et esperez de mouuoir entre nostre ame en Dieu frere Jehan Lerminier Comandeur de notre baillie de Coulours en Octe dune part et les habitans de nostre dicte ville dautre part. Pour cause dune certaine taille que les dis habitans doivent chascun an de mortemain le jour de Penthecouste qui estoit de quinze liures tournois Pour laquelle paier le dit commandeur les vouloit contraindre de payer et les en poursuiuoit par devant le bailly de Trois qui estoit ou grant preiudice et dommage diceulz habitans et de nostre dicte ville sicomme Ilz disoient, Sy nous ont humblement supplique de ce demourassent quit'es et paisibles dores en avant en payant chascun an a nostre commandeur de nostre maison de Coulours qui est ou sera pour le temps ou a son certain commandement en nostre dicte maison pour chascune coustume de la ville la somme de cinq solz tournois a trois termes en lan et sus paine de deux solz tournois damende pour chascun terme quilz deffandront de payer. Cestassavoir au jour de la St. Remy vint deniers tournois au jour de Noel vint deniers tournois et a pasques vint deniers tournois. Item que nous ayons un four bannier en nostre dicte ville au quel ilz seront tous banniers de Cuire leur pain. Pourueu que chascun puisse auoir sil lui plaist un petit four a cuire tartes pastez et flaonnes sanz preiudice. Item que nous leur veuillon remettre et quitter certaines corueez de bras quilz nous deuoient et Ilz demourroient á tousjours noz bourgeois nuement. Par nous payant chascun an comme dit est douze deniers tournois de bourgeoisie au jour de la St. Remy Cestassavoir pour chascun chief dostel maiz quant aux corueez de cherrue [*sic*] elles se demourroient en la maniere que leu a acoustume. Item que pour les terrages quilz payoient au sizieme nous leur veuillons Remettre comme a la dzieme gerbe. Savoir faisons que nous voulons en ceste partie complaire aux dis habitans et pour nourrir paix et amour entre nostre Religion et eulz et aussy pour eschuier toute maniere de plait et de procez. Du conseil et assentement de noz freres estans avecques nous en nostre chapitre general avons traictie pacifie et accorde avecques les dis habitans en la maniere qui sensuit. Cestassavoir que les habitans de Coulours demourront doresenauant quittes de la dicte taille de quinze liures dessus desclariez parmi ce quilz seront tenus de payer chascun an au commandeur de Coulours present et advenir cinq solz tournois pour chascune coustume quilz tenront a troix termes en lan. Cestassavoir au jour de la feste St. Remi vint deniers tournois. Au jour de Noel vint deniers tournois et a pasques vint deniers tournois en nostre dicte maison de Coulours et ou cas quilz deffandront de payer pour

chascem terme les huit jours passez Ilz seront en lamende de deux solz tournois de laquelle et aussy du principal on les pourra justicier et gager par nostre sergent ou le commis de nostre dit commandeur et faire payer les huit jours passez sanz contredit. Item les dis habitants nous feront faire un four en la ville a leurs despens au quel Ilz seront tous banniers de Cuire leur pain et payeront a nostre dit commandeur le vintiesme pain et a portion. Et le dit four fait nous le deuons soustenir et maintenir aux cousts dudit commandeur. Item auons accorde et accordons aux dis habitants que chascun deulz pourra auoir sil lui plaist en sa maison un petit four a Cuire tartes pastez ou flaonnes, lesquieulz fours seront du grant que sont ceulz des habitans de Cerisiers ou jusques a deux piez et demi de crues par dedens. Et sil aduenoit que aucum y cuisist pain Il en payera cinq solz tournois damende avecques le pain forfait confisque a nostre dit commandeur et si sera le four abatu. Item les dis habitants demourront et demeurent doresenauant tous noz bourgeois nument par nous payant chascun an douze deniers tournois de bourgeoisie le jour St. Remy en nostre dicte maison et a nostre dit commandeur. Cestassauoir pour chascun chief dostel dont on les pourra executer par les sergents de lostel. Et par ainsy Ilz sont et seront quittes doresenauant des corueez de braz quilz payoient parauant ce present accord maiz les auts corueez de Charrue ce payeront tout par la maniere cet somme que antrefois ont acoustume de payer. Et quant aux terrages de nostre dicte ville quilz souloient payer la sizieme gerbe Ilz ne payeront doresenauant que la diziesme gerbe. Tontes lesquelles choses et chascune dicelles nous pour tant comme Il puet toucher nous nostre priore et la dicte baillie promettons en bonne foy pour nous et pour noz successeurs prieurs de France aux dis habitants et a ceulz qui deulz auront cause ou temps auenir. Auoir et tenir fermes et aggreables sanz emfraindre ou venir contre en quelque maniere que ce soit ou temps auenir. Eulz tenans gardans et accomplissans ycelles pour tant corueez a eulz puet toucher. En temoing de ce nous auons fait mettre a ces lettres le seel de nostre priore de france. Donne a Paris en nostre general chapitre le mercredi apres les octaves de la Saint Barnabe apostre lan de grace mil troiscens quatreuins et dixsept.

Endorsements:—

“ Pour la Commanderie de Coulours
pour les coustumes et coruees.”

Immediately above the perforation for the seal—

“ Registrata ” [a paraphe.]

The others are modern.

I am sorry to say the seal has disappeared, but I have endeavoured to supply its absence as far as possible by exhibiting plaster casts of two private seals of Regnault de Giresme, which I procured from the Archives de l'Empire, through the kind intervention of M. Douet d'Arcq. One of these—numbered on the back 9899—is the fragment of a round seal in green wax, one inch in diameter. Subject: a shield couché, bearing, quarterly, a cross moline in each quarter; ensigned with a helm; two beasts of an uncertain kind, perhaps antelopes, as supporters. The crest and legend are broken away. This seal is appended to a deed dated

1393, of "frère Regnault de Giresme, prieur de l'Ospital en France." It is addressed to "Gobert Chandelier, gouverneur de la maison de Montchaussart, dependant de la baillie du Mont de Soissons," and relates to a dispute of the Order with one Bernart de Raucourt.

The next seal, numbered 9900 (here figured), is also a round seal in green wax, $\frac{7}{8}$ inch in diameter, and is applied as counterseal to the seal of the Order. The deed to which it is appended is a covenant between the Hospitallers and the King (Charles VII.) touching some arrears of corn. It is dated December 22, 1412. Subject: In a double quatrefoiled panel a shield with same arms as in the first seal. Around the shield are the letters F. R. D. G. Frère Regnault de Giresme.



SEAL OF REGNAUT
DE GIRESMÉ.

With respect to this family of Giresme, it may be mentioned that in the Registers of the Trésor des Chartes we find the name recurring again in connection with the Order of the Hospitallers. From the following passage in the letters of legitimation of Artur de Giresme in 1448, it would appear that a Nicolay de Giresme had held the same office as Regnault, "licet Artur de Giresme, filius naturalis dilecti et fidelis consilarii nostri Nicolay de Giresme, militis, magni Prioris Franciæ, ordinis sancti Johannis Jheruzolimitani, et Johannæ de Charlemaison, solutæ, ex illicitâ copulâ traxerit genituram," &c. Then follows the ordinary formula of such letters. Similar letters are found for legalising the status of Pierre de Giresme, another illegitimate son of the same parents.^a In 1451 we find similar letters for another son of the same Grand Prior by a different mother.^b In 1477 we find a grant made by the King to Regnault de Giresme, his chamberlain, of the chatelainerie of Brunenbereq, in the comté of Boulogne. Dated Arras, September 1477.^c Lastly, in the accounts of the stables of Charles VI. for the years 1399 to 1413 we find mention made of a Philippe de Giresme, who was named first equerry of the King on September 22nd, 1399. He was replaced, in 1411, by Jean Carneau, and reinstated in office on August 28th, 1412.

I proceed to offer a few remarks in elucidation of such portions of the deed as may seem to require it.

First as to the place.—Coulours is now a village in the department of Yonne, in the arrondissement of Joigny, and in the canton of Cerisiers. The latter place is mentioned towards the end of the deed as furnishing the dimensions of the oven—"du grant que sont ceulz des habitans de Cerisiers." It is here called Coulours en Octe, because at that time it was adjacent to a forest known as Othe

^a JJ. 224, pièces 117, 118.

^b JJ. 181, pièce 43.

^c JJ. 201, pièce 40.

or Oete, which gave its name to the surrounding cantons, *e.g.* Beux en Otte, Aix en Otte, Parry en Otte, and here, Coulours en Oete. The expression that the inhabitants of Coulours paid the sum specified every year, "of mortmain," would seem to imply, as far we can gather from the pages of Ducange and of Laferrière,^a that some composition had been effected by which they paid annually a sum down in lieu and in relief of what was called the *mortaille*, that is, the right of the seigneur to the succession of any serf dying without children.

The "four bannier" again is an expression which we do not meet with in any of the records. Bannage, Bannalité, Bannie, may be defined as the right of interdicting, to those who are subject to it, the faculty of doing certain things otherwise than in a certain prescribed way, under penalties imposed by law, by contract, or by custom. We thus find the term applied to mills, ovens, wine-presses. This "banality" was a benefit rather than otherwise. Windmills were not known: handmills were exhausting: watermills were not generally accessible. The seigneur undertook to build the mill on condition that those under him should use it, and none other, and for that use should pay a slight sum. The Glossary of Laferrière abounds with reference to this subject, but I would rather quote on the present occasion, as illustrating the deed before us, and more especially the expression "à portion," a passage from the Charter of the town of Pernes, A.D. 1390, published in the second volume of the *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie*, entitled "Coutumes locales du Baillage d'Amiens, publiées par M. Bouthors. Amiens, 1853, p. 263." In the 10th section of that Charter we read as follows:—

"Item et pour ce que lesdits bourgeois et habitans de nostre dite ville nous doivent fournir, pour le cuisage de leur pain ou pasté, est assavoir le 18^e pain, tant pour nostre droit que de celui qui le cuit, en la maniere ancienne, et qu'en ladite ville nous n'avons ni sommes tenus de avoir aucuns fours s'il ne nous plaist, les dits bourgeois pourront et peuvent avoir four chacun en sa maison, mais, si là ils cuisent ou font cuire pains ou pastés, ils seront tenus d'appeler nos commis ou fournier avant que la pain soit mis au four, à paine de lxx sols parisis d'amende vers nous; et sy nous seront tenus de payer le droit de bannée à portion de ce qui en sera cuit; et aussy seront-ils tenus de cuire les pains et pasteux de leurs voisins banniers en prenant, tant pour eulz que pour nos dits droits ci-dessus déclaré, assavoir le 21^e ou à portion tant du plus: et si chelui qui ledit pain aura cuit à son four a porté et rapporté lesdits pains et pasteux, il auroit salaire raisonnable à la volonté de chelui à qui ledit pain appartient; et

^a Glossaire du Droit François, 4to. Paris, 1704.

sera tenu celui à qui ledit four sera de cuire toutes les tartes desdits bourgeois habitans, toutes les fois qui leur plaira, chascune tarte pour une maille parisis au profit du fournier et d'autre chose à l'advenant, réservé à Pasques qu'il aura plus grand salaire."

How late this usage prevailed in France may be inferred from a passage in a comedy of Regnard's, called the "*Legataire Universel*," where we find the lines:—

. . . De plus certain procès qu'on m'a sottement fait
Pour certain four banal sis en mon territoire.

It is from this circumstance, this common use of one thing by many, that the word "banal" has come to mean "common-place."

The word "flaonnes" is of course the same as our English word *flaun*—a sort of baked custard: "Fill oven full of flauns," says Tusser; and so Drayton—

With green cheese, clouted cream, with flauns and custards stored,
Whig, cyder, and with whey, I domineer a lord.

Etymologically, the word is an exact equivalent of "*soufflet*"—coming as it does from the Latin "*flare*," through the low Latin "*flato, flatonis*"—from whence by dropping the *t* you have the exact form in our deed, "*flaonnes*."

The "*corvées de bras*" were technically the services rendered by those who had no horses—and are in this respect distinguished from the "*corvées de charrue*" a few lines lower down.

The "*terrages*" or "*terrarium*" were of course the tithe paid in kind of the fruits of the earth. They are synonymous with the "*champart*" or "*campi pars*" which we meet with in other documents.

I am not aware that anything more need be said in illustration of this deed. I hope its publication may induce the possessors of similar and more interesting deeds to communicate them to the Society.

XVII.—*The Milites Stationarii considered in relation to the Hundred and Tithing of England.* By H. C. COOTE, Esq., F.S.A.

Read December 5, 1872.

The *Milites Stationarii* of the Empire have not succeeded in attracting the attention of archæologists. Kellermann does not mention them, though the force of which he specially treated bore unquestionable affinity to these *milites*, and the scope of his work took in every other form of the soldiery of the Empire.¹ Cardinali,² Grotefend,³ Zell,⁴ and Dr. William Smith,⁵ observe the same silence.

This neglect cannot have arisen through any want of interest of the subject, for that, as I think I shall be able to show, is considerable; the more so, if I be right in the view that to these *milites* we should ascribe the origin of our two territorial institutions, the hundred and tithing, institutions which, until the reign of King William the Fourth, supplied the police of this country.

The *milites stationarii* were no part of the ancient constitution of Rome, but owe their origin to Augustus. That emperor, finding Italy at the close of the civil war a prey to armed robbers, posted stations (*stationes*) in opportune places to restrain this general evil.⁶ In other words, he instituted for Italy a police and police magistrates.

¹ *Vigilum Romanorum Latercula* duo Caelimontana magnam partem militiae Romanae explicantia. Romae. 1835.

² *Memorie Romane*.

³ Grotefend in Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie, under the word "legio."

⁴ *Handbuch der Römischen epigraphik*. Zweite theil, p. 301.

⁵ *Classical Dictionary*. *Statio* (*castra*) and *statio* (*fisci*) are the only references.

⁶ "Igitur grassaturas, dispositis per opportuna loca stationibus, inhibuit." (Suet. in D. Aug.)

This police of Augustus was extended and improved by Tiberius, who took measures for assuring peace from outrages, robberies, and riots, by posting stations of soldiers throughout Italy more abundantly than before.¹

Though thus originally instituted for Italy only, we afterwards find this police, under the name of *milites stationarii* in the west, and *irenarchae* in the east, extended to every part of the empire. The laws speak of them in a sense of general application.² Eusebius constantly refers to them in Asia.³ The novelist Xenophon, of Ephesus, introduces one as in Cilicia.⁴ The *Acta sincera Martyrum* record their severities in Gaul, Africa, Greece, Spain, Asia, and elsewhere.⁵ Ammianus Marcellinus gives instances of the action of this force at the two extreme points of the empire; the one on the German and the other on the Persian border.⁶ An inscription still preserved at Saepinum, in southern Italy, shows us how the force worked there;⁷ and in Dacia Mediterranea an epigraph of the briefest kind is evidence of its existence in that late acquisition of the Empire.⁸

These two latter are the only references of epigraphy which time has capriciously preserved upon this subject.⁹

That the *stationarii* were policemen, as I have said, in spite of their honourable name of *milites*,¹⁰ is shown by the attributes which belong to them. In the exercise of their office they apprehend and imprison, (or lock up,) without special

¹ *Imprimis tuendae pacis a grassaturis ac latrociniiis seditionumque licentia curam habuit. Stationes militum per Italiam solito frequentiores disposuit.* (Suet. in Tib.)

² The passages are quoted *post*.

³ In his Ecclesiastical History.

⁴ See the quotation *post* in note.

⁵ *Acta sincera Martyrum*, by Ruinart, edit. Ratisbon, 1859.

⁶ See *post* in note.

⁷ For the inscription on the wall of Saepinum see *post*.

⁸ See Seivert, *Inscriptiones monumentorum Romanorum in Dacia Mediterranea*. Viennae 1773. Insc. 217. This book is not in the British Museum. I quote J. F. Massman's *Libellus Aurarius*, p. 11. The inscription is "*Milites ex Statione*."

⁹ It is true that a *graffito* has been found at Pompeii with the words "*Crescens stationarius*" (Garrucci, *Graffiti di Pompeii*, p. 95), but this may refer to a fiscal officer.

¹⁰ Other functionaries came under the like name of *milites*, e.g. the *agentes in rebus*. This was the general appellation of all the various grades of officials employed in, and upon the business of, the vast Home Office of the empire. (Zell, *Anleitung zur Kenntniss der Römischen Inschriften*, p. 262.) S. Augustin (Confess. lib. ix. c. 8) speaking of his friend Evodius, says, "*Qui, cum agens in rebus militaret, prior nobis ad te conversus est et baptizatus, et relicta militia saeculari adinctus in tua.*" So also, *ib.* lib. viii. c. 6, he says, "*Et relicta militia saeculari servire tibi. Erant autem ex eis quos dicunt agentes in rebus.*"

warrant,¹ all persons who have broken, or may be suspected by them of having broken the laws.

The *stationarius* who had thus apprehended a criminal or a suspect took him before his own officer. This officer we find to be a centurion (or *centenarius*) or his deputy.² For this purpose the centurion was a police magistrate, for when the prisoner was brought before him he investigated the charge, and either committed him for trial or discharged him.³

In the investigation of the charge the prisoner was searched⁴ and in-

¹ Dig. xi. 4, 4: "Stationarii fugitivos deprehensos recte in custodia retinent."

In the *Acta Martyrum*, the *stationarii* apprehend Montanus and his companions and take them to their lock-up. (Ruinart, p. 275.) "Igitur apprehensis nobis et apud regionantes (*i.e.* stationarios, see *post*) in custodia constitutis." Am. Marcellinus (xxviii. 6. 27) tells us how one Palladius having been arrested commits suicide in the lock-up ("in statione primis tenebris observata custodum absentia," &c.)

² The action of the centurion is illustrated by the following narrative preserved in Eusebius. (H. E. from the Apology of S. Justus, lib. iv. c. 17.) A man of bad character, who had been repudiated by his wife, in revenge formally accused her of being a Christian, but afterwards dropped his proceedings and persuaded a centurion of *stationarii* to apprehend S. Ptolemaeus, who had converted her. Ptolemaeus is subsequently interrogated and committed by this centurion. He is tried before the praeses and condemned. See also Ruinart, p. 101.

We find in one instance that a *beneficiarius* commits; "Cassander beneficiarius hoc scripsit," that is, drew up the *notoria*, or commitment. *Acta SS. Agapes, Chioniae, Irenes, &c.* (Ruinart, p. 424.)

The full expression in this case is *beneficiarius centurionis*, or sub-officer acting for the centurion. So in the "*Latercula Vigilum*" of Kellermann we find mentioned *beneficiarius praefecti*, *beneficiarius subpraefecti*, *beneficiarius tribuni*, *beneficiarius centurionis*. The *beneficiarius* was distinct from and superior to the *secutor* or mere orderly. The same *Latercula* mention a *secutor tribuni*, as well as a *beneficiarius tribuni*.

Zell (vol. ii. p. 305) says, "Es sind darunter begriffen (*i.e.* amongst the *milites principales*) für den feld dienst, die *optiones* und *beneficiarii*, stellvertreter und gehilfen, (leutenants und adjutanten) der obern officierstellen; die ständigen ordonanzen (*beneficiarii, secutores.*)"

³ Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, in his letter to Fabianus, (Euseb. H. E. lib. vi. c. 41.) says that Nemesion, an Egyptian, had been charged before the centurion (*ἐκατοντάρχῃ*) with being the companion and associate of thieves. This charge broke down. The centurion, however, committed him for trial as being a Christian.

⁴ As to searching see Ammianus Marcellinus, xxi. 3. 6. Vadomarus, a German chief in collusion with Constantius, attacks the German border, in order to keep Julian employed there. Vadomarus sends a secretary (or confidential person) to Constantius to give information. The *stationarii* intercept this man, as one travelling without an apparent object, search him, and find upon him the chief's letter to Constantius.

terrogated,¹ the rack being used² when ordinary means of persuasion failed.

If the prisoner was committed he was in due time and form sent on to the city within whose territory the centurion (or centenarius) who had so committed him held office. There the prisoner was handed over to the *officium* of the *praeses*, and they consigned him to the prison of the *civitas*, where he remained until his trial.³

At the same time was lodged with the *officium* of the *praeses* a report of the

¹ Dig. xlviii. c. 3. 6. "Sed et caput mandatorum extat, quod Divus Pius, quum provinciae Asiae praeerat, sub edicto proposuit, ut irenarchae, quum apprehenderint latrones, interrogent eos de sociis et receptatoribus," etc.

² "Tunc attentantur numerosis durisque cruciatibus per stationarium militem." (*Passio Jacobi, Mariani, et aliorum plurimorum martyrum in Numidia*, p. 270, Ruinart. What the *stationarii* sought by the question is declared by Ammianus Marcellinus, Hist. lib. xxii. 16, 23. "Et nulla tormentorum vis inveniri adhuc potuit, quae obdurato illius tractus latroni invito elicere potuit, ut nomen proprium dicat.")

³ *Passim* in the *Acta Martyrum*: In the *Acta SS. Saturnini, Dativi, et aliorum plurimorum in Africa* (p. 415, Ruinart), certain holy men being apprehended by the *stationarii* in a private house are (p. 416) sent on to Carthage, and are there handed over, "ad officium Annulini tunc proconsulis." Those officials put them into the common gaol, and they are afterwards brought up by the *officium* at the trial (ab officio proconsulis offeruntur). So in the *Acta SS. Didymi et Theodoraе Virginis* (p. 428, Ruinart). "In civitate Alexandria Proculus, cum sedisset pro tribunali, dixit, Vocate Theodoram virginem. Ex officio dictum est: adstetit Theodora." In the *Acta SS. Martyrum Fructuosi episcopi, Angurii et Eulogii diaconorum* (Ruinart, p. 265), "Aemilianus praeses dixit: Fructuosum episcopum Angurium et Eulogium intromittite. Ex officio dictum est: Adstant."

There is an essential difference between *carcer* and *custodia*, as I have before mentioned. *Carcer* is the prison to which persons were sent on their being committed.

So in the "*Passio SS. Epipodii et Alexandri*," (Ruinart, p. 121.) "Itaque captos etiam ante discussionem *carcer* accepit, quia manifesti putabatur criminis nomen esse ipsa appellatio Christiana."

So also in the "*Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis cum sociis earum*" (ib. p. 138), the Christians were apprehended (apprehensi sunt), and after a few days' detention were sent to the *carcer* (post paucos dies recipimur in carcerem).

The *carcer* was situated in the *civitas* or chief town of each *territorium*, and was under the charge of the decurions of such *civitas*.

In the "*Acta SS. Martyrum Claudii, Asterii, et aliorum*," (Ruinart, p. 309,) the *praeses* says:—"Offerantur decretioni meae Christiani, qui traditi sunt curialibus hujus civitatis ab officio."

Again in Paulus's sentences, edited by Arndt, tit. vi. 2, s. 4, we find the municipal magistrates are charged with the custody of all criminals committed for trial, and are bound to hand them over to the *officium* of the *praeses* for production when the trial is fixed. They consequently must have kept them in a prison of their own. The words are "Magistratus municipales ad officium praesidis provinciae vel proconsulis comprehensos recte transmittunt."

centenarius who had committed the accused. This report was called *notoria*, *notaria*, and *elogium*, and contained the charge.¹ To this were added the interrogation and answers of the alleged criminal, and most probably also the depositions of witnesses.²

The prisoner was tried at the next gaol delivery of the city when the *praeses* arrived there in the course of his circuit.³

¹ S. Augustin. in epis. 159: "Circumcelliones illos, et clericos partis Donati, quos ad iudicium pro factis eorum publicae disciplinae cura deduxerat, &c.." Idem in epis. 159: "Qui non accusantibus nostris, sed illorum notoria, ad quos tuendae publicae pacis vigilantia pertinebat, presentari videantur examini. Cod. Theod. 16, 2, 31: "Si quis in hoc genus sacrilegii proruperit, ut, in Ecclesias Catholicas irruens, sacerdotibus et ministris vel ipso cultui locoque aliquid inportet injuriae, quod geritur, literis ordinum, magistratum, et curatorum, et notoriis apparitorum (quos stationarios appellant) deferatur in notitiam potestatum, &c." In the Acta of SS. Agape, Chionia et Irene (Ruinart, pp. 244 et seqq.) we find a *notoria* recited: "Cum praesideret Dulcetius, Artemensis scriba dixit: cognitionem de his qui praesentes sunt a stationario missam, si jubes, legam. Jubeo, inquit Dulcetius praeses, te legere. Tunc ait scriba, Ordine tibi meo Domino omnia, quae scripta sunt, recitabo; Cassander beneficiarius hoc scripsit. Scito, mi domine, Agathonem, Agapen, Chioniam, Irenem, Casiam, Philippam, et Eutychem nolle his vesci, quae diis sunt immolata. Eas igitur ad tuam amplitudinem adducendas esse curavi."

² Dig. xlviii. c. 3. 1: "Sed et caput mandatorum extat, quod Divus Pius, quum provinciae Asiae praeerat, sub edito proposuit, ut irenarchae, quum apprehenderint latrones, interrogent eos de sociis et receptatoribus, et interrogationes literis inclusas atque obsignatas ad cognitionem magistratus mittant." This speaks only of interrogating the criminal and taking his answers. In many or most cases there must have been other evidence, and these depositions would be transmitted along with the rest. The word "cognitio," as applied (in previous note) to the investigation made by the centurion, can only have this more extended meaning. So S. Cypriani, epis. 48: "Et urgentibus fratribus imminabat cognitionis dies, quo apud nos causa ejus ageretur."

³ As to the circuits of the *praeses* see the Theodosian Code, i. tit. 7, and Godefroy's *paratitlon* (de officio rectoris provinciae)—"certo anni tempore civitates provinciae obire debebant (i.e. the *praesides*) atque in his locis, quibus praesto esse possent omnibus, sedem constituere, provincialiumque querelas excipere." See also *ib.* c. iv. Cassiodorus speaks of it as the old law and custom of the Empire. Var. v. 14, and calls the circuits "discursus iudicum."

In Eusebius, His. Ecc. lib. v. c. 1, S. Pothinus is kept in prison until the coming of the *praeses*.

In Acta SS. Martyrum Claudii, Asterii, et aliorum, Ruinart, p. 309, in note: Omnesque vineti in carcerem trasi sunt, usque ad adventum proconsulis Lydiae. Cum autem proconsul circumiret provinciam, factum est ut perveniret ad Aegaeam, ubi sedens, &c. The Acta SS. Martyrum Tarachi, Probi, et Andronici, illustrate this fully. (*Ib.* 452 et seqq.) Numerianus Maximus, the *praeses*, is found sitting at Tarsus, then at Liscia, and afterwards at Anazaria, all cities of his province. The old classic word *conventus* even was retained, "Statuto forensi conventu." Acta proconsularia Martyrum Scillitanorum. (*Ib.* p. 131.)

At the trial the *stationarii* prosecuted.¹ The *notoria* formed the indictment, being read at the opening of the trial.² The evidence was got up by the *stationarii*, and was gone into as fully as if there had been no preliminary inquiry.

The persons liable to the attentions of this police readily suggest themselves. Individuals found wandering in the country who were unknown and could not give a good account of themselves, or who were too well known to allow any such account to be credible,³ robbers, thieves, and their associates,⁴ cattle-stealers⁵

¹ Cod. Just. ix. 4. 1: "In quacunque causa reo exhibito, sive accusator exstat, sive eum publicae sollicitudinis cura produxerit," &c.

As may be easily supposed, people were very glad to push off upon the *stationarii* the disagreeable task of prosecuting. A law of Diocletian and Maximian prohibits this. (Cod. Just. ix. 2. 8.) "Si quis se injuriam ab aliquo passum putaverit, et querelam deferre voluerit, non ad stationarios decurrat, sed praesidialem adeat potestatem, aut libellos offerens, aut querelas suas apud acta deponens."

² See *ante*, in note.

³ Dig. xlviii. c. 3, 6: "Igitur, qui cum elogio mittuntur, ex integro audiendi sunt, etsi per literas, missi fuerint, vel etiam per irenarchas producti." *Ib.* "Et ideo quum quis ἀνάγκη fecerit, juberi oportet venire irenarcham, et quod scripserit exsequi, et si diligenter ac fideliter hoc fecerit, collaudandum eum, si parum prudenter, non exquisitis argumentis, simpliciter denotare, irenarcham minus retulisse. Sed si quid maligne interrogasse, aut non dicta retulisse pro dictis eum compererit, ut vindicet in exemplum, ne quid et aliud postea tale facere moliat." So in Cod. Just. lib. xii. tit. 22 (Constantinus, A.D. 355): "Curiosi, et stationarii, vel quicumque funguntur hoc munere, crimina iudicibus nuntianda meminerint, et sibi necessitatem probationis incumbere, non citra periculum sui, si insontibus eos calumnias nexuisse constiterit. Cesset ergo prava consuetudo, per quam carceri aliquos immittebant," i.e. the bad custom of committing persons without evidence.

⁴ We have two illustrations of this in Ammianus Marcellinus. One has been given before. The other (xxviii. 5, 3) is as follows: Antoninus, a defaulting *rationalis*, having determined to fly into Persia, and sell his knowledge of the Empire to the great king, buys a property over the Persian border, in order that on pretence of visiting it he may pass without being detained and questioned through the midst of the *stationarii*. ("Atque, ut lateret stationarios milites, fundum in Hyaspide, qui locus Tygridis fluentis adluitur, pretio non magno mercatur.")

⁵ Robbers and thieves were the original objects of Augustus's law (see *ante*). Tertullian (in apologetico) says: "Latronibus investigandis per provincias militaris statio sortitur."

An interesting inscription, which still remains upon the walls of Saepinum, illustrates what I have said in the text. This inscription contains a correspondence which passed between the *stationarii* and magistrates (i.e. *duumviri*) of Saepinum and Bovianum on the one part, and the *procuratores rei privatae* of the emperor on the other. The latter say that they have received a complaint from certain *conductores* of the emperor's flocks, that the *stationarii* and magistrates of Saepinum and Bovianum, in the passage of the former over the mountains, outrage both horses (*jumenta*) and shepherds, insisting that the latter are runaway slaves, and have stolen the horses, and that upon this pretext they retain the emperor's sheep

and horse-stealers. But, perhaps, runaway slaves¹ and Christians² taxed their energies most.

They also prosecuted publicans, gambling-house keepers, and butchers, whenever these persons exceeded the bounds tolerated by law, and in order the better to have them in hand the *stationarii* entered them in a register.³

(pastores, quos conductores habent, dicentes fugitivos esse, et jumenta abacta habere, et sub hac specie oves quoque dominicas redhibeant). See Zell, vol. i. p. 336. Murray, in his Handbook for Southern Italy, gives a very curious version of this inscription. He says: "On the east gate (*i.e.* of Altilia), the old Saepinum, is the inscription given by Gruter and Muratori, and containing an admonition to the magistrates to protect the drovers of the flocks in their annual passage through the town, as great complaints had reached Rome of the conduct of the soldiers and inhabitants."

¹ Dig. xi. 4. 1. s. 2: "Est etiam generalis epistola Divorum Marci et Commodi, quâ declaratur et praesides et magistratus et milites stationarios dominorum adjuvare debere in inquirendis fugitivis, et ut inventos redderent, et ut ii, apud quos delitescant, puniantur, si crimine contingantur." Again in Dig. xi. 4. 4. Paulus says, "Stationarii fugitivos deprehensos recte in custodiâ retinent." So in the sentences of Paulus, edited by Arndt, tit. vi. s. 30.

The charming story of Androcles, narrated by an eye-witness, illustrates this. He was a slave who had fled from his master, a high Roman functionary in Numidia, on account of ill-treatment. He escaped to the desert and lived there for three years with a lion, whose heart he had won by dressing his wounded foot. The slave, tiring at length of this life, left the desert and was taken up by the *stationarii* as soon as he trod provincial ground. They transmitted him back to his master, who had by this time returned to Rome, and the latter, as a punishment, sent him to the amphitheatre to combat beasts, as the law allowed a master to do. In the circus the slave found in a lion which was pitted against him his old Numidian friend, and the latter, instead of devouring, caressed him. (Gellii Noctes Atticae, lib. v. c. 14.) The *stationarii* in this narrative are called *milites* simply. That the *milites stationarii* are meant however admits of no doubt.

² Christians were always liable to be punished as such, whether there was a general persecution or not. Octavius (in M. Felix, c. 35,) says, "Denique de vestro numero carcer exaestuât: Christianus ibi nullus, nisi aut reus suae religionis, aut profugus." The nature of persecutions is not always clearly understood. Among instances of the law in its ordinary course dealing with Christians is one told by Eusebius (H. E. lib. v. c. 21,) of Apollonius, who was tried and executed at Rome, in the time of Commodus, for being a Christian, there being no persecution at the time. So in the same manner Lucian's Peregrinus is arrested and tried for being a Christian (De Morte Peregrini, cc. 12. 14) when there is no persecution afloat.

A persecution was a totally different thing. That was a series of prosecutions decreed by the reigning emperor and carried out by the *praesides*, to each of whom came a separate rescript from the imperial chancery.

In the Acta Proconsularia S. Cypriani, (Ruinart, p. 261,) the proconsul Paternus says to the bishop, "Sacratissimi imperatores Valerianus et Gallienus literas ad me dare dignati sunt, quibus praeceperunt eos, qui Romanam religionem non colunt, debere Romanas ceremonias recognoscere." By the refusal to do the latter, more frequently called "caerimoniari," Christians convicted themselves, and nothing remained for the *praeses* but to punish.

³ The officers of the *stationarii* included the Christians in this register, ostensibly for the purpose of

In this same register also were recorded the Christians of the district, in order to facilitate the looking of them up when occasion required.

Lastly, we find the *stationarii* employed in the execution of more humble and peaceful duties, viz. distraining for rent or other debts.¹

Having traced the history and duties of the *milites stationarii* so far, I will now pass on to the organization of the force.

The force was appointed in and for the *territorium* of each city of the empire.² Over this force, so stationed, there presided a head official called *princeps pacis*.³

having them in hand, but really that they might levy black mail upon them for letting them peaceably continue their unlawful observances. Tertullian vouches this to us. He says, (*De fuga in persecutione*), "Nescio dolendum an erubescendum sit, cum in matricibus beneficiariorum et curiosorum inter tabernarios et lanios, et fures balnearum, et aleones, et lenones, Christiani quoque, vectigales continentur?" He also tells us that the churches levied a voluntary rate upon themselves to meet this necessity. (*Ib.* "Massaliter totae ecclesiae tributum sibi irrogaverunt."—"Pacisceris cum delatore vel milite.")

In telling us this Tertullian has made a more important contribution to Christian history than at first sight might be thought. For he shows us how, with a few exceptions, when individual prosecutors (*accusatores*) put the law in force against Christians out of spite or bigotry, the latter could lead a tolerably quiet life though in the daily practice of rites condemned by the law, being simply enabled to do so by bribing the officers of the *stationarii* under whose ken they came. Like modern inspectors, these police officers of antiquity were ready to mitigate for personal motives the severity of a harassing law.

The Roman *stationarii* were, I have said, as the police are with us, the general prosecutors, and few persons were inclined, with the prospect of a *talio*, to compete with them in that responsibility.

¹ Cod. Theod. ii. 30. 1, and Godefroy's note.

² Cod. Just. x. 77: "Irenarchae, qui ad provinciarum tutelam quietis ac pacis per singula territoria faciunt stare concordiam, a decurionibus judicio praesidum provinciarum idonei, nominentur." Honorius et Theodosius, A.D. 409. The same expression, "per singula territoria," occurs also in Cod. Theod. 12, 14, 1—the same law.

The inscription at Saepinum (*ante*) illustrates this also, for the complaints upon the subject of the *stationarii* recorded in that inscription are made directly to the *duumviri*.

For this reason they are called *regionantes* in a passage in the *Acta Martyrum* (p. 275 Ruinart), "Igitur apprehensis nobis, et apud regionantes in custodia constitutis, sententiam praesidis milites nunciare audivimus, quod heri corpus nostrum minaretur urere." *Regio* is used for *territorium* in the *Acta disputationis Sancti Achatii* (*ib.* p. 199)—"Scutum quoddam ac refugium Antiochiae regionis." So in the *Agrimensores passim*.

³ *Acta SS. Tryphonis et Respicii Martyrum*, Ruinart, p. 209: "Missis igitur ex officio apparitorum, rapti sunt a Frontone *pacis principe* Aprimae civitatis, qui exierat ad exquisitionem sanctorum cum persecutoribus. Hoc autem erat indictum a praefectis. Quos inventos tradiderunt militibus, qui ligaverunt eos: et traxerunt in civitatem Meetem, ibique in carcerem missi sunt ab Aquilino praefecto." I am inclined to think that the *princeps pacis* is referred to under the words *praefectus pacis* in Cod. Theod. ii. tit. 30, c. 1. In the same manner Aristides, quoted in Ruinart, p. 92 in note, speaks of a *custos pacis* (φύλακα τῆς εἰρήνης)

In Asiatic Greece he was called the irenarch.¹ We also find centurions or *centenarii*.² Though the direct evidence of the details of the organization of the *stationarii* is restricted to these two words, that is by no means the limit of our knowledge upon this subject.

As the *stationarii* were *milites*, they were by necessity divided into cohorts precisely in the same manner as the legionaries, the praetorians, the urban *militia*, the *voluntarii*, the *peregrini*, and *vigiles*³ (a kindred force) were. The scheme of the army required this, and under this scheme a cohort was divided into *centuriae* (or *centenae*), officered by centurions (or *centenarii*), and into *decuriae* (or *decaniae*), commanded by a sub-officer called a decurion (or *decanus*). And it was a peculiarity of the last-mentioned sub-officer that he was one of the ten whom he commanded.⁴

The *princeps pacis* was appointed either by the *praefectus praetorio* or by the *praeses*, out of a number of names of the notables (*locupletiores*) of the territory submitted to him by the senate of the city, or he was appointed by the senate itself, with the approval of the *praeses* (*judicio praesidis*). See Cod. Theod. xii. 14, 1, Cod. Just. x. 75, and Aristides quoted by Ruinart at p. 92 in note.

¹ The Asiatic Greeks applied the word irenarch to all grades of the *stationarii*; e. g. Xenophon of Ephesus, in his novel, lib. iii. c. 9, says: "Περὶ λάος τις, ἀνὴρ τῶν πρώτων δυνάμενων ἄρχειν μὲν ἐχειροτονήθη τῆς εἰρήνης τῆς ἐν Κιλικίᾳ, ἐξελεθῶν δὲ ἐπὶ ληστών ζήτησιν, ἤγαγε τινὰς συλλαβῶν ληστής." Here we have already a *princeps pacis* of a city and its territory. The. xlviii. 3, 1, 6, Dig. quoted *ante*, uses irenarch, firstly, for the *stationarii* generally; and, secondly, for an officer of the body—a centurion. At p. 85, Ruinart, in the passion of S. Polycarp, the irenarch who apprehends S. Polycarp is a simple *stationarius*. Godefroye (in note Cod. Theod. xii. 14) observed this confusion. He says: "Eisdem vero cum stationariis facio irenarchas, quique sub irenarchis his erant * * * Ergo iidem irenarchae et stationarii, saltem qui stationariis praerant). Graeco enim verbo in oriente irenarchae, qui alibi stationarii."

² Centurions (and *centenarii*) of *stationarii* occur continually in the *Acta Martyrum* and in Eusebius. See *ante* in notes.

³ Kellermann regarded the *Vigiles* as organised upon the same plan as the legionaries, and compiled his work on the *Vigiles* to prove this. He says (p. 1.): "Ea vero peropportune est diversorum militiae urbanae generum inter se similitudo, ut optimo tuo jure tibi liceat ad alium genus transferre munera atque instituta, quae in alio existere cognoveris. Ita quaecunque nova apud vigiles inveneris (invenies autem neque pauca neque levia) eadem recte cohortibus et praetorianis urbanis attribueris, si ea modo exceperis quae nisi solum vigilum esse non potuerunt. Tota autem militia urbana non ita dispar erat militiae legionariae ut non magnam partem munerum novorum legionariis quoque cohortibus recte attribueris. Ut paucis dicam his monumentis toti Romanorum rei militari lux affertur, maxime vero militiae urbanae imprimisque militiae vigilum urbanorum." Borghesi entirely agreed with Kellermann. In his review of the *Vigiles*, reprinted in the collected edition of his works (*Oeuvres completes*, vol. iii. p. 542), he says: "Ora l'ordinamento dei vigili non era così discorde da quello del resto della militia urbana, ed anche dalla legionaria, che nella massima parte non convenissero insieme."

⁴ Vegetius, lib. ii. c. 13: "Antiqui cohortes in centurias diviserunt * * * centuriones insuper qui

Thus organized, the force with its head was subordinate to the magistrates of the city, whose territory they were appointed to guard and protect.¹

This, so far, is I think tolerably clear, and it only remains to consider what were the *stations* from which these *milites* derived their name.

In the first place it is perfectly certain that the stations were sub-divisions of the territory of a city, because, each body of *stationarii* being appointed to act for a particular territory,² its stations would necessarily be within that territory.

We know, therefore, what was the area within which the stations were situated.

Our information does not stop here. We have authority, as I shall show, for concluding that some of these stations, the more important ones, were co-extensive with the *pagi* of a territory.

The authority for this assertion is as follows. Late in the empire the duties of the *praepositus pagi* were accumulated upon the *irenarchs*, *i.e.* the officers of the *stationarii*.

What the *pagus* was is definitely known. It was a sub-division of the territory of every city. Within this range the *praepositus pagi* raised recruits, collected taxes, and conducted the repairs of the *viae vicinales*.³

nunc centenarii vocantur * * * singulas jusserunt gubernare centurias * * * Rursus ipsae centuriae in contubernia divisae sunt, ut decem militibus sub uno papilione degentibus unus quasi praeeset decanus, qui caput contubernii nominatur. Contubernium autem manipulus vocabatur."

Modestus (Libellus de vocabulis rei militaris ad Tacitum Augustum) says, "Erant etiam centuriones, qui singulas centurias curabant, qui nunc centenarii nominantur. Erant decani decem militibus praepositi, qui nunc caput contubernii vocantur." So also Isidorus, Orig. lib. iii. c. 3.

The expression in Vegetius, "decem militibus sub uno papilione degentibus unus praeeset decanus," shows clearly that the *decanus* was himself one of the ten, *i.e.* their *primus* (see *post* in note) and I do not hesitate to hold this view, though Facciolati and Forcellini have expressed a different one. They say, sub voce *decanus*, "*decanus* (δεκάρχος) in exercitu dicebatur qui decem praeerat militibus, ita ut ipse esset undecimus."

The reason why the *decanus* is thus reckoned as a *miles*, together with the *milites* whom he commanded, is simply this: he was a *miles* (though at the same time a sub-officer), and therefore, in the numerical divisions of the army where the *milites* were numbered, he was by necessity reckoned up with the other *milites* of his own division, and could not be thrown out of the calculation. Zell (vol. ii. p. 304) observes, "Alle stellen abwärts von dem *centurio* (bei uns leutenance, unteroffiziere, gefreite) zählen zu den soldaten *milites*, nur heissen sie *milites principales*; (mit *principales* werden aber auch zuweilen alle chargirten, die offiziere mit inbegriffen, bezeichnet,) die übrigen *milites municipales* (Veget. ii. 7) oder *gregarii*."

¹ See the inscription at Saepinum, *ante*.

² See *ante*.

³ See Neglected Fact in English History, p. 66; Dig. l. 4, 18, 7, "*Irenarchae quoque, qui disciplinae*

When therefore these duties, purely local, were imposed upon an officer of the *stationarii*, in addition to his own as executed by him in his own district, it is reasonable to suppose that the latter was at least co-extensive with the scene of the new and additional duties, for otherwise it would be simply out of his power to perform them.

That this is a correct supposition is shown by a document preserved in Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History—the dispatch of the *praefectus praetorio* Sabinus,—which contains the emperor Maximin's famous palinode, directing the persecution in the East to be stayed.¹

This document is addressed to the *praesides* of the provinces (πρὸς τοὺς κατ' ἔθνος ἡγουμένους) and orders them to write to the *rationales*, the *duumviri* of the cities (στρατηγούς), and to the *praepositi pagorum* of every city, i.e. of its territory (πραιποσिटούς τοῦ πάγου ἐκάστης πόλεως).

On its receipt (says Eusebius) the various *praesides* communicated the decree to the *rationales*, the *duumviri*, and “ τοῖς κατ' ἀγροὺς ἐπιτεταγμένοις,” i.e. the officers of the *stationarii* whom the instrument itself has previously called *praepositi pagorum*. In this, therefore, we have evidence that some of the police districts were co-extensive with the *pagi*. We know, also, that in Italy, after the barbarian conquests, the police district, which was then called *centena*, was the same as the *pagus*, so far as names are concerned, for the two words *pagus* and *centena* are used interchangeably.²

The *pagus*, however, was, as we all know, a very old division of a *territorium*, long antecedent in date to the institution of the *stationarii*, and, though applied to the police system, as we have just seen, existed independently of it. It cannot, under these circumstances, be the proper or original appellation of a police station.

The names of police stations would, most probably, be taken from the divisions of the force posted at them. That this was really so I think I can prove.

In the *Acta Sincera Martyrum* I find the word *centuriaria* used in a sense which shows that it can only mean *statio centuriaria*. In the Passion of SS. Jacobus, Marianus, and others (Ruinart, p. 269) is the following passage:—

Vixdum enim biduum fluxerat, et ecce Marianum et Jacobum carissimos nostros sua palma quaerebat: nec, ut aliis in locis, unus hoc, aut alius, station-

publicae et corrigendis moribus praeficiuntur, sed et qui ad reficiendas vias eligi solent,” &c. The “*praefectus pacis*” mentioned in Cod. Theod. ii. tit. 30, c. 1, is identified by Godefroye with the *praepositus pagi*.

¹ H. E. lib. ix. c. 1.

See post in note.

arius miles agebat, sed Centuriaria. Nam violenta manus, et improba multitudo sic ad villam quae nos habebat, quasi ad famosam sedem fidei convolarat.¹

In the construction of this passage "statio" must be understood. "Manus," the only other word which can be supposed, and is grammatically accordant with "centuriaria," is out of the question entirely, for, if that had been meant, the writer of the Passion would have simply said "centuria." If we can take this to be the right interpretation of *centuriaria*, we are in a position to go further, and may expect to find another form of station, answering to the correlatives of a *centuria*, viz. its *decuriae* or *decaniae*.

Such a station, if we follow a rule for which there is sufficient precedent, would be *decanica* (statio being understood) or *decanicum*. In corroboration of this opinion I will say, that there is actually to be found the word *decanicum*, used by good writers in the sense of a lock-up.

Basilii Diaconus (in libello ad Theodosium et Valentinianum) A.D. 425—450, uses the word. He says:² "Κακεῖθεν τυπτομένοι ἀπηγόμεθα ἐν τῷ δεκανικῷ, κακεῖ γυμνοὺς ἡμᾶς, ὡς δημίους καὶ ὑπευθύνους τιμωρία ἐκολάσαν."

This is not the only instance. The word is also used by Justinian in precisely the same sense. In the 79 Nov. cap. 3 is an enactment against civil judges who shall try a cause against a monk or a nun. Then follows this provision against the inferior officers of the court: "εἰ δέ γε πράκτορες οἱ τολμήσαντες προσαγαγεῖν ὅλους ὑπόμνησιν, ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων κωλύεσθωσαν, καὶ καθειργέσθωσαν ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις δεκανικοῖς, ποινὰς τὰς προσηκούσας ὑφέξοντες." In the Latin text: "Sin vero exsecutores sint, qui omnino citare audeant, ab ipsis deo carissimis episcopis prohibeantur, et locis, quae decanica appellantur, includantur, poenas convenientes subituri."

Calvin, in his *Lexicon Juridicum*, has this observation upon the preceding passage in Justinian:—"Decanica, in Novell. p. 79, loca sunt publica, quae tamen non sunt carceres, licet in ea quandoque rei conjiciantur custodiae causa."

Calvin is thus clearly of opinion that a *decanicum* was a place of temporary custody—a lock-up.

But if *decanicum* has this meaning, and is derived, as of course it is, from *decanus* and *decania*, what can it be if it be not the station of a *decania* of *stationarii*?

¹ This is the reading of the Cod. S. Maximini Trevirensis and is unquestionably the true one. The only other reading of the MS. is "centurio," but the sentence which follows renders this impossible. See Ruinart, note 6, p. 269.

² Quoted by Godefroy in his Comment upon Cod. Theod. xvi. 5. 30.

The actual stations themselves were in large villages. Libanius, the sophist,¹ says: "εἰσὶ κώμαι μεγάλαι, πολλῶν ἐκάστη δεσποτῶν, αὗται καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰδρυμένους στρατιώτας," i. e., there are great villages belonging to many landowners; these (their inhabitants) fly to the *milites* stationed, viz. in such villages.

This passage can have no reference to *milites* of the army, for they would be stationed not in villages, but in *castra* (barracks) or *castella* and *praetenturae* (forts).

This is all I have been able to collect upon the subject of the *milites stationarii*.

After the fall of the western empire these *milites stationarii* nominally disappear. But, as a police still exists in all the countries where these *milites* formerly performed their functions, it will be reasonable to inquire what affinity this new police bore to the old.

Preliminarily I will observe, that, whether the two forces were the same or diverse, there would be necessarily one ostensible difference between them. While the Roman police was a paid body, the post-Roman police, like the post-Roman army, would be unpaid. For, when the imperial government ceased, all salaried functionaries and officials were effaced from the western world. The paid army of the Empire was replaced by unpaid levies, and the free men in like manner did gratuitously the duties of policemen.

The element of pay in the one force, and its absence in the other, being therefore no part of the essence of either system, the identity or diversity of the two depends on their other details, and can only be determined by a careful comparison of both organizations.

We have seen what the Roman police was. What the post-Roman police was can be made out quite as completely.

In the times following the barbarian conquests in Europe the *territorium* of every city is called the county, and this for police purposes we find divided into *centenae* and *decaniae*.

This division and these names prevail in Italy, in France, in Spain, and even in Wales and Brittany.²

¹ Quoted by Godefroye, Cod. Theod. vol. iv. p. 175, in note.

² For Italy see Luitprand (Muratori, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, vol. ii. p. 60, lib. v. c. 15), who says, "De servo fugace et advena homine, si in alia judiciaria inventus fuerit, tunc decanus, aut saltarius, qui in loco ordinatus fuerit, comprehendere eum debeat, et ad sculdasiuum suum perducat. Et ipse sculdasius

Over each *centena* is a *centenarius*, over each *decania* a *decanus*; all these officers were, on the continent, subject to the *comes*, or civil and military chief of the county.

judici suo consignet, et ipse judex potestatem habeat eum inquirendi, unde ipse est. Et si inventus fuerit quod servus sit, aut fur, mox mandet ad judicem, aut ad dominum ejus unde ipse fugerit." The Sculdasiis is the judex pagi, i. e. the centenarius. (See Muratori's Note to *ib.* p. 60.)

For France see Marculfus, *Formulae solennes publicorum privatorumque negotiorum*, c. 11, p. 1220: "Carolus, rex Francorum" addresses a grant of immunity from toll to "ducibus, comitibus, domesticis, vicariis, centenariis, vel omnibus agentibus nostris." So also *ib.* c. 177, p. 1295. Decani are also mentioned by name elsewhere. It is true that a centenarius is found in the *Lex Salica* (c. 46, p. 334 and c. 48), but that does not prove him to be a German invention. The whole of that code is full of Roman imitations—one even that would scarcely be expected, viz. the *tractio testis per aurem*, the only mode known to the world of making a witness in civil causes before Justinian introduced the subpoena in these as in criminal causes.

This common expression, and general rule, of Roman law both occur in the Bavarian, the Alamannic, and the Ripuarian Frankish codes (viz. aurem torquere in testimonium.) See Lindenbrogius's Glossary, p. 1360, and Festus, Varro, Isidorus, Fulgentius, Pliny, Horace, with his commentators Acron and Porphyrio.

We all recollect Horace's (lib. i. sat. 9,) "appono auriculam." I refer to this usage, because nothing can more vividly illustrate the early Teutonic borrowings from the civil law. A bit of purely classical phraseology, a rule of conventional law become naturalized, the one in the rude mouths, the latter in the ruder minds, of barbarians, living beyond the power but sensible to the influences of Rome. Because Roman principles are found in early or late German laws, it by no means follows that these principles are Germanic. The *LL. Anglorum et Verinorum* are full of imitations of this sort.

For Spain see *Lex Wisigothorum*. Lindenbrogius, vol. i. p. 25; lib. ii. c. 26, enumerates amongst the judges the centenarius and decanus. So also lib. ix. c. 1, p. 185.

In Wales the gwlad (shire) is divided into cantrefs (hundreds), the cantrefs being subdivided into cymmwds (tithings). See Glossary to Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, and the *Antiquae Linguae Britannicae Thesaurus* by the Rev. Thomas Richards, curate of Coychurch, 1753. The lastnamed is not merely a dictionary, but a work of high archaeological merit, in which original and then unpublished documents are referred to. *Cantref* preserves *centena*. It is generally considered to be literally a hundred villages, but is in reality just as literally the village of one hundred, i. e. men.

See Lobineau's *Histoire de Bretagne*, (Paris, 1707, tom. ii. p. 57,) where *centena* in the sense mentioned in the text occurs several times, e. g. "Dono illas res meas, quae sunt in pago Redonico in centena Laliacinae." (A.D. 854.) Pagus is here used in the sense of *territorium*; see Raynouard's *Histoire du Droit Municipal en France*, tom. i. pp. 33, 34. See the same work of Lobineau, tom. i. p. 71, for centurions as officers under the counts; also *ib.* tom. ii. p. 67, where the centurion Rivoaroe attests a deed, and *ib.* where a decanus named Riwocon does the same thing (in each case, A.D. 858). See also the "Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Redon en Bretagne." *Revue Archéologique*, tom. vii. N. S. p. 399.

In the same times in England our shire, which answers to the *territorium*,¹ is found divided into hundreds,² and these hundreds are again divided into tithings, names which differ in idiom only from the continental *centenae* and *decaniae*.

Of the hundred there was a chief called the hundredman³ or hundredes ealdor,⁴ who was assisted in his duties by a council of twelve.⁵

Of the tithing there was a chief called the tithingman,⁶ who in his turn was assisted by a council of ten, being himself one of those ten.⁷

¹ For the identity of *shire* and *territorium* see *Neglected Fact in English History*, pp. 63, 64, and the authorities quoted in note to p. 64. The Anglo-Saxon word *scyr* is an ellipse of an older form, which better explains itself, viz. *burh scyr*. Ælfric has preserved this form. (*Homilies* by Thorpe, p. 366, and *alibi*.) *E converso*, Æthelstan (Thorpe's edition, vol. i. p. 194) uses *birig* in the sense of shire, "cyð þam gerefan to hwilcere birig." The passage in which these words occur, as being a direction to pay tithes and earthly fruits, cannot apply to a city or borough proper. Precisely in the same sense also it is found in the Anglo-Saxon poem on the passion of S. George, published by the Percy Society. The saint is asked (p. 6) "of hwilcere byrig he were." He answers this by saying that he is an ealdorman in the territory of Cappadocia,

"Ic habbe ealdordom
On minum gearde
þe is gehaten Capadocia."

So *civitas* in Latin is used for *territorium*. See *Cod. Theod.* xii. 1, 174 (A.D. 412), "*extra metas propriæ civitatis*." This is amplified by Tribonian into "*extra metas territorii propriæ civitatis*." (*Ibid.*). See also *Dig.* 50, tit. 15, c. 4.

It is used just in the same sense in Diocletian's edict, appointing a fixed tariff for all articles (*Zell*, p. 315), "*Maximo cum ejusmodi statuto, non civitatibus singulis ac populis adque provinciis, sed universo orbi provisum esse videatur*." There is other evidence which demonstrates the identity of the English shire with the *territorium* of a Roman city. The *trifinium* at Lilbourn, co. Northampton, is a point where three shires meet, as it was where three *territoria* met. The subsecival stone at Thames Head, which has never been removed, is still on the border of two counties, as in Roman times it was on the *linea finitima* of two *territoria*. (See *Centuriation of Roman Britain*, vol. xlii. *Archæologia*, p. 155.)

² This territorial division is alluded to as early as the time of King Ine, but under the name of "hynden" (*Laws of Ine*, c. 54); though this word was superseded by "hundred" as regarded the division of the shire, it remained as denoting the *centuria* of a guild or *collegium*. See the introduction to "*Ordinances of some secular Guilds of London from 1351 to 1496*," published by the London and Middlesex Archæological Society.

³ *Eadgar's Laws*, c. 2.

⁴ *Ib.* c. 8, suppl.

⁵ *Ib.* c. 5, suppl.

⁶ *Ib.* c. 2. "Teoðingman" is the word of the text.

⁷ The Anglo-Saxon evidences do not give us the number of the tithingman's assistants. But this is of little moment; the collection of Anglo-Saxon laws called *Leges Regis Henrici I.* and the common law, which was only a transmission of Anglo-Saxon institutes, supply this deficiency, and tell us that the tithingman

The duties of the hundredman and tithingman are thus defined and discriminated.

If a theft or a murder were committed, and the offender fled, the accuser applied to the hundredman to take measures for the apprehension of the guilty person.¹

The hundredman gave directions to the tithingmen of his hundred to pursue the criminal.² If the latter was tracked into another hundred the chief of that hundred took up the pursuit in company with those who had commenced it, and so the criminal was run down.³

Besides all this, the authorities of the hundred and tithing exercised a care over the community which bore a very great affinity to modern police-surveillance. All freemen were bound upon pain of forfeiting their civil rights to belong to a hundred and a tithing in order that their chief might render them whenever criminal justice required their production.⁴ Again, all purchases were to be made in the presence of the hundredman and his assistants, or of the tithingman.⁵

Lastly, the hundred being named in Anglo-Saxon times (as it still is in our own) from a vill or a larger village,⁶ it follows that the head-quarters of the hundredman and his assistants were in that vill.

The same thing is also, for the same reason, presumable of the tithing.

was the chief of ten, being himself one of those ten. The former say, "Presit autem singulis hominum novenis decimus." (viii. s. 1.) Cowell (title Headborough) says, "A headborough, the chief of the frankpledge, was also called borsholder, thirdborrow, tithingman, pledge, &c. according to the diversity of speech in several parts. The same officer is now called a constable. He then goes on: "The headborough was the chief of the ten pledges. The other nine were called handboroughs, or *plegiū manuale*, or inferior pledges." I do not understand why a peace officer was called a thirdborough, but it occurs before the Conquest under a Latin translation, *triumvir*. In the Book of Ely, p. 147, Dr. Giles's edition, we find a nobleman who has been robbed going in search of the thief, "cum centurionibus, et triumviris, et praeconibus."

¹ Eadgar's Laws, c. 2.

² *Ib.*

³ *Ib.* c. 5.

⁴ Cnut's Domas, c. 20. The passage in this law, "and gehealde se borh hine and gelæde to ælcan rihte" has been misunderstood by Mr. Thorpe, who translates it thus, "And let the borh hold and lead him to every plea." This translation makes the law apply to civil suits, not to criminal prosecutions, as it really is meant to do. The true meaning is, "let the borh watch him and render him to justice." That gehealde has the meaning which I have asserted for it may be amply illustrated, *e.g.* (S. Matt. xxvii. 54,) "Witodlice þæs hundredes ealdor, and þa þe mid him wæron healdende þone hælend," *i. e.* the centurion and those that were with him watching the Saviour.

⁵ Eadgar, c. 4, and Supplement, cc. 6, 10.

⁶ See the Anglo-Saxon text published by Sir Henry Ellis referred to *post*. This refers to King Edward the Confessor's time, and gives the Anglo-Saxon names of the hundreds of Northamptonshire.

This was our old English police.

Such as it was, there was none other known in England until the reign of King William IV., when a better organization was introduced, and shortly afterwards, the 5th and 6th Vict. cap. 109 enacted "that for the future no petty constable, headborough, borsholder, tithingman, or peace officer of the like description shall be appointed for any parish, township, or vill, except for the performance of duties unconnected with the preservation of the peace."

Now in this old English police there is nothing whatever, if we take its known history, its organization, or its purposes, that gives any hint why the one district should have been called a hundred and the other a tithing. And yet it is only fair to suspect that if we can get at the rationale of these two names, which must be significant, we shall have no difficulty in arriving at the ultimate origin of the two institutions, which are everywhere called by the same appellations, and everywhere answer the same ends.

Of course there has been a theory upon this subject, and that I will proceed to examine.

It has been confidently asserted that we owe the two institutions to the barbarians who appropriated the provinces when the Western empire fell.

However willing we may be to acquiesce in any solution which explains a really interesting point of archæology, a little reflection tells us that the form of proposition so offered in explanation is too complex to be convincing. To make it *primâ facie* acceptable, the explanation, such as it is, should be divided into two propositions, which must aver either that the institutions in question pre-existed amongst the barbarians, and so were introduced by them on the occasion of their occupation of the Western empire, or that they were self-originated after and in consequence of this occupation.

With two propositions such as these are it is perfectly practicable to deal.

In support of the first, the cardinal proof adduced is that the two institutions are found in those parts of the empire where the barbarian armies settled.

This is true; but the conclusion sought to be drawn from this fact is neutralized by the other fact, which I have already mentioned, viz., that precisely the same institutions prevailed under the same names in other parts of the empire where the barbarians never penetrated, viz. in Brittany and in Wales.

The argument therefore fails; because, if the hundred and tithing were pre-existing institutions of the barbarians, introduced by them into the Empire, they should be peculiar to those provinces only which they occupied, and wherein they had necessarily the power of importing their own usages.

If the pre-existence of the hundred and tithing rests only upon this evidence, we may, in perfect confidence, decide against it.

But this is only one of two arguments; another remains.

There is a well-known passage in the *Germania* of Tacitus in which he says, that "one hundred men accompanied the native magistrate in his circuits through the country, assisting him in framing his judgments and in carrying them into execution."¹

This, again, is an argument that misses the mark. The hundred which we seek to explain is a district. Before, therefore, Tacitus's one hundred men could have impressed that numeral upon a district, it must be shown that districts (or divisions of the *gau*) existed in old Germany. Tacitus does not speak of them. He only says that circuits were made through the whole inhabited country.

Again, the passage does not in any way refer to a *decania* or tithing, and no explanation is good of the hundred which does not account for the other also. So much for the first proposition.

The second proposition has had supporters amongst distinguished antiquaries in times past. Muratori thought that the *centena* in Italy must have consisted of one hundred families living in one district, and subjected to a headman, who

¹ Tacitus, de Mor. Ger. c. 12. "Eliguntur in eisdem conciliis et principes, qui jura per pagos vicosque reddunt. Centum singulis ex plebe comites, consilium simul et auctoritas, adsunt." This is the only passage in Tacitus that bears in any way upon the question. Sir William Blackstone, however, has fearlessly applied to it a previous passage in the same book, c. 6, where Tacitus says that there was always placed in the front of the battle a vanguard composed of contingents of one hundred men each, "Definitur et numerus: centeni ex singulis pagis sunt; idque ipsum inter suos vocantur. Et quod primo numerus fuit, jam nomen et honor est." Upon this the great jurist observes (Introd. to Comment. p. 130, Stephens): "And indeed, something like this institution of hundreds may be traced back so far as the ancient Germans, from whom were derived both the Franks, who became masters of Gaul, and the Saxons, who settled in England. For both the thing and the name, as a territorial assemblage of persons, from which afterwards the territory itself might probably receive its denomination, were well known to that warlike people."

Lappenberg (Geschichte von England. Erster band. Hamburg 1834, sechste Abtheilung von den innern Zuständen der Angelsachsen, p. 584), who may be taken as the exponent of German views, has adopted a theory which rests upon the first of these passages of Tacitus. He says, "The division of the land into hundreds rests upon the ancient army organisation, like the corresponding northern division in *herrade*. Both names were given to a district which selected a hundred men for the protection and counsel of the ealdorman. (Die eintheilung des landes in hundreden beruht, gleich den entsprechenden nordischen in herråde, auf der alten heeresverfassung. Beide namen wurden einem districte ertheilt, welcher hundert mannen zum schutze und rathe des ealdormanen erwählte.)"

governed them; the tithing also being, in his opinion, analogously constituted and ruled.¹

Ducange had the same fancy as regards France.² Our own Kelham took the like view for this country;³ he says, "The division (*i.e.* of the hundred) was not made by extent, but by population."

Blackstone followed in the wake of these two writers. "As to the tithings," he says,⁴ "they were so called from the Saxon, because ten freeholders with their families composed one. * * * * * As ten families of freeholders made up a town or tithing, so ten tithings composed a superior division, called a hundred, as consisting of ten times ten families." The basis of all these assertions is the theory of self-origination, and out of this theory the writers have evolved their facts also, for the latter never existed away from the brain of the theorists themselves, the hundred and tithing, both in Italy and England, being established territorial districts entirely independent of all numerical considerations.

Besides these comparatively modern views there is a much older but not better theory; our remote ancestors imagined that the hundred was so called because it consisted of one hundred hides.⁵

This was ingenious, and would be more plausible if it could be proved that the hundred ever consisted of such a certain measurement of land. This, however, it was as much out of the power of our old native theorists, as it would be of ourselves, to prove.

I know of nothing else that has been advanced on this side.

On the other side, the objections that suggest themselves are numerous and, I think, invincible.

There is no difference whatever in essence or in name between the institutions as they are found in the provinces occupied by the barbarians, and in those regions which were left intact to the provincials themselves.

Taking this fact, and assuming that these institutions were either barbaric or self-originated under barbaric influences, we should have two results, viz., that the semi-polished Visigoth and Ostrogoth, the ruder Frank and Burgundian, and

¹ *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, tom. i. p. 519.

² Ducange, sub voce *Centena*. "*Centenas a Chlotario primum institutas ad latrones arcendos videtur posse colligi. Dicta vero centena a centum familiis, quibus constabat.*"

³ *Domesday Book illustrated*.

⁴ *Introduction to Commentaries*, vol. i. pp. 127, 129. Stephens's edition.

⁵ See the original Anglo-Saxon text published by Sir Henry Ellis in his "*General Introduction to Domesday*," p. 59 in note.

the almost savage Jute, Angle, and Saxon¹ invented, separately and simultaneously, the hundred and tithing for their new countries; and that the Armoricans and the Welsh, old provincials, but through their common independence entirely severed from each other, also invented the same institutions at the same time. As such results, however, would, if accepted, entirely repugn all historical experience, I may confidently affirm that this common self-origination amongst such estranged and differing peoples is impossible.

But if there were no separate self-originations of institutions thus co-existing amongst barbarians and provincials, they must have had a common source—a source that, being neither Gothic, Germanic, nor Celtic, was outside of them all. The source, however, of any institution common to all the provinces of the West, and neither barbaric nor self-originated under barbaric influences, mounts by necessity up to Rome and her laws.

Further, the denominations of these two institutions being decimal, some portion of their essence must have been connected with a decimal system. But the only people of antiquity that affected decimals were the Romans. With that people decimals were a passion from the days of the kings to the last moment of the Empire. With two exceptions only all was decimal. The *gentes* of old Rome, the senate, the tribes, the colonial municipalities, the army, and all public and private bodies were decimally divided. Land even in its acreage, and slaves indoors and out of doors, all underwent the same division.²

¹ Perhaps quite savage. Salvianus (lib. iv. De Providentia,) says: "Gens Saxonum fera est, Francorum infidelis, Gepidarum inhumana, et Hunnorum impudica; omnium denique gentium barbarorum vita vitiosa."

² See Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, vol. i. c. 5. Ten houses made a gens, ten gentes (or a hundred houses) a curiae, ten curiae (a hundred gentes, or a thousand houses) formed the community. Further, every house found a man for the army of foot, thence miles, &c. In the senate there were ten decuriae, each of which had a primus. They together formed the decem primi. (Niebuhr's *Lectures*, by L. Schmidt, p. 143.) The tribes were divided into *centuriae* and the *centuriae* into *decuriae*. (Zell, *Anleitung*, p. 113.) So the municipal senates consisted of centumviri or a hundred decuriones, each the head of ten houses, or a decuria. (See Mommsen, *ante*. Noel des Vergers, *l'Étrurie et les Étrusques*, vol. iii. appendice épigraphique, No. 1. Henzen, *Annali di Roma*, vol. iii. p. 205.) For the army, see *ante*. As well as private persons, who formed *collegia*, all public functionaries were constituted into colleges, and all colleges were divided into *centuriae* and *decuriae*. (See Massman, *Libellus Aurarius*, p. 74, *et seqq.*)

In the *agrimensura*, lands were divided into tens, a hundred, two hundred, a thousand acres. See the *Agrimensores*.

Out door slaves were worked in decuriae or gangs of ten. (Columella, lib. i. c. 9.) In-door slaves

The exceptions were that men weighed and measured in twelves,¹ and prayed and cursed in threes.²

Upon this evidence can we resist the conclusion that the institutions under consideration were Roman?

If this conclusion be accepted, the question is narrowed to one of identification only. In other words, we have to inquire merely to what Roman institution are we to appropriate the hundred and tithing?

I answer this by saying that they are, in my opinion, to be identified with stations of the *milites stationarii*, and for these reasons. The *milites stationarii* were police, were decimal in their organization, and were posted in stations which received their names, through that same system, from the cohortal divisions of the force, viz. *centuriariae* and *decanica*. Further, these stations were placed within the territory of each city, and the *vicus*, more or less large, which formed the quarters, was the centre of each police district.

On the other hand, the Anglo-Saxon hundred and tithing were police districts, taking their names from the vills and villages which formed their centre. They were divisions of the shire which itself was conterminous with and no other than the *territorium* of a Roman city. Further, the names hundred and tithing were necessarily a reminiscence of a numerical system which, and which only, could have given them such a form of designation.

It is true that in the historical Anglo-Saxon period its name was no longer

were divided in the same fashion, and were presided over by decurions. See the *tituli* of the *columbarium* of the slaves of the Empress Livia. (Zell, pp. 129, 130.) Colonists cast lots, for the land about to be distributed, "per decurias" or "per homines denos." (See Hyginus, p. 113, Lachman's *Agrimensores*).

¹ The Assarian system.

² To prevent a carriage from overturning Romans pronounced a prayer three times. (Plinii N. H. xxviii. 4.) Martianus Capella, lib. vii. p. 259, Eyssenhardt's edition, says: "Cujus (i.e. of the *trias*) auspicio preces tertio ac libamina repetuntur." In the "Fratres Arvales" we find picturesque illustrations of the practice; e.g. "Omnes foris exierunt. Ibi sacerdotes clusi succincti libellis acceptis carmen descendentes tripodaverunt in verba haec: Enos Lases juvate. Enos Lases juvate. Enos Lases juvate." And so on in the same way with other sentences. (Marini, tab. xlii. a, p. 160.)

This lasted to the latest days of heathenism. The pagan army of Licinius (Lact. de Mortibus Persecutorum, c. 46) repeated three times the prayer which had been dictated to their leader in a dream (illi oratione ter dicta, &c.)

So the frankincense was taken up in three fingers to throw upon the altar. Lact. Div. Instit. lib. v. c. 18.) "Nam cruciari, atque interfeci malle, quam thura, tribus digitis comprehensa, in focum jactare tam ineptum videtur," &c.

applicable to the hundred; ¹ but of the tithing it was even then, as it was for ages later, perfectly true. An additional circumstance also confirms the absolute identity of the tithing with the *decania*. For as the Roman *decanus* presided over ten men, being himself one of these ten, ² so in the Anglo-Saxon and old English tithing there prevailed also this strange conventional peculiarity of reckoning.

In conclusion, I have only to observe that I do not pretend to assert or imply that the present hundreds of this country are now precisely the same local districts in all our counties that existed during the Roman period. On the contrary, in many or most of the counties they *must* have undergone a great change—unquestionably they will have been diminished in extent, for, when twelve unprofessional rustics had to do the duties of one hundred Roman soldiers, the area of their operations would be necessarily reduced in proportion to their smaller numbers and diminished efficiency.

¹ The Anglo-Saxons must have had a reminiscence that the hundred had in former times a better connexion with its name. For, in translating the gospels, they gave to a Roman centurion the same designation as that of their own hundredman; S. Matt. xxvii. 54, "hundredes ealdor;" S. Marc xv. 39, "hundredes man."

² A similar thing to what I have contended for in this paper, though on a larger scale, occurred in the Eastern empire. In that empire the word *thema* was first applied to the Roman legion. Next the military districts garrisoned by a legion were called *themata*. Ultimately the word was used independently of all military references, merely to indicate geographical administrative divisions, which from this beginning had become a part of the empire. (Finlay's History of the Byzantine Empire, vol. i. p. 14, in note.)

XVIII.—*On a Box of Carved Ivory of the Sixth Century.* By ALEXANDER NESBITT, Esq. F.S.A.; together with a Letter on the same subject by PADRE RAFFAELE GARRUCCI, Hon. F.S.A.

Read June 15, 1871.

Having purchased the box which is the subject of the following memoir from a dealer in antiquities in Rome, I took an early opportunity of showing it to my learned friend, Padre Garrucci of the Collegio Romano, knowing that no one was more capable than he of appreciating and illustrating an object belonging to the earlier ages of Christianity, and feeling sure that I might rely on his unfailing courtesy and willingness to impart to others the stores of knowledge and learning which he possesses.

That I was not deceived in my anticipations the following letter, which he shortly after addressed to me, will show.

It will be seen that it very fully elucidates the subject, but I shall venture to add a few observations on points on which he has not touched.

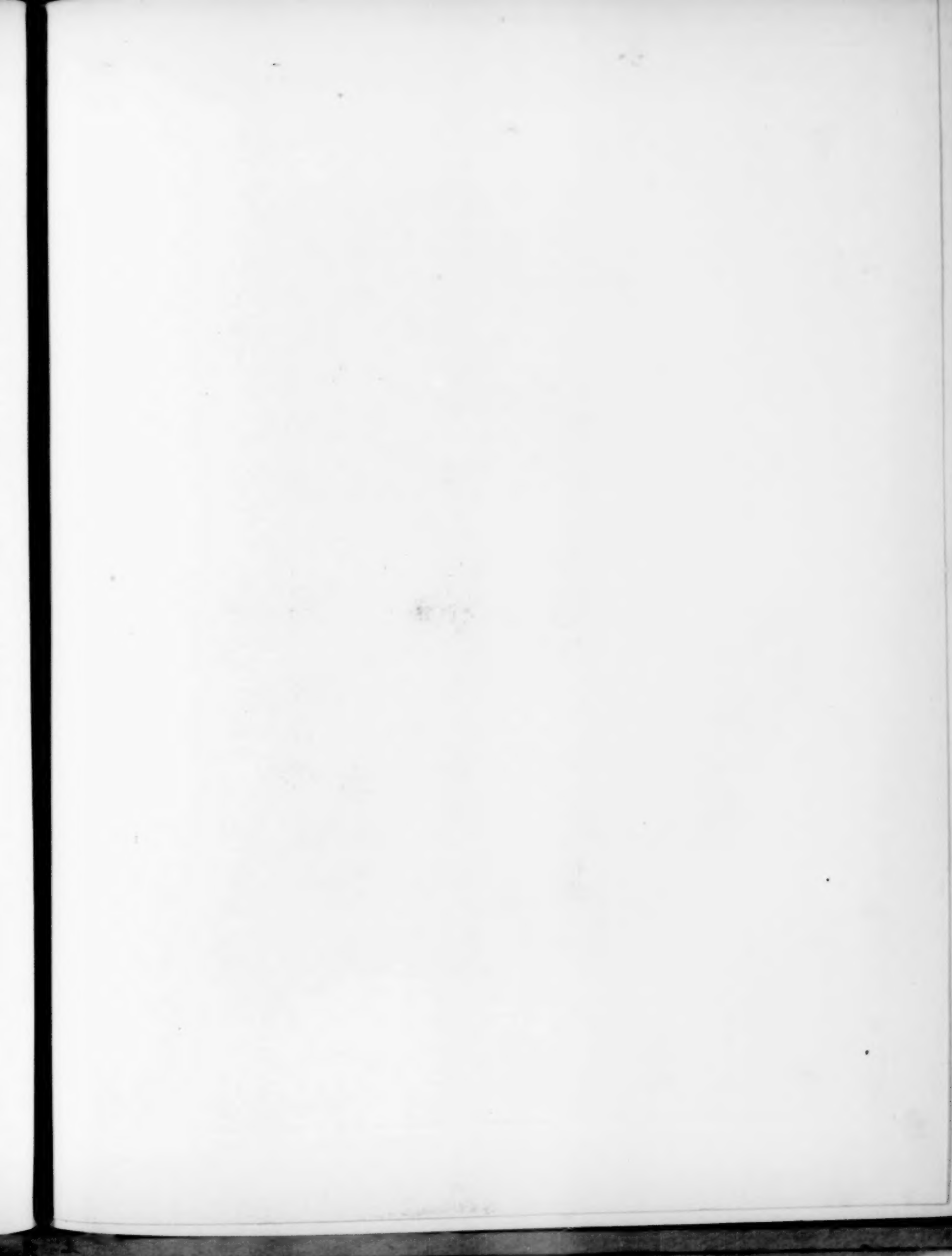
“ ESTEEMED FRIEND AND COLLEAGUE,

“ The pyxis purchased by you in Rome comes, as I may say, to awaken us from a long dream. We reposed on the sole use assigned by Passeri (Thes. Vet. Diptych. iii. App. p. 68) to this kind of sacred monuments in the Church—I mean we held them to be *artophoria* or pyxes intended for the preservation of the Eucharist for the sick. In truth, if one considers well, as it is most true that the pyxes should serve for the Eucharist, so it cannot be denied that the boxes in which relics were placed were also called *pyxides* or *capsæ* or *turriculæ*, which Du Cange has well proved (Constantinop. Christ. iii. c. 62,) by the authority of Leo of Ostia (l. ii. c. 53; l. iii. c. 30) and of Peter Diaconus (l. iv. c. 73); it is also deserving of attention that Leo IV. decrees (Labbe and Mansi, Concil. Coll. ed. Venet. tom. xiv. p. 891): “ Super altare nihil ponatur nisi capsæ cum reliquiis sanctorum aut pyxis cum Corpore Domini ad viaticum pro infirmis.”

“Now of the fact that pyxides were used to contain relics your pyxis furnishes an authentic proof, since, although its form in no way differs from the habitual one, it has this peculiarity, that the representations sculptured around it cannot in any manner relate to the Eucharist. I presume that the figures were not capriciously placed on it, but, as is always the case, were chosen on account of the analogy which they had with the use of a sacred vessel. Now, we perfectly understand what relation representations of the Incarnation have with the Eucharist or the mystery of the body and blood of Christ, since there is the same body and blood which the Word assumed when clothing Himself with flesh in the womb of the Virgin; and, as regards the miracles of Christ, we know that by the holy fathers these are habitually brought forward as testimonies to the faith in the miraculous existence of the body of Christ under the species of bread and wine. The representation of the Resurrection brings to mind the reward promised by Christ to him who eats his flesh and drinks his blood, and this is that he shall be raised with the blessed in the last day (John vi. 55). This premised, we may be sure that fourteen of the pyxes out of the fifteen with sacred subjects, which I know, have been eucharistic pyxes, since upon five of these the Incarnation is represented; upon the other five, the miracles of Christ, and specially the resurrection of Lazarus, appear. Three pyxes may be readily referred to the same order of ideas, two with the history of Jonah, one with the three Hebrew youths in the furnace of Babylon, well-known types of the resurrection. Nor from this eucharistic meaning does the fourteenth depart, on which the sacrifice of Abraham is represented, the shadow, as we all know, of the double sacrifice, the bloody on the cross, and the bloodless in the mystery of the altar, and this is the constant language of the holy fathers.

“Thus out of the fifteen sacred pyxes which, as I have said, are known to me, this one alone remains on which a subject is represented which can in no way be referred to the Eucharist, and which, on the contrary, evidently concerns the worship of a very celebrated holy martyr, that is to say, St. Menas (or Menna) of Egypt. It seems to me, therefore, clearly shown that this pyxis affords the first actual proof of the employment once made of such pyxes, viz. of placing in them sacred relics.

“No one who considers how solemn the devotion to the holy martyr Menas was throughout the whole Church will be surprised that a reliquary destined to preserve a relic of him has been met with in Rome, where moreover a church dedicated in his honour existed, of which it is recorded that in it St. Gregory the Great recited the thirty-fifth of his homilies. The little flasks (*boraccette*) which con-





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BASRELIEF ON CARVED IVORY BOX.

tained oil from the lamps which burnt before the body of the martyr are found in many places, where they were assuredly once carried by the pilgrims. They have occurred in Sicily, Sardinia, France, Italy, Greece, and Egypt. We cannot, however, know what relics were contained in this pyxis, whether cloths (*brandei*) or little vessels of oil, or any other object belonging to the saint or to the sanctuary, and therefore looked upon as a relic.

"The pyxis has lost the top and the bottom; only the body remains, which is surrounded by a bas-relief interrupted in one place by the lock, below which, in order not to leave an empty space, is carved a vessel of basket-work.

"The whole bas-relief divides itself into two scenes, the first of which represents the martyrdom, the second the sanctuary. In the first St. Menas is seen naked with the exception of a cloth girt about his loins, and with his hands tied behind his back, in the act of receiving a blow from a sword in the hands of the executioner. The martyrdom is represented as taking place before the tribunal, where in place of the president is seen the Emperor, exactly as in the Menologion of Basil Porphyrogenetes (10 Dec.), and by him stands one of his guards. This circumstance is important, because it confirms the tradition which distinguishes Menas of Alexandria, martyred under Maximinus Galerius or Maximianus (for the texts of the Menologia and of the Acts vary), from the Menas of Cotico in Phrygia Salutaris, also an Egyptian by country, who, according to the Alexandrian Chronicle, confessed the faith before the President Pyrrhus in the year 295, Luscus and Anullinus being Consuls. These two have been confused together into one personage, and this confusion which exists in the Acts has not been hitherto sufficiently elucidated. Thus we see the earthen vessels with the Greek epigraph Ο' ΑΓΙΟΣ ΜΗΝΑΣ or $\text{ΤΟΤ ΑΓΙΟΤ ΜΗΝΑ ΕΤΑΟΦΙΑ}$, recently attributed by De Rossi to Menas of Cotico. Baronius believed the Alexandrian martyr to have been transferred to Constantinople, but the transference really concerned the martyr of Cotico, as Assemani (Kal. Eccl. Univ. t. v. p. 461) and Morelli (Kal. Constantinop. i. p. 222) have correctly observed. The Menologion of Basil, in accordance with the pyxis, represents the Emperor with a sceptre as present at the martyrdom of Menas of Alexandria on the 10th December.

"On the pyxis the Emperor sits by the Pretorium, which is shown as on certain sarcophagi, and has, moreover, a veil extended over the entrance. The costume worn by him is that of civilians, the tunic and pallium; he holds the sceptre in his hand, and his head is surrounded by a diadem.* Behind him is a

* What the learned writer calls a diadem has rather the appearance of a mere band or fillet.

guard, and by his side an attendant. The Emperor orders the martyr to offer incense; the attendant, standing near a table, and holding the vessel containing incense (*acerra*), invites him to do so; but the martyr kneeling extends his neck to the executioner; the guard, astonished at the constancy and fortitude of the martyr, raises his hand with a gesture of surprise.

"Menas appears with a diadem encircling his head, as if already in possession of the celestial kingdom, while an angel descends from heaven to receive the soul of the martyr in the bosom of his pallium, and to carry it to the region of the blest. A mountain, indicated by some small undulations, symbolises the heavenly Zion, the mount of God, the Church triumphant (Theodoret in Ps. xxiv. 3). The angel as coming from heaven has the head not only surrounded by a diadem but also crowned by the nimbus of glory. His intervention is remarkable, but another instance may be seen in the *Menologion* of Basil. There on the 30th October is represented the martyrdom of St. Eutropia, and an angel is seen descending from on high with hands veiled, without doubt in order to receive her soul. Nothing is said of this in the text, and we may therefore learn that the figure of the angel was placed by the artist in order to express the idea of the soul escaped to heaven, in accordance with the artistic language of the period. Moreover, this is the language of Holy Writ, which teaches that the souls of the deceased are intrusted to angels. 'Factum est,' says our Lord (Luke xvi. 22), "ut moreretur mendicus et portaretur ab angelis in sinu Abrahæ." In conformity with this doctrine, Christ, in the twenty-third chapter of the *History of Joseph the carpenter*, the Coptic text of which is ascribed to the fourth century or thereabouts (Tischendorf, *Proleg. ad Evang. apocr.* p. xxxvi.) is made to say, 'Venerunt Michael et Gabriel ad animam patris mei Josephi, et acceptam eam involverunt in involucrio lucido. Sic commisit spiritum in manus Patris mei boni. At angeli conservarunt animam ejus a dæmonibus tenebrarum, qui erant in via, usque dum perducerent ad habitaculum piorum.' The *Menologion* of Basil, quoted above, offers an example of this on the 4th October, where St. Antony sees the soul of the Abbot Ammon wrapped in a cloth and carried by angels; there is a second example on the 9th November, where two angels carry in a cloth the soul of St. Alexander, the head surrounded by a nimbus, and the body wrapped in a garment of fine linen. I might add many other things in further elucidation of these ideas, but what I have mentioned may suffice on the present occasion, which assuredly is not that on which to write a treatise on the manner in which the ancients were accustomed to represent the passage of the soul to the future life.

"I proceed to the second scene, which represents an *ædícula* or sanctuary, on



BASRELIEF ON CARVED IVORY BOX.

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the threshold of which the martyr is seen, his head surrounded by a diadem and a nimbus, as already glorified, and with his hands open in the manner of one in prayer, which is the proper attitude of the blessed. He wears a short tunic and trousers, and has high leggings, and as upper garment a chlamys buttoned on his right shoulder and bordered by a 'tablion,' or piece of embroidery. On each side of the saint, but outside the sanctuary, is a kneeling camel, and two men appear on his left and two women on his right, coming to pray and ask favours. Behind the women in the background appears the door of a house. It is almost superfluous to say that by these two men and two women (divided from the men as was customary in many churches) it is intended to represent the crowd of pilgrims which flocked from all parts of Egypt and Lybia to the tomb of St. Menas to offer gifts and discharge vows.

"The famous sanctuary was to the west of Alexandria, as we learn from the monk Epiphanius, who also informs us that it was at a distance of nine miles from it. (Epiph. ed. et ined. Dressel, p. 5.) But the reason why it was constructed at so great a distance from the place of martyrdom is not there given, and there would be a somewhat inconvenient lacuna but that by good fortune a *locus classicus* of St. Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, providentially preserved, has cleared up this point. It is published by Mai (Spicil. Rom. t. 111, c. 46), and we shall see how opportune this is also for any peculiarity of the representation of which we have already taken notice; it shows, too, how well informed the artist who carved this precious monument really was. The passage informs us that in the place where the sanctuary was constructed the saint was born, and that by its side the paternal house was preserved. Τὸ Μηνᾶ τοῦ Μάρτυρος τέμενος, καὶ τὸ πρὸ τοῦ τέμενους δομάτιον, πάσης Λιβύης καθέστηκεν φρούραγμα ἢ οἰκίσκος ὁ ἅγιος καὶ φύλαξ, καὶ πρὸ τῆς ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ μαρτυρίας ἐτίγγανεν. This door of a house therefore, which I have mentioned as behind the women, represents the *δομάτιον*, the cottage where the saint drew his first breath, and which was preserved as a bulwark of defence to all Lybia. This was beside the sanctuary, or *Μαρτύριον* of St. Menas, and the same St. Sophronius attests this fact where he tells his readers, 'You all know the martyrion who also know the cottage which belonged to the martyr, and which is near it.' "Ὅσοι γοῦν τὸ τοῦ μάρτυρος ἴστε Μαρτύριον καὶ τὸ περὶ τούτου κτημάτιον. It is well to observe that St. Sophronius wrote before the Mussulmen occupied Egypt.

"Thus, therefore, my esteemed friend, by a remarkable coincidence, every particularity of your interesting pyxis can be explained, and you may see how much light it throws on these ancient traditions relating to the history and the worship of St. Menas the Alexandrian.

"And indeed I should appear in no degree to fall short of the completion of what I undertook if there had not been a question which I must acknowledge I have not satisfactorily answered. You might ask me to explain why on monuments of St. Menas the two camels appear, and whether tradition can help in this particular, recording any fact concerning these animals which relates to the martyrdom of the Saint. This is a somewhat difficult thing, and for some time I thought one to be despaired of, but an unthought-of passage comes to our aid, sweet as water to a weary and thirsty traveller; let us then drink of it, although it comes from a turbid spring; I mean the Acts, which we do not consider as authentic. But you know how useful apocryphal monuments may be; how much they may aid in researches if one knows the right method of using them. The writer of these Acts, in order to give them verisimilitude, has sought to invest the narration with known and true circumstances. He speaks of camels, therefore he was aware that what he related was well known to all; I mean, that St. Menas was represented in company with two camels. It was then narrated that the Saint, before undergoing martyrdom, ordered the faithful that after his death his body should be placed on camels; that the beasts should be left free; and that they would see the glory of God made manifest.

"Here end the words of the Acts which refer to the camels.

"Tillemont, who quotes the passage, (*Mém. pour l'Hist. ecclés. t. v. p. 798*) seems to make a joke of it, deeming it foolishness to say that a manifestation of the glory of God would be made visible, as he could not see how that glory would be manifested by the fact that camels carried away the body of the Saint. But here he has deceived himself, for the glory of God was manifested by the fact that the camels were guided, as of old time the cows which drew the ark, to the spot where God willed that that sanctuary should be erected which, by the famous miracles and the great benefits done to the people of Lybia and of Egypt, assuredly made manifest the glory of God. The people, in fact, thus understood it; and therefore St. Menas is never represented without this evident sign of the providence of God, who is memorable in his saints, and who willed to make use of camels to prepare for these peoples a place of comfort and of blessing, thus glorifying his faithful servant. However, Tillemont may be pardoned, since he did not know the text of St. Sophronius nor the notice of the Monk Epiphanius, which would have opened his eyes and enabled him to see the special reason of this narration.

"It seems to me that this explanation should satisfy you, as it does me, and truly one must not pretend to explain all that is found in monuments so rare and so recondite. But, before I consider myself wholly acquitted of my task, I wish

to say something respecting these two beasts, which you and I have recognised as camels, though all may perhaps not agree in so doing. However, De Rossi, at first, thought them two lions, when commenting upon one of the earthen flasks bearing the effigy of our saint (*Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1869, pp. 31, 32), and afterwards declared them to be two lambs (*id.* p. 46), a really miraculous change. We may, however, excuse this mistake, since he took the personage in the act of prayer for Daniel, and therefore paid little attention to the misshapen beasts which are usually roughly modelled on the flasks. The character of the long neck is, however, not omitted, so that a friend of mine thought that they were elephants with their trunks. But when the flask of the museum of Florence came to light, upon which the name of St. Menas is legible, and the subject of the representation was thus ascertained, it is surprising that the camels, which on this specimen are well expressed, not less so than on the ivory in the Brera at Milan, should have been converted into lambs. In this last instance you and I have seen St. Menas on the threshold of his sanctuary and between the two camels, just as on the pyxis, neither more nor less. Let us, therefore, leave De Rossi to change his opinion,* the rather that it is a difficult thing to allow the meaning which he would attribute to the lambs in this place; but of this I shall speak with more fitness in another work of mine, well known to you.

"I therefore conclude by thanking you with all my heart for furnishing me with so good an occasion for explaining the history of St. Menas of Alexandria, and confirming it by the support of so precious a monument.

"I am, with sincere esteem and respect,

"Your most devoted servant and friend,

"R. GARRUCCI."

The subject has been so fully illustrated in the preceding letter that little more remains to be said.

There is, however, one important point which the learned writer has not touched upon, viz. the date of the object. His reason for this omission was, I have no doubt, that he had already expressed to me in conversation his opinion on the point, assigning it to the earlier part of the sixth century, an opinion in which all who have studied such matters will I think agree.

The style of the sculpture of this object (Plates X., XI.) is very much the same as that of some of the bas-reliefs in which the history of our Lord is represented, which form part of the famous ivory cathedra of Ravenna, on which is the monogram of Archbishop Maximianus (ob. 556). In both are to be found considerable skill in

* Subsequently De Rossi has recognised the two animals to be camels (*Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1872, p. 28); but he does not seem to be aware of the reason for these animals being introduced.

grouping and power and correctness in the representation of action, but some roughness and carelessness of execution, and some bad drawing, as for instance that the hands are generally much too large.

The costumes and arms as shown on this pyxis, on the Ravenna cathedra, and on the mosaic in the church of St. Vitalis, representing the Emperor Justinian and his court, are very much the same in all; the attendant guards in the two first wear helmets of the same form, and in all three carry large oval shields, and long but rather narrow swords. The second male figure approaching the saint on the pyxis, and the blind man healed by our Lord, in one of the panels of the cathedra, are clothed in chasubles (*casulæ*), no doubt as being the usual dress of the middle or lower class, while the figures representing personages of the higher ranks wear tunics and pallia.

In the ivory carvings of the pyxis and of the cathedra a different arrangement of the hair marks the different ranks; thus on the former the emperor, the saint, the angel, and the foremost of the male worshippers, and on the cathedra a figure of our Lord, show that portion of the hair which surrounds the face arranged in large curls, confined by a fillet,* while persons of lower rank are without a fillet, and their hair is represented by parallel lines, without indication of curls. The same distinction may I think be traced in the mosaic of St. Vitalis.

It is somewhat remarkable that the altar shown on the pyxis is not a pagan altar of stone, but evidently a table draped with a cloth, in fact a Christian altar, of which indeed this is one of the earliest representations.

One point of special interest attaches to this pyxis, viz. that it is probably the earliest existing object of art on which a legendary subject is represented.^b Subjects taken from the lives of saints were undoubtedly occasionally employed: such were painted on the walls of the church built by Paulinus of Nola, but they must have been comparatively rarely made use of, or a greater number of examples would have come down to us. As it is, it may be said, without fear of contradiction, that until we come to a period later than that of this pyxis there is scarcely an instance of a work of art the subject of which is not either biblical or symbolical. In the earliest ages of Christianity symbolical representations were preferred; Christ was represented as a shepherd, or shadowed forth in the form of Orpheus, or of Jonah, as in the paintings in the Roman catacombs. In later times direct historical representations of biblical personages came into vogue, and very numerous marble sarcophagi and carvings in ivory exist on which Our Lord

* Or, according to Padre Garrucci, a diadem.

^b Figures of saints not mentioned in the scriptures are however to be found, as in mosaics.

and his Apostles are sculptured, the former often represented in the act of performing one of the miracles related in the Gospels.

Not unnaturally, subjects borrowed from the apocryphal gospels and from the legends of saints followed soon afterwards.

It must be needless to enlarge on the value, as regards the history of artistic design, of this, probably the earliest existing representation of a class of subjects which, in later times, has been so profusely treated by artists, viz. martyrdoms of saints. Agincourt, indeed, has engraved (*Painting*, pl. 12, No. 18) a subject which he supposes to represent a martyrdom, but he does it with the remark—"This is the only subject of this kind which has been met with in the catacombs. The first believers did not like to represent these frightful scenes." To me it seems very doubtful that this painting represents a martyrdom at all, nor does it seem to belong to a very early date.

As the shrine of Saint Menas was near Alexandria, it would seem highly probable that it was in that city that the pyxis was carved; ivory, of course, was readily obtainable there, and the city abounded with artificers. It seems not unlikely that many ivory carvings of like style may have also been brought from thence.

It may be well to say a few words upon the carving in ivory preserved in the Brera at Milan, mentioned by Padre Garrucci as bearing the name and effigy of St. Menas.

It measures 4 inches by 3, and upon it is represented the Saint standing with uplifted arms and open hands in the doorway of an edifice, with a camel crouched on the ground on each side.

Over his head is the inscription ΘΜΗΝΑ, the sigma which should end the word being partly obliterated. It is executed in the stiff but careful style, which would appear to be that of Byzantium in the ninth and tenth centuries. As on one of the tablets of the same style which remain with it the legend of St. Anianus is represented, it may be conjectured that the object to which both originally belonged was a casket in which relics of saints connected with Egypt were preserved.

As Padre Garrucci has referred to the earthen flasks with representations of St. Menas, it may be desirable, in conclusion, to describe such specimens as are preserved in the British Museum. They are in all (1876) nineteen in number; some of them being in the Egyptian Collection, others with the Christian Antiquities. They are flattened bottles or flasks, with ornaments in low relief on the two flat circular faces, and have two handles and a slightly spreading mouth to the neck. Their height is usually 4 inches, and width 2½;

but a few are larger, measuring 4 inches in width. With one exception they appear to have all been found in Egypt.

1. Large size. St. Menas in military dress, with arms extended in adoration; on each side of his feet a crouching camel; near the head the inscription O AFIOC MHNAC; around the legend, retrograde, TOT AFIOI MHNA ETOAOΓIA AABOM . . . The reverse has a similar design, but a wreath instead of the marginal legend, and resembles the flask published by De Rossi (*Bull. Arch. Christ.* 1869, p. 44); excepting that the latter appears to be of finer execution and has dots instead of the wreath.

2. Large size. Both sides are similar to the reverse of No. 1.

3—5. St. Menas with crouching camels. Reverse, an inscription within a wreath, AFIOI MHNA ETAOΓ. One of these specimens was found in Calymnos.

6. St. Menas as before. Reverse, an inscription within a wreath, ETAOΓIA TOT AFIOI MHNA. This is similar to one found at Arles, published by De Rossi. (*Bull. Arch. Christ.* 1869, p. 20.)

7. St. Menas as before. Reverse, an inscription within a twisted cord, ETAOΓIA TOT AFIOI.

8. St. Menas as before. Reverse, a wreath inclosing a head with curly hair, in profile.

9. A head in profile like the reverse of the last. Reverse, the inscription ETAOΓIA TOT AFIOI MHNA.

10. St. Menas as before. Reverse inscribed ETAOΓIA, in two lines. Very coarse.

11. A rich cross. Reverse inscribed ETAOΓIA, in two lines, retrograde.

12—14. St. Menas as before. Reverse, a cross within a wreath.

15. St. Menas as before. Reverse, an amphora between a cross and a flask with two handles.

16—19. Both sides alike, with St. Menas as before, within a circle of dots. They resemble one figured in the *Revue Archéologique*, vol. i. (1844), p. 405.

De Rossi has published, in the *Bull. Arch. Christ.* 1872, p. 25, a flask, on one side of which is the usual figure of St. Menas, while on the reverse is a monogram of the word ΠETPOT, which he connects with the Alexandrian bishop and martyr Peter, who gave his name to a famous cemetery which was on the way from Alexandria to the shrine of St. Menas.

XIX.—*Note on an Anglo-Saxon Knife, found in Kent, bearing an Inscription.*

By JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.

Read February 8, 1872.

By the kindness of Mr. Edward Lloyd of the Winns, Walthamstow, I am enabled to exhibit a very remarkable Anglo-Saxon knife lately found in excavating for the foundations of a house which he is building at Sittingbourne, Kent.

In general form the knife is of a well-known type, and closely resembles one found in Lad Lane in the city of London, and engraved by Mr. C. Roach Smith in his *Collectanea Antiqua*.^{*} The total length is $12\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and the extreme breadth $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch. The tang for insertion in the handle is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and there is a shoulder at its junction with the blade both at the back and the edge.

The back of the knife has been inlaid with a central strip of alternate short narrow pieces of silver and brass, on either side of which is a narrow border formed of still smaller lozenge-shaped pieces of the same metals, placed side by side, so as to form a sort of corded pattern alternately white and golden.

On what may be regarded as the principal face of the knife—that which is presented when held in the right hand with the edge towards the holder—the ornamentation is of even more elaborate character, but some larger plates are introduced, some of them engraved with scroll patterns and one with a zoomorphic design. On two of the plates, the first of silver and the second of brass, is engraved the following inscription, + S LEBEREHT M E $\overline{\text{TH}}$, showing the name of the owner of the knife. On turning the blade over, that of the maker appears inlaid in silver letters, BIORHTELM ME ∇ ORTE. Above and below this inscription, the bottom of which, unlike that on the other face, is towards the back of the blade, are broad lines composed of alternate pieces of silver and brass inlaid in the iron. The border towards the edge of the blade is on both faces fringed with

^{*} Vol. ii. pl. lviii. 2.

small triangles of silver. The details of the ornamentation can only be appreciated by an examination of the blade; see Plate XII.

With regard to the inscriptions, it will be observed that, though the maker's name was inlaid in the blade during the process of manufacture, that of the owner appears to have been added by means of the graver at a subsequent time, or when the knife was finished, and in all probability sold.

This engraved inscription presents one or two peculiarities. The form + s, instead of merely the usual cross, appears indeed to be singular. So remarkable is it, that Professor Stephens, of Copenhagen, to whom I sent a transcript of the inscription, was convinced that the letter i must originally have intervened between the s and the L, and that the owner's name was SILEBEREHT (Victory-bright). There is, however, a wide space between the s and the L, and on the silver plate, which is in perfect preservation, there is not the faintest trace of any intervening letter. What the meaning of + s may be is a difficult question. Mr. C. Roach Smith has suggested to me that it may represent Crucis Signum, or it might possibly stand for In Cruce Salus, or even for ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ. The name of LEBEREHT—the giver of justice—is, perhaps, somewhat German in its commencement, but may well be an Old English name. I cannot, however, at present trace any exact analogue.

The formula M EAH is also peculiar, and would certainly appear to be more properly divided as ME AH. On Æthred's^a finger-ring, for instance, we find ÆDRED MEC AH. And the brooch of silver found in 1814 near Chatham,^b Kent, and now in the British Museum, exhibits the same formula, ÆLFGIVV ME AH, or possibly ME AN.

The same form occurs on the Northumbrian^c brooch, only there more completely in Runes, ÆLCHFRITH MEC AH. In fact, among all the possessive inscriptions recorded by Stephens the form EAH does not occur, nor do I find ME elided into M. AH, on the contrary, is the usual third person singular of the present tense of *Agan*, to own; and this strange division of the letters suggests a possibility that there may have been some blundering in the earlier part of the inscription, and that the real name of the owner may, after all, have been SIGEBEREHT.

The inscription inlaid on the other face of the knife + BIORHTELM ME ƿORTE

^a Hickes's Thesaurus, Pref. viii. pl. vi. Stephens's Runic Monuments, p. 463. The original is in the British Museum.

^b Arch. Journ. xii. 202. Stephens *op. cit.* p. 586.

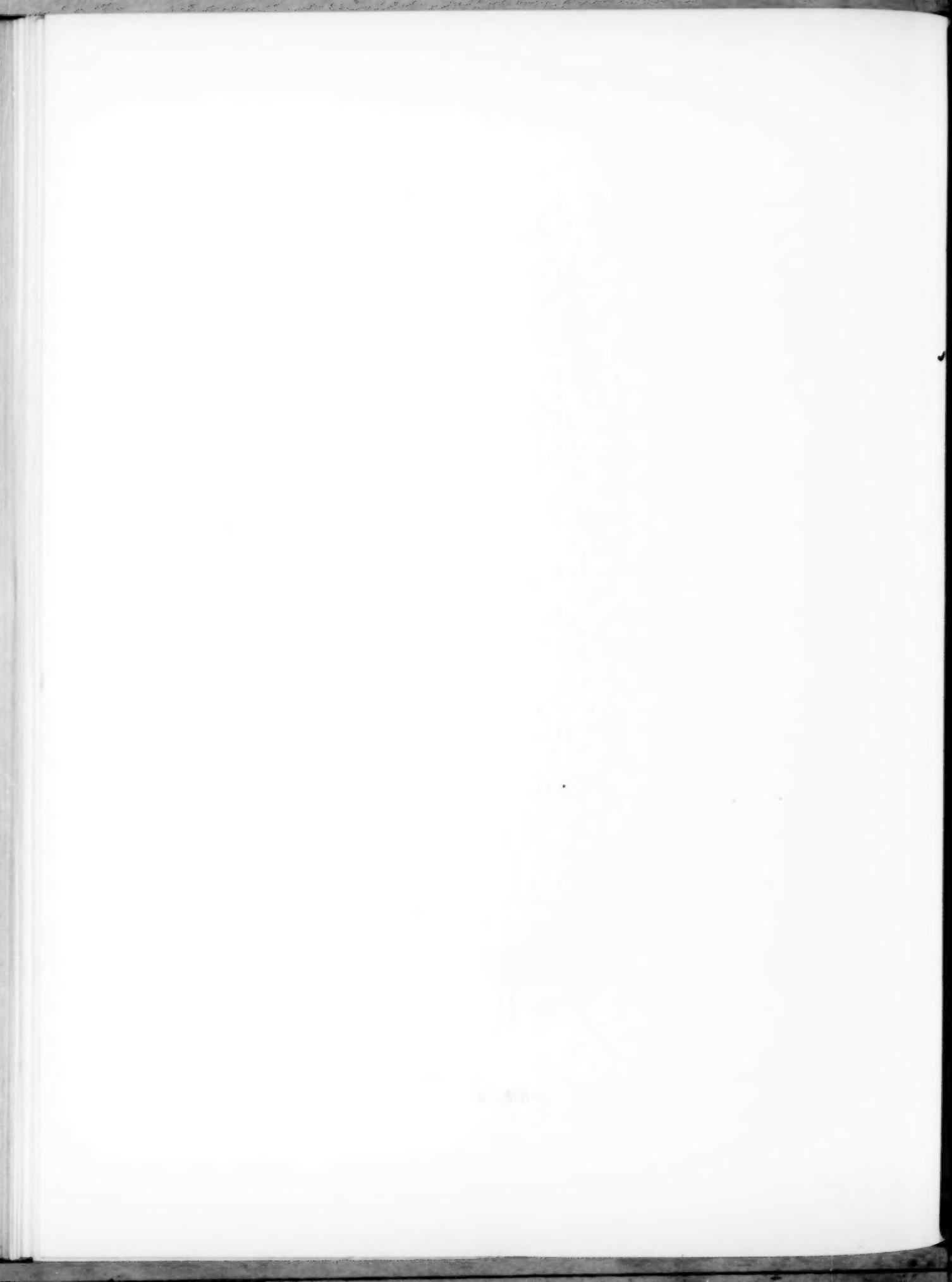
^c Stephens *op. cit.* p. 386.



linear.

Full size.

ANGLO-SAXON KNIFE FOUND AT SITTINGBOURNE, KENT.



is of more ordinary form and closely corresponds with the Runic inscription on the Northumbrian brooch already cited, on which the maker's name appears in addition to that of the owner, under the form GUDRID MEC WORHT. Another instance of the same kind is afforded by the inscription on the sundial on the wall of Kirkdale Church near Kirkby Moorside,^a Yorkshire, which concludes
 ʝ HƿƿARD ME ƿROHT ʝ BRAND ƿRS.

On the font at Bridekirk^b the first of the two rhyming lines inscribed on one of the faces in mixed Runes is

+ RIKARTH HE ME IWROKTE.

The same form of MEH ƿO occurs on the shaft of a cross found at Alnmouth,^c Northumberland, and now in the Museum at Alnwick Castle.

It seems needless to cite instances of the inscriptions which, like those on Alfred's jewel,^d and on a silver ring^e now in my own collection, record that they were wrought by order of the owner. I may, however, mention the sword found at Gilton,^f near Ash, with a Runic inscription on the hilt, and the large knife or sword found in the Thames,^g and now in the British Museum, as offering some analogies with the knife from Sittingbourne.

On the former, however, the inscription is merely engraved or scored, and has not as yet been deciphered. That on the latter comprises the whole Futhorc or Runic alphabet, to which is appended the name of the maker or owner BEAGNOTH, and consists of letters formed of gold and silver wire twisted together and inlaid in the blade. Though thus resembling the Sittingbourne knife in character, it is no doubt of earlier date; but I am inclined to think that it can hardly belong to so early a period as that somewhat hesitatingly suggested by Professor Stephens, viz. about A.D. 400-500.

It is hard to assign an approximate date for such objects, but, if we were to accept the forms of the letters as our guide, the lozenge-shaped \diamond , the ʝ and S would give nearly the same date for the Sittingbourne knife as for the Kirkdale sundial, which is known to date from about A.D. 1050 to 1060. Looking, however, at the distance between Kent and Northumberland, and the probably different

^a Camden's *Britannia* (Gough) iii. 330. Arch. v. 188. Stephens, *op. cit.* 985.

^b Archæol. ii. 131; xiv. 113; xix. 379; xxviii. 347. Arch. *Æliana*, 1856, p. 182. Stephens, *op. cit.* 491.

^c Stephens, *op. cit.* 461. Arch. x. 472.

^d Hickes' *Thesaurus*, i. 142. Arch. ii. 73. Akerman's *Arch. Index*, pl. xix.

^e Arch. Assoc. Journ. vi. 153. Stephens, *op. cit.* 463.

^f Akerman's *Pag. Sax.* p. 48. Stephens, *op. cit.* 370. Haigh, *Conquest of Britain*, 51.

^g Stephens, *op. cit.* 361. Haigh, *op. cit.* 46.

character of the population in Saxon times, a comparison between the letters on the coins of the south of England and those on the knife would seem to afford a safer criterion.

Taking the π , \diamond , and γ as presenting peculiar forms, we find them of precisely the same character on coins of Offa, of Mercia (A.D. 757-796), and on those of Jaenberht and Æthilheard, Archbishops of Canterbury, struck during his reign. The Σ L E and M resemble, however, more closely the forms which occur on the coins of somewhat later date, such as those of Archbishop Plegmund, A.D. 891 to 923.

On the whole I am disposed to consider that the knife may, with some degree of probability, be assigned to the ninth century.

If the owner's name is after all to be read as SILEBEREHT it is worthy of notice that we find on one of the coins^a of Cuthred, who reigned over Kent from 798 to 805, the name of the moneyer appearing as SILEBERHT.

^a Ruding, vol. i. p. 116, pl. iii. 1.

XX.—*On the Origin of the Æra Dionysiana, or Æra Vulgaris, or Æra Christiana.* By DR. GUSTAV OPPERT.

Read June 20th, 1872.

The question whether the so-called Æra Dionysiana, or Æra Vulgaris, begins in reality with the year of the birth of Christ, and if not, how many years before or after, has occupied for centuries many theologians, historians, and astronomers.

The incorrectness of the Æra Dionysiana has been acknowledged indeed by scholars, but, beside this negative result, nothing positive has been arrived at. It was at the end of the sixteenth century that the controversy was started anew. About this time was published, at Gratz, in Styria, a book which afterwards became of paramount importance with respect to this question. It was written by a Pole named Laurentius Suslyga, and entitled *Velificatio* or *Theoremata* on the year of the birth and death of the Lord.^a It so happened that when the celebrated Kepler passed through Gratz he became acquainted with it. He was so pleased with the researches of Suslyga that he endeavoured to strengthen them by astronomical observations. The starting point of Kepler was that great conjunction of the three planets Jupiter, Saturn, and Mars which happens once in 800 years. He demonstrated that the star of the Magi mentioned in the Gospel of St. Matthew was identical with this conjunction, and that, in consequence of this fact, the birth of Christ was to be put in the fifth year before the commencement of the Dionysian Æra, in opposition to Suslyga, who had resolved upon the fourth. Dr. Friedrich Münter, the Danish Bishop of Seeland, in his monograph on the star of the Wise Men,^b adopted the opinion of Kepler, but fixed

^a *Velificatio vel theoremata de anno ortus ac mortis Domini, deque universâ Jesu Christi in carne œconomia, quæ ad baccalaureatus in sacra theologia lauream in alma Græcensi academia in disputationem adducit reverendus dominus et eruditus artium liberalium ac philosophiæ magister Laurentius Suslyga, Polonus . . . Græcii . . 1605. 4to.* This dissertation is now very scarce.

^b *Der Stern der Weisen.* Kopenhagen, 1827.

the sixth as the right one, instead of the fifth year B.C. The controversy has been reopened since from time to time, but without any final result.

Any one that is not thoroughly acquainted with the nature of these chronological researches will be astonished at their fruitlessness. But when he has more fully considered the subject and remembered that the reports which have come to us from this distant period are not only few and superficial, but also contradictory to each other, he will no longer be surprised to find the controversy as undecided as before. An accurate comparison of the Gospels with profane literature may bring us still nearer to the truth, but the singular state of the documents will prevent probably any exact result which could answer all historical objections and pretensions.

It is a curious fact that, though our common or Christian *æra* has been used and criticised during more than a thousand years, one point, and in many respects a very essential one, has escaped the notice of nearly all scholars. Kepler excepted, no one, as far as I am aware, has ever tried to find out the reason which induced Dionysius Exiguus to fix the first year of his *æra* in the way he did. I have attempted in this communication to do this, and to show the principles which guided the Roman abbot in his important and laborious work.

From the earliest days of Christianity it has been found necessary to fix the most remarkable epochs of the life of Christ in order to commemorate and celebrate them with due and pious respect. But the more needful was such an arrangement for the benefit of public worship, the more difficult did it appear to become. If even the Evangelists occasionally seemed to differ from each other, it is not surprising that, in the course of centuries, opinions went often far asunder. This dissension was followed by greater evils, especially when religious and political life became more and more connected with each other. The most dangerous disputes were occasioned by the disagreement with respect to the celebration of Easter. This highest festival, the *festivitas festivitatum*, or the *sollemnitatis omnium sollemnitatum*, was not fixed (as Christmas is for instance) to a certain day, but depended on the changing course of the moon. In consideration that the Lord spoke to Moses (Exod. xii. 2): "This month shall be unto you the beginning of months;" and (Deuter. xvi. 1), "Observe the month of Abib (ear), and keep the Passover unto the Lord thy God," it was settled that the days of the Passion and Resurrection of Christ, which must fall in the same month, should not depend upon the sun, but upon the movement of the moon. Yet the appointment of the fourteenth day of the moon, that is the day of the

full moon, still left open ground for dispute—some adopting the astronomical, others the conventional mode of reckoning the moon's age. Instead of celebrating the day of Resurrection on a Sunday, many Christians solemnized the fourteenth of Nisan, as the Jews do. This was the case with the heretical Quarto-decimani; others adhered to the course of the sun, and kept for holyday the 25th of March, which was regarded, according to old traditions, as the real date of the Resurrection. (See *Venerabilis Bedæ de temporum ratione liber*, cap. 45: "Galli quacunque die VIII. kal. Apr. fuisset, quando Christi resurrectio fuisse tradebatur, Pascha semper celebrabant.")

That the vernal equinox fell in the Julian calendar on the 25th of March may have supported this tradition, but at any rate the council of Cæsarea in Palestine, which was convoked by the command of Pope Victor (A.D. 193–202), and was held under the presidency of the Bishop of Cæsarea, Theophilus, designated the 25th of March as the day of the Resurrection of Christ. Though the letter of Philip on Easter (*Epistola Philippi de Pascha*), which describes the session of that congregation, is probably spurious, it is nevertheless of old date, being cited by Bede; and, having been regarded by him and his predecessors as a genuine document, it is well worthy of our interest, inasmuch as it shows the manner in which the council was believed to have settled this delicate question. Freely translated into English the letter would run as follows:—

When all the Apostles were gone from this world, the days of fasting were different on the whole earth. All the Gauls kept the Passover on one certain day, the 25th of March (VIII. Kal. Apr.), saying, Why should we celebrate the Pascha, as the Jews do, according to the moon? but, as the birthday of the Lord happens to be always on the same day, the 25th of December (VIII. Kal. Jan.), so we are obliged to celebrate also the Passover on the 25th of March (VIII. Kal. Apr.), when the Resurrection of Christ is declared to have taken place. The orientals, on the contrary, as is related in the history of Eusebius of Cæsarea, kept the Passover on that day of March on which the fourteenth day of the moon happened to be. In Italy some fasted all the forty days, others only thirty days; others said seven days would be sufficient to fast, as the world was created in that time; others consecrated forty hours to the Lord, as he had fasted forty days. When there was such a difference in the observation of the feast, the priests were lamenting that there should be different fasts, where the faith was one. It then seemed proper to Pope Victor, the bishop of the Roman Town, to confer authority on Theophilus of Cæsarea, the bishop of the province of Palestine, Jerusalem at that time not appearing to be the capital, so that the ordination of Easter should proceed from the place where Christ had lived on earth. Theophilus accepted the commission, but, perceiving that the work entrusted to his care was such as would be handed down for the observation of the world, convoked not only all the bishops and wise men of his country, but also of the neighbouring provinces. When this great multitude of priests and wise

men, who were thoroughly versed in all spiritual writings, were assembled in one place, the bishop Theophilus communicated to them the authority which he had received from Pope Victor, and made them acquainted with the work committed to him. Then all said with one accord: First, we must inquire how the world was made at the beginning; and when this has been diligently investigated, thence may we soundly proceed to the ordering of Easter. Therefore the Bishops said, On what day do we believe the world to have been created? They answered, On the Lord's day (Sunday). Theophilus the Bishop said, How can it be proved that the Lord's day was the first day? And the Bishops answered, The Scripture says, "And it became evening, and it became morning, the first day; then the second, the third, the fourth, the fifth, the sixth, and the seventh. On that day rested God from all his work, and named it Sabbath." If the Sabbath was therefore the last day, what could be the first day if not the Lord's day? They said, So it is, and not otherwise. The Bishop Theophilus said, Lo, you have proved that the Lord's day was the first day, what do you think of the season? for there are four seasons in the year, spring, summer, autumn, and winter, What season do we believe was the first made in the world? The Bishops answered, The spring time. The Bishop Theophilus said, Prove what you say. And they answered, The Scripture says, "Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit-tree yielding fruit after its kind." This we see done in the spring time. The Bishop Theophilus said, It is true; and he continued, As the spring time is estimated at three months, in which do we believe the beginning of the world to have been, in the first, the middle, or the last? The Bishops said, In the equinox, that is, on the 25th of March (VIII. Kal. Apr.). Theophilus said, Prove what you say. And they answered, The Scripture says, "And God made the light, and called the light day, and God made the darkness, and the darkness He called night. And God divided equally between the light and the darkness." Theophilus said, It is the spring time, lo, you have proved the day and the time; what do you think of the moon? Do we say that it was created full or decreasing? The Bishops said, Full. But he said, Prove what you say. The Bishops answered, The Scripture says, "And God made two great lights and set them in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth, the greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night." The moon which gave light upon the earth during the whole night could only be the full moon. Theophilus said, It is truly so. Now, then, let us find how the world was created. They answered, On the Lord's day, in the spring time, at the equinox, that is, on the 25th of March (VIII. Kal. Apr.), at full moon. The Bishops said, Just as in the beginning the world was created, so at the same time was it also redeemed from sin by the resurrection of our Lord. The resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ took therefore place on the Lord's day, in the spring time, at the equinox, at full moon. At the same time arise the elements. Theophilus said, Lo, we have investigated how in the beginning the world was made and how redeemed from sin. Now we must proceed to the observation of the Passover, and see on what day, at what time, at what moon the Passover is to be kept. What do you think of the Lord's day? The Bishops said, How can we overlook the Lord's day that the Passover should not be kept on it, that day which is sanctified by so many and so great benedictions? The Bishop Theophilus said, State more precisely what and how great are these benedictions, that we may know what are the sanctifications you ascribe to it, and may write them down. The Bishops

said, The first benediction is, that the darkness was removed on the Lord's day, and the light appeared. The second, that the people of Israel were delivered from hard bondage, out of the Egyptian darkness by the Red Sea, as by the fountain of baptism. The third, because Moses called for the people of Israel and said, Observe the first day and the last day, that is the Lord's day and the Sabbath. The fourth, because the whole 117th (118th) psalm celebrates the Passion and Resurrection. The Passion, saying, "They compassed me about; yea, they compassed me about: but in the name of the Lord I will destroy them. They compassed me about like bees; they are quenched as the fire of thorns;" and after some verses, "The stone which the builders refused is become the head stone of the corner." This of the Passion. Of the Resurrection he says, "This is the day which the Lord hath made; we will rejoice and be glad in it;" and after some verses, "Bind the sacrifice with cords, even unto the horns of the altar." They said, it is right to celebrate the Passover on the Lord's day, being sanctified by so great benedictions, since on it also our Lord Jesus Christ arose from the dead. Theophilus said, Lo it is stated of the Lord's day. But what do you think of the time? They answered, Can that be otherwise understood which is predicted in the Holy Scriptures, when Moses says, "This month shall be unto you the beginning of months. Keep the Passover in it." He does not say on the first day of the month, or on the tenth, or on the twentieth, but he sanctified all the thirty days to the Passover. Theophilus said, Which are these thirty days? And they answered, We have said already that the beginning of the world was at the equinox. From the 25th of March (VIII. Kal. Apr.) to the 24th of April (VIII. Kal. Maii) are the thirty days sanctified to the Passover. The Bishop Theophilus said, Is it not impious to exclude those three days of the passion of the Lord from the term, viz., the 22nd of March (XI. Kal. Apr.), the fifth day of the week, which is called the Lord's Supper, on which He sat down with His Disciples, when He also foretold to Judas that he would betray Him? Which is known to have been fulfilled. For the Lord suffered from the 22nd of March (XI. Kal. Apr.), in which night He was betrayed by Judas, and arose on the 25th of March (VIII. Kal. Apr.) from the dead. How can therefore these days be excluded from the term? All then said, It was not right to exclude the Passion from the term, but that these three days should be introduced into the Easter order, and three days deducted from the end. And so it was resolved in that council that the Passover should be neither before the 22nd of March (XI. Kal. Apr.), nor after the 21st of April (XI. Kal. Maii). Theophilus said, Lo, the day and time is fixed, what do you think of the moon? They answered, The divine prescript may be likewise observed with respect to the moon, as Moses says, "And you shall observe it from the fourteenth to the twenty-first day of the moon." It is consecrated that these eight days of the moon were in the Pascha. When therefore within this fixed term a Lord's Day (Sunday) and one of these eight days of the moon occurs, we are obliged to celebrate the Pascha. (See Labbe and Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio*. Florence, 1759, vol. I. p. 713—716).

These debates, as represented in the letter of Philip, denote the belief of that period. Neither ecclesiastics nor laymen cared for scientific studies or historical criticisms.

Although the majority of the fathers regarded the 25th of March as the genuine

date of the resurrection of Christ, there were also many who asserted that it was the day of the Passion. We find this opinion defended by Tertullian, when he says that the Passion was fulfilled under the Emperor Tiberius, during the consulate of Rubellius Geminus and Rufius Geminus, in the month of March, at Easter, on the 25th of March (VIII. Kal. Apr.), the first day of the unleavened bread.^a

Augustine agrees on two points with Tertullian, where he states that Christ died under the consulate of the Gemini on the 25th of March, on the very day when He is believed to have been conceived,^b but on another he contradicts himself, saying, "On the same day, that our Saviour was conceived in the womb of the Virgin, He arose from the infernal regions with the glory of the Passion."^c

Clement of Alexandria affirms, "Some fix the Passion of Christ in the 16th year of Tiberius, on the 25th of Phamenoth, others on the 25th of Pharmuthi, others say that the Saviour suffered on the 19th of Pharmuthi."^d

This sentence, which until now has not been satisfactorily interpreted, is most likely to be explained thus, that the two first dates refer to the Easter terms, and the last to a particular date, the former pretty nearly coinciding with the Easter terms, as fixed in the Council of Cæsarea, for the 25th of Phamenoth corresponds with the XII. Kal. Apr. or the 21st of March, and the 25th of Pharmuthi with the XII. Kal. Maii or the 20th of April; and the 19th of Pharmuthi would then be the 14th of April, which could be applied to the 29th year after Christ, when Easter Sunday fell on the 17th of April.^e This conjecture is supported by Clement himself in another passage, when he alludes to the 15th year of Tiberius as the real year of the Passion.^f

The well-known German scholar Ideler tried lately to prove that the old

^a See Adv. Judæos 8: Quæ passio hujus exterminii intra tempora LXX. hebdomadarum perfecta est sub Tiberio Cæsare, coss. Rubellio Gemino et Rufio Gemino, mense Martio, temporibus Paschæ, die VIII. kalendarum Aprilium, die prima azymorum, quo agnum ut occiderent ad vesperum a Moyse fuerat præceptum.

^b Augustinus de civ. dei XVIII. 54: Mortuus est ergo Christus duobus Geminis consulibus, octavo kal. Aprilis; and, De trinitate IV. 5: Octavo kal. Aprilis conceptus creditur Christus quo et passus.

^c De tempore, p. 22 (see Suslyga, p. 40 b): Qua die conceptus est in utero virginis, in ipsa resurrexit ab inferis cum gloria passionis.

^d Strom. lib. I, cap. 21: Τό τε πάθος αὐτοῦ ἀκριβολογούμενοι φέρουσιν οἱ μὲν τινες τῷ ἑκαταεκάτῳ ἔτει Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, φαμενὸς δὲ, οἱ δὲ φαρμοῦθι δὲ ἄλλοι δὲ φαρμοῦθι ιθ' πεπονθέναι τὸν Σωτῆρα λέγουσιν.

^e Considering the passion to commence on Thursday evening.

^f Lib. I, cap. 21, 145: Πεντεκαδεκάτῳ οὖν ἔτει Τιβερίου καὶ πεντεκαδεκάτῳ Αὐγούστου, οὕτω πληροῦνται τὰ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἕως οὗ ἔπαθεν.

Jewish festival of the unleavened bread could not be kept in Palestine at the end of March. "Nowadays" he says, in his *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, vol. ii. p. 420 (Berlin 1826), "the Jews, living dispersed and fixing the Passover according to a cycle, celebrate it not seldom in the last days of March; but at the time of Christ, when they were still living in their native country, and they presented their omer on the 16th of Nisan, the Pascha could not fall simultaneously with the spring equinox. For all the travellers maintain that the barley does not ripen in Palestine earlier than a fortnight after that period. The 25th of March is therefore no historical date. It can be easily explained why the first Christians fixed the death of the Saviour on that same day which Cæsar had declared to be the spring equinox, as it was for them the day of his incarnation, and also of the creation of the world." Ideler may be right in his arguments with respect to the ripening of the barley, but he seems to be wrong when he contends that the day of the incarnation of Christ could be regarded as the same as that of the creation of the world and of the Passion. Those who mourned on the 25th of March for the crucified Saviour commemorated that date as the creation of Adam, which had taken place on the sixth day of the week, for as death and sin came into the world with the first man, so were the terrors of death and the power of hell abolished on the same date by the passion of Christ. But whoever celebrated the 25th of March as the day of the creation of the world considered that date as that of the Resurrection, for the creation, as well as the Resurrection, took place on the first day of the week, the *dies dominicus*. It was the peculiarity of those times to connect historical facts with unhistorical dates. The same spirit appears in the works of the Aquitanian Victorinus, who, to prove his assertion that Christ arose from the dead on the 28th of March, affirmed that the Resurrection could only come to pass on the same day on which the sun, the moon, and the stars were created in the beginning; and, this creation having taken place on the fourth day, the fourth day after the 25th of March—the date of the creation of the world, that is, the 28th of March—must be the right one.

For our purpose it does not matter whether the tradition which fixed the Resurrection on the 25th of March was right or wrong, or whether the 27th or 28th of the same month correspond more nearly with historical truth; it suffices to have proved that unhistorical dates may acquire historical importance in becoming the starting points of later Christian æras.

Before entering further into the discussion, it may be expedient to mention the most important of the Easter canons. The Gaul Hippolytus, and the Alexandrians

Dionysius and Anatolius, who lived about the middle of the third century, are said to have made the first Easter canons. The calculations of Hippolytus, a pupil of Irenæus, embraced a period of 112 (7×16) years. This is mentioned by Cyril and Victorius. The former was right in doubting its accuracy. The Bishop of Alexandria, Dionysius, is said to have been the author of an Easter canon available for eight years, while to the learned Anatolius, Bishop of Laodicea, is ascribed the first Easter cycle of 19 years. We do not know much more about this cycle, it is even uncertain if it was ever applied to fix the festival of Easter, though it was afterwards adopted when modified by the Alexandrians, and then nearly throughout Christendom. Before accepting the canon of 19 years, the Latin Church used the cycle of 84 years. The Easter calculations of the Alexandrians, whose astronomical knowledge was highly esteemed, were fixed in the first year of the Emperor Diocletian (284 after Christ). By order of Theodosius the Great, Theophilus of Alexandria formed an Easter table extending over 418 years. This was afterwards abbreviated by Cyril into one of 95 years, which, divided into five divisions of 19 years each, embraced the period of 153—247 post Diocletian, or 437—531 after Christ.

These cycles and canons, being only made for the regulation of Easter, had no concern with the establishment of a general æra. It is only to the time of Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, that a combination of both can be traced back. At that time Anianus and Panodorus published their works on Chronology. These learned Alexandrian monks, though using the same æra, differed in essential points. Anianus, the elder of them, put the birth of Christ in the 5501st, Panodorus in the 5493rd year of their æra. This statement is evidence enough to prove that Anianus is the real author of the æra, and that Panodorus only tried to rectify it, for if it were not so he would not have called his first year of Christ 5493 but 5501. Anianus believed that from the creation of Adam to the 22nd year of the reign of Constantine the Great 5816 years had elapsed. This 22nd year of Constantine being specified as having the 14th of the moon (luna xiv.) on the 29th of Phamenoth or the 25th of March, and Easter Sunday on the 3rd of Pharmuthi or the 29th of March, turns out to be the 324th year of the Christian æra. The Egyptian year beginning with the first of Thoth, our 29th or 30th of August, it is evident that Anianus puts the birth of Christ eight years later than Dionysius, $5816 - 5500 = 316$, $324 - 316 = 8$. Anianus was of opinion that the combination of the cycles of the sun and the moon would afford the most accurate period of measuring the time; and by reasoning in this manner, he adopted the great period of 532 years, as the cycle of the sun consisted of 28

years, and that of the moon of 19 years— $28 \times 19 = 532$. It was believed for a long time, that this period was the only true one, and that after 532 years, the sun and the moon stood in exactly the same place, and all the phases of these two celestial bodies were quite the same as 532 years before. This period was used by Anianus to divide the years of the world, and the 5816th year of his *æra* is therefore the 496th year of his eleventh period.

Anianus, believing that Christ arose from the dead on the 25th of March and had lived 33 years, put his birth in the beginning of the 5501st year of the world. In the 42nd year of our common *æra* Easter Sunday fell on the 25th of March, and on the 17th day of the moon, according to the Easter calculations then in use. This year was, from Anianus' point of view, the real year of the Passion and Resurrection, and from the reasons above-mentioned he called it the 5534th of the world. Although this year corresponds to our A.D. 42, and is the 2nd of the Emperor Claudius, Anianus called it the 18th of Tiberius. Notwithstanding this great mistake, the *æra* of Anianus was almost universally adopted by the Oriental Christians, and is still now used by the Christians of Ethiopia, who, adhering at the same time to the period of Diocletian, fix its commencement in the 5776th instead of the 5784th year of their *æra*, or in the 276th instead of the 284th year after Christ. In the chronicles of the Byzantines, Maximus, Syncellus, Theophanes, and others, the same error, the origin of which is now explained, will be found.

A younger countryman of Anianus, whose name was Panodorus, detected the error committed by the former, and trying to correct it fixed the birth of Christ eight years earlier than Anianus had done, that is in the 5493rd year of their *æra*. Syncellus reports in his *Chronographia*, p. 35, that Panodorus took the 24th of Phamenoth (about the 20th of March) 5525 or 5526 for the date of the Passion, but in neither of these years was Good Friday on the 20th of March, for in the former Good Friday was on the 3rd of April, and in the latter on the 26th of March. It is much more probable that Panodorus was, with Anianus, an adherent of the 25th of March as the day of the Resurrection, and assumed, with the fathers Tertullian, Clement, Lactantius, and others, that Christ lived on the earth for thirty years, that is from 5493 to 5523, which corresponds with A.D. 31. It must not be forgotten though that the Egyptian year began at the end of August, and that a year of this kind cannot correspond with a year of our common *æra*. Eusebius took the same year as Panodorus for the year of the Passion, but, believing that from the Conception to the Resurrection *thirty-three years had elapsed*, declared the 5200th year of his *æra* to have

been the year of the birth, and the 5232nd that of the Passion and Resurrection of Christ.*

Half a century after Anianus the famous Aquitanian, Victorius of Limoges, received the honourable commission from the Archdeacon Hilary (who some years later became Pope, A.D. 461-468) to inquire into the causes of the errors found in the Easter cycles, to correct them, and to form if possible a new canon. Victorius justified the confidence placed in him, and presented to Hilary in 457 a new Easter cycle, which he accompanied with a prologue. In this prologue he criticised the canons hitherto used, *e.g.* the Latin cycle of 84 years, the canon of Cyril of 95 years, being an abbreviation of the canon of Theophilus, and that of Hippolytus, consisting of 113 years. He resolved finally upon the great period of 532 years, which he adopted from his predecessors, but which, notwithstanding, received from him the name of the Victorian period. He states that he was much indebted to the works of Eusebius Pamphili, of the presbyter Hieronymus, and of Prosper, but he does not mention the names of those who first used the period of 532 years, viz., Anianus and Panodorus.

Imitating the example of his predecessors, Victorius also made the day of the Resurrection his starting point; yet, differing from Anianus, he did not choose the 25th, but the 28th of March. His reasoning was rather curious. Though, faithful to the tradition, he declared the 25th of March to be the first day of the world, he rejected this date as the day of the Resurrection. For according to his opinion Christ could arise on no other day but that on which the firmament of heaven had first been brightened by the splendour of the sun, the moon, and the stars. The creation of the celestial lights was the event of the fourth day, and accordingly the Resurrection happened on the 28th of March, the fourth day of the world from the 25th. In A.D. 28 Easter Sunday fell on the 28th of March. This year was declared by Victorius to have been the year of the Passion and Resurrection, as well as of the consulate of the Gemini, though the two Gemini were consuls in A.D. 29. The 28th year of the Dionysian *æra* became thus the first of that of Victorius, for he did not begin with the year of the Birth, but with the year of the Resurrection of Christ. This fact is a very important support of the following arguments. Beginning with A.D. 28, Victorius marked the Passover for 532 years, ascribing to 430 years, till A.D. 457, the names of the consuls, though the *fasti* are for the first three centuries till A.D. 347 not trustworthy, and

* See *Thesaurus Temporum Eusebii Pamphili Cæsareæ Palestinæ Episcopi. Chronicorum Canonum omnimodæ historiæ libri duo, interprete Hieronymo.* Latin and Greek.

omitting them for 102 years; Victorius adopted also the Eusebian *æra* of the world.*

So much of the Easter canon of Victorius. It is probable that Hilary adopted it, as there was a convenient opportunity for doing so, in A.D. 465, when the Latin cycle of 84 years ended. But the quarrel in respect of the celebration of Easter was as yet not brought to a final conclusion, for the tables of Victorius did not remove every topic of dissension, and in the years 475, 495, 496, 499, and 526 the Passover was celebrated a week later in the west than in the east. To remove such anomalies for the future was the intention of Dionysius Exiguus, when he added ninety-five years, or five cycles each of nineteen years, to the before-mentioned cycles of Cyril, whose time was nearly accomplished. The Easter calculations of Dionysius were the more important, being connected with a new *æra* destined to be adopted almost throughout the world. But, though the *æra* of the learned Scythian monk is known and adopted in all quarters of the globe, we know nearly nothing of its author. Cassiodorus gives a very amiable portrait of his friend in the 23rd chapter of his work, *De Institutione divinarum literarum*. Dionysius, with the nickname "the short," or *exiguus*, was a Scythian by birth, but a Roman by habits. Well versed in the classical languages, he was generally esteemed on account of his great erudition and beloved for his modesty. He seems to have been possessed of a mild temper, and instead of being a zealot was even accused of belonging to the heretical sect of the Theopaschites, which insinuation is refuted with the utmost disdain by his friend and acquaintance Cassiodorus. Excepting these few statements, no reports have come to us respecting his life, we are even ignorant of the time of his birth and death. The accounts referring to the latter event vary from A.D. 540 to 560.

The first mention of the Dionysian *æra* may be traced back to the year 525. In a letter addressed to the bishop Petronius, Dionysius comments upon the errors found in the different Easter cycles hitherto used, and explains the principles which guided him while continuing the cycles of Cyril. To this letter or report is joined a Latin translation from the Greek letter of the Alexandrian bishop Proterius to Pope Leo. In the following year (A.D. 526) Dionysius defended himself against the calumnies spread by the adherents of Victorius. This defence is contained in a letter to Boniface. His epistle to Petronius informs

* See the Prologus of Victorius in *Ægidii Bucherii Atrebatensis societate Jesu in Victorii Aquitani canonem paschalem scriptum anno Christi vulgari CCCCLVII. et nunc primum in lucem editum Commentarius*. Antwerp, 1633, p. 7, *seqq.*

us of his reasons for continuing the cycles of Cyril and for abolishing the *æra* of Diocletian.

St. Cyril began, as Dionysius says, his first cycle of nineteen years with the 153rd year of Diocletian and ended his last or fifth cycle with the 247th year of the same *æra*. He adds, "But I, not wishing to perpetuate the memory of this impious persecutor, instead of beginning my cycle with the 248th year of one who was a tyrant rather than an emperor, have preferred to number the years from the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, in order that the commencement of our hope may become better known to us, and the cause of the human reparation, that is the Passion of our Saviour, may appear more evidently."

The last year of the Cyrillian canon was—

Annus Diocl. CCXXXVII. *Indictio* VIII. *Epactæ* XVIII. *Concurrentes* II. *Circulus* *lunæ* XVI. *Luna* XIV. *Paschalis* XV. *Kal. Mai. Dies dominicus* XII. *Kal. Mai. Luna diei dominici* XVII. Immediately to this year Dionysius added the first of his cycle, which instead of calling it the 248th of Diocletian, he named :

Annus Domini DXXXII. *Indictio* X. *Epacta nulla, Concurrentes* IV. *Circulus* *lunæ* XVII. *Luna* XIV. *Paschalis Non. Apr. Dies dominicus* III. *Id. Apr. Luna diei dominici* XX.

As Dionysius does not intimate in the works which we possess how he contrived to fix the first year of his *æra*, nor mentions how he numbered the years, but only confesses himself an adherent of the period of 532 years, he leaves a good field to conjecture. Now, if we remember how the predecessors of Dionysius, Anianus, Panodorus, Eusebius, Victorius, and others invented their *æras*, adopting as their starting point a self-chosen date for the Resurrection, and either beginning immediately an *æra* from the Passion, as Victorius did, or going back according to their individual opinion, thirty to thirty-three years, and commencing an *æra* from the conception or birth of Christ; it is extremely probable that Dionysius acted in the same manner. According to my opinion Dionysius was an adherent of the 25th of March as the date of Resurrection; he believed besides that about 500 years before his time Christ had suffered, and was risen from the dead, after having wandered on earth thirty years. Following Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Julius Africanus,* he had moreover adopted the period of 532 years. In continuing the Cyrillian cycles he met with a year on which Easter Sunday fell on the 25th March. This year he called therefore

* The *æra* of Julius Africanus is founded on historical principles, starting, as is very likely, from the 16th year of Tiberius, and arriving so at his 5550th year. He lived (221 p. Chr.) before Easter cycles were in use.

the 563rd after Christ $532 + 31$, that is the 532nd year after the Resurrection, which occurred in the 31st year of Jesus. By a singular chance Dionysius was prevented from taking an earlier year, for during 73 years, that is from 490 to 563 after Christ no Easter Sunday fell on the 25th March. In adopting the first 25th of March on which Easter Sunday was celebrated he escaped an error committed by Anianus, who selected in his cycles the next one, and called that year, which is the 42nd after Christ and the 2nd of Claudius, the 5534th (34th) of his *æra* and the 18th of Tiberius. In A.D. 53 and A.D. 585 Easter Sunday was again on the 25th of March, but was not used for an *æra*. From A.D. 53 and 585 no Easter Sunday coincided with the 25th of March until A.D. 126 and 658, which was evidently too late a term to be used as a date for fixing an *æra*. The 31st year of Dionysius is moreover synchronous with the 5232nd of Eusebius, and the 1st year of Dionysius with the 5493rd of Panodorus, so that Dionysius has in common with Eusebius the year of the Resurrection and with Panodorus the year of the birth of Christ.

A most striking difference between the work of Dionysius and those of his predecessors appears in the fact that, while Dionysius's object was merely to continue and reform the Easter cycle, the latter tried to combine their Easter calculations with chronological statements, and were for that reason exposed to the commission of historical blunders, as may be proved by many examples.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle supports in a striking manner the opinion above mentioned respecting the fixing of the first year of the Dionysian *æra*. In a note to the year 625 is to be read, "This is the cycle of Dionysius; it consists of five series of 19 years, that is of 95 years, and it takes its beginning from the 30th year of our Lord's incarnation and finishes in the 626th year."^a From this quotation it is evident that Dionysius did not begin his calculations with the first year of his *æra*, but with a later one described as the 30th year of our Lord's incarnation; this would be the 31st of his *æra*, when Easter Sunday fell on the 25th of March. If the tradition in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is true (and we have no reason to doubt its genuineness) Dionysius regarded the first year, which in his cycles had Easter Sunday on the 25th of March, as the year corresponding, according to the adopted period of 532 years, with the real year of the Resurrection of Christ;

^a *Hic cyclus Dionysii quinque decennovenalibus constans, hoc est xcv. annis: sumitque exordium a xxx. anno Incarnationis Domini et desinit in dcxxvi. anno.* [This passage occurs only among the Latin additions to the Chronicle in the Bodleian MS. Laud. 636. As it stands it is not intelligible. It has been suggested by Mr. R. C. Nichols, F.S.A., that the numeral *d* has been accidentally inserted, and that the note belongs to the year *cxxvi*, as $31 + 95 = 126$. *Ed.*]

limiting His life to 30 years, he called that year the 31st added to 532, $31 + 532$ or the 563rd year after Christ, and fixed in this way his æra. The testimony of the chronicle is the more important, considering that the introduction of the Dionysian æra is in a great part the result of the work of the greatest scholar of his time, the Anglo-Saxon Venerable Bede, who exactly at that time wrote his renowned books on the Easter festival. Dionysius abstained, as far as we know, from strengthening, or rather weakening, the correctness of his æra by introducing into it historical facts, knowing most likely how difficult it is to avoid blunders and how easy to commit errors.

Adopting this view, the opinion much in vogue that Dionysius declared the 753-4 year of Rome as the birthyear of Christ must be considered false. In the chronicle of Eusebius, which contains so many different æras (for instance those of the Roman Emperors, the Jewish kings, the Olympiads, the Hebrew years of Jubilee), the æra from the founding of Rome (*æra ab urbe condita*) is not even mentioned. The Venerable Bede, to whom we owe a more correct knowledge of the Dionysian cycles, though mentioning the Roman æra, does not give the year 754, but the year 752 of Rome, as the year of Christ's birth.

It is a question still undecided in which year of his first cycle Dionysius put the birth of Christ, whether in the first or in the second. According to the remark found in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle that the Dionysian *Æra* takes its beginning from the 30th year of our Lord's incarnation, we are justified in assuming that the first year of the Dionysian *Æra*, that is, the second of his cycle, is meant to be the year of Christ's birth. Ideler (vol. ii. p. 383) is of the same opinion, but supports it by stating that the custom of the ancient chroniclers was rather to antedate than to postdate. At all events, the year of the Passion and Resurrection remains the same. We should not have dwelt on this topic had it not been of some importance in later times. It is scarcely necessary to remark that the commencement of the year was not always fixed, as it is now, on the 1st of January, but on other days, especially on the 25th of March. But it is important to note that, according to difference in opinion, different calculations were used at the same time. A most striking example is offered by the two neighbouring towns, Florence and Pisa, which till 1749 had two different æras, the so-called *Calculus Florentinus* and the *Calculus Pisanus*. They differed in a whole year, Pisa fixing the conception of Christ in the first year of the first cycle and Florence in the first year of the æra, so that 1749 in Pisa corresponded to 1748 in Florence. The first day of the year was in both towns the 25th of March. Others began the year on the 25th of December, the 1st or 6th of

January, or with Easter; the Egyptians, as we have seen, on the 1st of Thoth, the 29-30 of August. From this it is manifest that, in order to rectify old dates, we must consider not only the custom of those times, but also the custom in use in the respective places.

With regard to Dionysius, it is pretty clear that he did not begin the year with the 25th of March, for in doing so he would have been obliged to note two Passovers in one year, for instance, in 4 (536), 15 (547), &c.

The only writer known to me who, as I have previously mentioned, tried to explain the reasons which induced Dionysius to fix his æra is Kepler. In his dissertation on the year of Christ's birth* he maintains that Dionysius followed the assertion of Chrysostome, according to which John the Baptist was conceived on the 27th of September or the 10th of Tishri; and since, as in Julius 45 the 27th of September corresponded with the 10th of Tishri, Dionysius adopted Julius 46 as the year of Christ's birth. Now, though Kepler may be right in his assertion respecting the coincidence of the two dates in Julius 45, his hypothesis is not only very doubtful but highly improbable. For, apart from the manner in which the other chroniclers, as we have seen, fixed their æras, it may be easily shown that if the 27th of September fell on the same day with the 10th of Tishri in Julius 45 Dionysius was not likely to know it. He believed in the accuracy of the great period of 532 years, not knowing that the Julian years of which this period was composed gained each year $11\frac{1}{2}$ minutes, which difference amounts in 532 Julian years nearly to 4 days and 6 hours, and what was in the Julian year 45 the 27th of September would have been the 23rd in the lifetime of Dionysius. It was only 30 years before Kepler published his dissertation that the reformed Gregorian kalendar had been introduced.

It may perhaps be necessary to meet beforehand an objection which could be made against our conclusions. The 25th of March in A.D. 31 is not the 17th day of the moon, but is recorded as its 15th day. Now, this circumstance would be puzzling if Bede, who is generally very accurate, had not been similiarly inexact in the year 34, when Easter Sunday is said to have been on the 27th of March and the 21st day of the moon. The only scholar who paid attention to this point is Anianus, who chose for this reason the year 42 after Christ as the year of the Resurrection. In this essay mention has been so often made of the inaccuracy of the old chroniclers that it is only fair to prove this assertion. For this reason a short abstract from Bede's work on the six ages of the world (*De sex ætatibus mundi*) may be given in translation. Bede is undoubtedly an author of great erudition, but it would be better if his works were read more and less praised.

* The German edition was published in Strasburg, 1613, the Latin in Frankfurt, 1614.

In the year of the world 3910 Cæsar, after having reigned 5 years and 6 months, was killed in the Senate by sixty or more Roman senators and knights on account of the insolence of his manners.

3910—3966. Octavianus Cæsar (Augustus), second king (Augustus) of the Romans, reigned 56 years and 6 months; after him the Roman kings were named Augusti; 15 years he reigned in the lifetime of Cleopatra and 41 after her. In the 11th year of Augustus, when the pontificate of Judæa was not occupied, Herod, who, as the son of Antipater Ascalonita and of Cypris, an Arabian woman, had no claims to it, received from the Romans the kingdom of the Jews, and kept it for 36 years. . . . He married Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the niece of Aristobulus, the brother of Hyrcanus, who had been before him king of the Jews. She bore him five sons, of whom he killed two, Alexander and Aristobulus, in Samaria, and soon afterwards he despatched in a similar manner also their mother, of whom he had been once fonder than of anybody else.

The sixth age. In the year of the world 3952, the 42nd of Cæsar Augustus, the 27th from the death of Cleopatra and Antonius, the 3rd year of the 194th Olympiad, the 752nd of Rome, in that year, when, by the command of God, Cæsar, after suppressing the troubles of all the nations of the whole earth, had made the strongest and truest peace, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, consecrated the sixth age of the world by His arrival. In the 47th year of Augustus, Herod died a most miserable but just death from dropsy, his body being filled with worms. Instead of him his son Archelaus was appointed by Augustus, and reigned 9 years, until the end of the same Augustus. He was then relegated to Vienne, a town in Gaul, and his four brothers, Herod, Antipater, Lysias, and Philip were created tetrarchs in his place.

In the year of the world 3966, Tiberius, the stepson of Augustus, the son of his wife Livia from a previous marriage, reigned 23 years. In the 12th year of his reign he appointed Pilate procurator of Judæa. The tetrarch Herod, who ruled 24 years over the Jews, founded Tiberias and Libias, in honour of Tiberius and his mother Livia.

In the year of the world 3981, in the 15th year of the reign of Tiberius, the Lord, after the baptism which John preached, announced to the world the reign of heaven.

In the year of the world 3984, in the 18th year of the reign of Tiberius, the Lord redeemed the world by His Passion, and the Apostles who were to preach in the regions of Judæa ordain James, the brother of the Lord, Bishop of Jerusalem.

A slight examination shows the inaccuracy of these statements. Bede begins the reign of Augustus with the death of Cæsar, and assigns to him 56 years six months, while the least should have been 57. Augustus is said to have reigned 15 years, while Cleopatra was alive, and 41 after her death, whereas he reigned 43 after the battle of Actium. The reign of Herod is fixed between the 11th and the 47th years of Augustus, but the first year of Herod should have been the 4th, or 3914 (instead of 3921), and the last the 40th year of Augustus, or 3950 (instead of 3957). Queen Mariamne is said to have survived the execution of her children, Alexander and Aristobulus, whereas Mariamne was executed 23 years before the death of her sons.

Bede describes the 3984th year of his *æra* as the year of the Resurrection, which would be the 18th of Tiberius, and the 32nd of Dionysius, but in the 45th chapter of his *Liber de temporum ratione*, he seems to prefer the 34th of Dionysius, which would be the 20th of Tiberius.

Though Bede is in general a staunch adherent of the 27th of March as the day of the Resurrection, he approves also the 25th of March, for in 3984 Easter Sunday fell on this date, and in the same work he says, chapter 65, "whence there is some reason to believe that our Lord was crucified on the 23rd of March (unde merito creditur eodem decimo kal. April. die Dominum fuisse crucifixum).

In the 45th chapter Bede goes on commenting: "In 532 years, as we have mentioned previously, the Easter cycle is fulfilled; to these (532) add 33 or rather 34, and you will receive the year when the Lord suffered, which is the 566th. This is therefore the year of the Passion and Resurrection of our Lord, for as the 533rd year corresponds with the first, so corresponds also the 566th with the 34th in all the conjunctions of the sun and moon. If you open now the cycles of Dionysius, and find in the 566th year of the incarnation of our Lord the 14th day of the moon occurring on the 24th day of March, on the fifth week-day, and Easter Sunday on the 27th of March, on the 17th day of the moon, be thankful to the Lord, for what was sought for he gave to you, as he had promised."

This statement of Bede is an important evidence in favour of our hypothesis, for in the same way as we suggested that Dionysius may have found the 536th year of his *æra* Bede found the 566th. But if we now examine the cycles of Dionysius to assure us of the accuracy of the statements of Bede respecting the year 566, we shall be astonished to find that neither the 14th day of the moon fell in that year on the 24th of March, nor the 17th on Easter Sunday, but the former on the 21st and Easter Sunday on the 28th of March. If the conditions required by Bede should be satisfied, he ought to prefer the 12th year after Christ to the 34th, for in the 12th Easter Sunday was really on the 27th of March, being the 17th day of the moon, and he does so in the 59th chapter of his *Liber de temporum ratione*. In this belief he did not stand alone, for we read in the Appendix to the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester, "In the year of the Incarnation of the Lord according to the Gospel 701, according to Dionysius, in whose error the holy Church still participates, 679."^a

^a Anno ab incarnatione domini secundum evangelium dccī., juxta Dionysium, cujus errorem adhuc sancta sequitur ecclesia, anno dclxxix.

The first year of this æra would be 22 before Christ, for this chronicler, as well as Bede and the Roman Church, fixed 33 years as the lifetime of Christ. The Roman Church dated generally from the Resurrection year, as Bede affirms.^b

The pertinacity with which Bede adheres to the 17th day of the moon as the only right day of the Resurrection is wonderful. He maintains that whosoever should adopt the 25th of March as the real Resurrection day must take the fifth year of the third cycle, *i.e.* 42 after Christ, as Anianus did; whosoever should prefer the 27th of March was to choose the 13th year of the first cycle, or 12 after Christ; and whosoever was an adherent of the 28th of March could not keep from the 2nd year of the cycle. This, as no other occurs agreeing with this stipulation, can only be the 11th cycle, or 191 after Christ. From 57 before Christ to 191 after Christ no year possesses the peculiarity required by Bede.^c

It is rather singular that the theory of Bede is not confirmed by his praxis, for neither the year 34 nor 566 satisfy his demand, and while declaring the 34th year after Christ as the real year of the Passion, he is fain to resolve upon the 12th year of the Dionysian æra.

In summing up the results of this dissertation, we find that Dionysius declared, as all the authors of Easter cycles had done before him, a certain date as the day of the Resurrection. Of this date, the 25th of March, he made use for finding his æra. Believing that, about 500 years before his time, Christ had lived for 30 years on earth, and being an adherent of the great period of 532 years, he named the first year, in which in his continuation of the Cyrillian cycle Easter Sunday fell on the 25th of March, 563 after Christ, that is $532 + 31$, and, doing so, found the first year of his æra.

^b Sancta siquidem Romana et apostolica ecclesia . . . numerum annorum triginta semper et tribus annis minorem quam ab ejus incarnatione Dionysius ponat, adnotat. De temporum ratione, c. 45.

^c De temporum ratione, cap. 59: Ubi autem primum dominicus resurrectionis Christi dies fuerit, varie refertur; et quidem, ut supra memoravimus, quidem viii. Calendarum Aprilium, sed alii vi. nonnulli v. Calendarum earundem die fuisse adseverant. Ubi notandum, quia si octava Calendarum memoratarum, ut antiquiores scripsere, resurrectio Domini facta est, quintus profecto circuli decennovenalis tunc agebatur annus, habens concurrentes vii. et lunam decimamquartam, sicut semper xi. Calendarum Aprilium. Si autem vi. Calendarum Aprilium Dominus resurrexit, tertiusdecimus circuli præfati annus extitit, v. habens concurrentes, et lunam decimamquartam, ut semper nono Calendarum Aprilium. Porro si quinto Calendarum superscriptarum resurrectio celebrata est Christi, secundus circuli decennovenalis existens annus concurrentes habebat quartam, e lunam decimamquartam: sicut semper octavo Calendarum Aprilium, quæ cunctæ decimaseptimæ lunæ, in qua die dominica prima sacrosanctæ resurrectionis sunt acta mysteria, cursu panduntur indubio . . .

XXI.—*On some Antique Gold and other Finger Rings found at Palestrina.* By
C. DRURY E. FORTNUM, Esq. F.S.A.

Read June 13, 1870.

SHORTLY before the close of the year 1868 some excavations were undertaken in the neighbourhood of the ancient Præneste of the Sabine Equi, now Palestrina, by private speculators, who had the good fortune to find a sarcophagus, containing some objects of great interest and artistic excellence. Among these were three Etruscan *specchi*, or mirrors, which are figured in the *Monumenti inediti dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, vol. ix. plate vii., and are further described by Dr. H. Heydemann, in the *Annali* of that Society, at page 193 of the volume for 1869.

These bronzes were sold by the excavators to Count Tijskiewicz, who subsequently ceded them to M. Sambon, of Naples. It would seem, however, that although the larger objects discovered * were shared by all those engaged in the excavation, some smaller matters of gold were concealed by the person who first entered the tomb, and subsequently disposed of for his own private advantage.

I am informed, by one who has practical knowledge of these arrangements, that excavations of this nature are not conducted without considerable risk and danger, as well as cost and labour. It is frequently necessary to sink to the depth of fifteen and twenty feet before reaching a tomb, which may have been already rifled; when found, a huge stone sarcophagus has to be burst open, often at the risk of being buried by the ill-supported soil above. The smallest man then goes forward, the *enfant perdu* of the party, who, squeezing himself through

* This same tomb also yielded, as I am informed, a large *cista* of wood, with bronze feet formed as sphynxes, and handle on the lid modelled as a group of three armed warriors; another, a small bronze *cista* of fine workmanship, ornamented with centaurs, &c.; a mirror of remarkable beauty and size, having a figure of Bacchus on a leopard, in rilievo, of admirable art; also one of cast metal with a figure of Leda in relief, and some other less important objects.

the hole forced into the sarcophagus, gathers its contents, handing them out to another companion. The opportunity thus afforded of concealing small objects of value from those above is sometimes too strong a temptation to be resisted, and the booty is occasionally shared by his companion in the pit. So it was in this case, for, together with the bronze mirrors, seven finger-rings, and some earrings of gold, were found in the same sarcophagus, and appropriated by two of the men. One of these fellows sold two of the finger-rings to a Roman dealer, from whom I had them; the rest were brought to Count Tijskiewicz, who purchased, and afterwards exchanged them for other objects with my informant, who ceded them to me.

The earrings were, I believe, purchased by Dr. Helbig from the dealer who had two of the finger-rings.

Five of these rings are ornamented with subjects in low relief; one is a plain funereal ring of extremely thin gold; and one has a *scarabæus* of onyx.

The connection in the subjects represented upon at least two of these rings and those upon the bronze mirrors found in the same tomb is interesting, confirming, in some degree, their common origin, as also a correspondence in date.

I will proceed to describe them separately, referring to Dr. Heydemann's paper in elucidation of the subject:—

No. 1.—A funereal ring of very thin gold, and hollow; stirrup-shaped; the bezel of pointed oval form, without ornament: length, $13\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width, 9 lines; weight, 22 grains (Plate XIII. fig. 1). This is one of the usual form of funereal rings occasionally found in Græco-Italian and Etruscan tombs; they are chiefly remarkable for the nicety with which the joints of such extremely thin metal have been united, without being sustained upon a solid core. The upper side of the bezel is made of a piece of thin gold, which has been beaten on a shape, the edges being recurved to form the sides; upon these the inner sheet of gold is soldered, and to it are attached the extremities of the hoop, consisting of an oval tube of thin gold of semicircular curve.

The stirrup-like form of this ring, and of those which are ornamented on the face with subjects *in rilievo*, is characteristic of Greek influence. It is first observable in early Egyptian rings, many of which have a flat bezel, set on at right angles to the limbs of the semicircular hoop, but in their case the bezel rarely assumes so distinctly a pointed oval form.

No. 2.—A gold ring filled with, or fashioned upon, a silver core; stirrup-shaped; the hoop formed as two-thirds of a circle of round wire, slightly tapering to the ends, which are attached beneath the pointed extremities of the oval bezel. This



RINGS FOUND AT PALESTRINA.

rises in two stages, the lower of which forms an edging of fluted moulding (Plate XIII. fig. 2). On the face, surrounded by a border of beading, is the subject of Hercules and the Nemean Lion worked in low relief, apparently by beating from the inside (*repoussé*), and finishing with a chasing tool. Length of bezel, $10\frac{1}{2}$ lines; width, $6\frac{1}{2}$; weight, 5 dwts. 21 grs. Hercules, nude but bearded, is kneeling on the right knee, the lion, head downwards, being thrown over the left shoulder. The left arm of Hercules is clasped round the lion's neck and joined by the right, as though in the act of strangling the animal by the united pressure of both arms, or tightly holding while raising himself under its weight. The limbs of the lion hang as though already lifeless. The club is not seen, but the muscular development of the hero-god is distinctly and artistically represented. The gold is stained by the exudation of the oxidized silver filling from the joints, and it has burst through the right shoulder of the figure.

This group at once recalls similar representations on archaic Greek vases, having the figures in black upon a red ground.

No. 3.—A gold ring filled with a silver core, of precisely similar form and pattern to the last, but differing in the subject of its relief. Length, 10 lines; width, $6\frac{1}{2}$ lines; weight, 4 dwts. 11 grs. (Plate XIII. fig. 3). This represents an erect, nude, but bearded male figure, whose arms, raised over his shoulders, appear to be in the act of striking with an axe or hammer, the head of which is seen behind his back. He is poised on the left foot, the right being raised behind him, as though he had sprung forward at the moment of directing the blow. Before him, falling backwards, and with upraised arms, is the figure of a youth, clad apparently in a dress formed of skins, from the many scratches of the chasing tool with which its surface is carefully incised. There is every appearance of the work having been executed by the same hand as the ring last described, but, although stained, the surface is in no part broken by the oxidation of the underlying silver core.

For an explanation of this subject I think I cannot do better than refer to the description of that represented upon one of the mirrors found in the same tomb, which is figured in the *Monumenti inediti dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, vol. viii. tav. vii., and described by Dr. H. Heydemann at p. 196 of the thirteenth volume of the *Annali* of that Society for 1869. On that mirror a similar subject is represented in relief, in a very high style of art, corresponding remarkably with that exhibited in the workmanship of these rings. Dr. Heydemann remarks that this subject is not new to archaeology, but that no similar representation of it has hitherto been brought to light. He describes it as follows:—

"We see a beardless youth, his *chlamys*, fastened by a fibula round his neck unfolded in the air, taking refuge, in the greatest commotion—his hair erect, at an altar on which he has placed his left knee; his right hand threateningly brandishes a sword over a child, whom he has carried, grasped by his left arm, on to the same altar. The little boy, adorned, as we have already stated, with the *periscelsis* and with the ribbon round the breast, extends his right hand towards a bearded man, who, holding in one hand the sheath and brandishing the sword in the right, approaches quickly against the assassin, but stops, moved by the supplicating prayer of the child, who, if he insists in his onset, will certainly be lost. The *pileum* and the *chlamys*, both tied round the neck, hang over the back."

This scene without the explanation afforded by the inscription would, it is further remarked by Dr. Heydemann, be taken to represent Telephus threatening to kill the young Orestes, unless his father Agamemnon protects him from Achilles; a myth that has been several times represented on antique monuments.*

But we read in characters of the fifth century of Rome^b (about 250 before Christ), under the supposed figure of Telephus the name LVKORCOS, and near him who hastens to the rescue TASEOS, while the young boy is named FILONICOS, to which is added TASEI O FILIOS, that is, son of Taseos, an ambiguous hero of the island of Thasos. As we have no recorded myth of a Lycurgos who attempted the assassination of the son of a Taseos, Dr. Helbig's explanation of the subject, given in the *Bulletino* of the Institute, 1869, p. 14, is probably the correct one, namely, that we recognise in this Lycurgos that King of Thrace who, rendered madly furious by Bacchus, killed his wife and child, mistaking them for vines; a subject known to be represented in antique art. It would appear then, from the rendering on this mirror, that a new version of the myth is given, according to which Lycurgos, in his fury, had fled from his kingdom to the island of Thasos, near to the coast of Thrace, and took the child of the king of that island to slaughter upon the altar.

At the same time Dr. Heydemann considers it probable that the catastrophe of some lost tragic episode of the mythical life of Lycurgos may be the subject of this mirror.

From the above description of the subject of the mirror found in the same sarcophagus as this ring, we may, I think, conclude that the figures upon the

* Jahn, *Telephos und Troilos*. Kiel, 1841. Overbeck, *Sagenkr.* 13, 6, 11, &c.

^b Henzen, *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1869, p. 15.

latter can be no other than the mad Lyncurios about to strike down the youthful FILONICOS, not with a sword, as delineated on the mirror, but what would seem to be a double-edged axe (*bipennis*). Or may this not be a representation of the better known myth^a of the destruction of his own child Dryas? This would give a slight and indirect confirmation to the suggestion of Dr. Heydemann, that the mirror may figure some unknown passage in this mythic history.

The instrument might be mistaken for the hammer or mallet so frequently depicted on vases, and on the walls of Etruscan tombs, in the hands of Charon, the infernal conductor and tormentor of guilty souls; but the figure who wields it in no way corresponds with that monstrous impersonation.

Dr. Heydemann does not refer to a vase described in vol. xiii. of the "Museo Borbonico," and figured in tav. xxix., on which the same subject is represented, but in a manner very different from that upon the bronze mirror, or upon my ring. The relative position of the figures on the vase is reversed, and larger space has permitted a greater freedom in their action. The son is represented as a more developed youth, but the same instrument, the *bipennis*, is in the hands of the infuriated Lyncurios.

At figure 442 of Müller's Atlas is an outline from a bas-relief, on which he is represented attacking his wife with a *bipennis*, after having slain his child; but I am not aware of any representation of the last scene of this strange eventful history in which the maddened monarch, as stated by some, inflicts self-mutilation by cutting off his own limbs, and dies thus miserably.^b

Apollodorus (iii. 5, § 1), Diodorus (i. 20, iii. 65), and Sophocles (Antig. 955, &c.) give different readings of the myth.

No. 4.—A gold ring, filled in with silver, and fashioned after the same pattern as the preceding. Length of bezel 1 inch; width 8 lines; weight 5 dwts., 18 grs. (Plate XIII. fig. 4.)

The oxidisation of the silver core has caused some disturbance of the relief, but fortunately it has burst open the plain lining beneath, and, with the exception of the head of the male figure, has only exuded at less important points of the subject. This represents two whole-length figures, a draped female, and, on her right, a nude man. They appear to be embracing, her right arm encircling his neck; or it may be that she is falling on his left shoulder, as though dead or fainting, and sustained by him. Their faces are in close proximity, but his, having been forced

^a Müller, *Alt. Kunst.* p. 39, fig. 440.

^b Hygin. Fab. 132—242. Serv. ad *Aen.* iii. 14.

outwards by the expansion of the silver lining on its becoming converted into oxide, has been, as carefully as possible, pressed back into its place, not, however, without some disturbance of its original position; it would seem to be bearded, and his figure is muscular. I cannot accurately trace the action of his right hand, nor can I distinguish any sword or other weapon.

Her dress appears to be richly adorned with fringe upon the lower extremity. A hood or veil, which may be merely a fold of the *peplum*, covers her head. An underdress of fine material, indicated by the delicate markings of the chasing-tool, probably the Ionic *chiton*, is again covered by a *palla*, which, falling over the left shoulder, and partly gathered round the waist, descends to the ankles, where it terminates in a fringe.

The subject here represented is difficult to recognise with accuracy, owing to the absence of any attributes to either of the figures.

It might picture the carrying off of one of the Sabine women; or the fair Leucippid borne away by one of the Dioscuri; or may it not be intended to represent that other scene of the madness of Lyeurgos in which his wife falls a victim to his fury? The objection to this last interpretation would be the absence of a weapon; she appears to be dead, or sinking in a swoon, and the action of his right hand may have been intended as having plunged a knife or short sword into her bosom. He stoops forward, not in the act of lifting her in his arms, but rather as pressing his right hand against her side. But the most probable interpretation of this subject is the rarely represented deed attributed to Hercules, in which he carries Alcestis, the fair daughter of Pelias, back to life, and to Admetus, from the shades.

A fine mirror in the British Museum, described and figured by Gerhard, *Etr. Spieg.* iii. p. 147, pl. 344, has what may be a representation of this subject in rilievo, in an archaic style. See Guide to the Bronze Room, B. M. p. 36, No. 6.

The workmanship of the ring is precisely similar to that on the two last described, than which it is considerably larger.

No. 5.—A gold ring formed of thin plates of the metal, which is of light colour, hollow, and without any central core; of the same form and fashion as the last. Length of bezel, 1 inch; width, $8\frac{1}{2}$ lines; weight, 1 dwt. 20 grs. (Plate XIII. fig. 5). The subject of the bas-relief on this ring is not difficult of explanation. A horse rearing to the right, before which, on its off-side, is a draped male figure springing from the ground, and holding it by the mouth with his right hand. He wears the Phrygian cap, the end of a sword projects beyond

his back, on the left side, while his *chlamys* falls in folds upon the ground behind. This can be no other than one of the Dioscuri, and doubtless Castor, who is seen represented with his twin brother Pollux, and the conquered king Amicos, whom they are about leaving tied to the fatal tree, on the third mirror found in the same tomb, and described by Drs. Helbig and Heydemann.

The entire surface of the "field" is covered with minute punctures by way of grounding to the design.

The preservation of this ring is remarkable, no discolouration or disturbance of the surface having taken place, from the absence of any solid silver core.

No. 6.—Gold ring; solid; of a similar form and ornamentation to the foregoing, but without any second stage to the raising of the bezel, the relief and the ornamental border being on the same plane. The hoop is flat on the inner side. Length of bezel, 1 inch; width $8\frac{1}{2}$ lines; weight 5 dwts. 8 grs. (Plate XIII. fig. 6). The execution of this work is similar to that of the last (No. 5), and differs somewhat from the preceding rings; although in all probability of the same period, if not by the same artist. In the centre is a nude seated figure, looking to the left (of the spectator). His right foot is placed upon a stone, his left hand passing in front of the right knee; the club, having its extremity on the ground, is held by the right hand; against it the head is partly rested. The lion's skin has been placed upon the rock on which he sits, the head and paws hanging to the front. Hercules, for it can be no other, is represented as a beardless young man resting from one of his earlier exploits. As in the last example, the ground of the picture is covered with fine punctures to give a "mat" effect. This relief has been executed upon a thicker plate of gold, by means of slightly beating from the back, finishing with a chasing-tool and finer punches worked directly on the face. There is no backing to the bezel, which is all in one piece, and to the pointed ends of which the hoop is soldered. The latter is flattened inside, but rounded to the outer. This ring is a remarkable specimen of early goldsmith's work, sculptured and chased.

On seeing it, Dr. Helbig, to whom its subject is new, suggested whether it might not represent the celebrated colossal statue of Hercules reposing, which was at Tarentum, and which Fabius brought to Rome. It differs considerably from the Hercules in repose on the coins of Gortyna, or of Phaëstus Cretæ. Nor have I met with any representation of a precisely similar type.

Like the last, this ring is quite intact.

No. 7.—Ring formed of a band of gold, triple-fluted on the outside, the ends of which clasp a *scarabæus* of banded black and white onyx. A tube or pipe of

gold passes lengthwise through the *scarabæus*, and is riveted at its ends, outside the extremities of the hoop, and formed into rosettes by circles of two twisted and one plain wire, soldered on to the outside (Plate XIII. fig. 7).

On the flat surface of the *scarab* is a figure engraved in intaglio, which probably represents the robber king of the Corinthian isthmus, Sinis Pityo Kamptés, or the pine-bender, who was killed by Theseus, and who is variously represented on vases and other objects. The *scarab* is pierced by a lateral hole.

I ought, perhaps, to state that rings of the period and character of five of those just described as ornamented with subjects in rilievo are of considerable rarity, few examples being preserved even in the rich collections of the British Museum—the Castellani, Waterton, and other *dactyliothece*; ^a and it is the more remarkable that so many should have occurred in the same tomb.

The two following rings, although found in the neighbourhood of Palestrina, did not form part of the collection of objects discovered in the sarcophagus before mentioned; but I have ventured to take this opportunity of describing and figuring them, considering that the admirable preservation of the first—a ring of more ancient character, and the interesting subject of the intaglio upon the onyx with which the second is set, might be sufficient apology for my doing so.

The first (Plate XIII. fig. 8) is a solid silver ring, with flat pointed oval bezel attached at either end to the extremities of the semicircular hoop, which is formed of round wire, diminishing in thickness from the centre to the points of attachment. At each end of the bezel, close to its junction with the hoop, is a

^a The British Museum possesses four such rings, all of which are solid. One is of similar size to my No. 5, and with a like edging. The subject is an undraped man and woman embracing; it is much rubbed by wear. Another, smaller than any described in this paper, represents a warrior, wearing a cuirass, and with shield and drawn sword; he is looking over the right shoulder.

A third, also small, has a flying figure of Victory with the palm-branch, of excellent workmanship, in relief. The fourth is a small ring of great elegance and artistic merit. The subject is a nude male figure holding an oinochoe in the right hand and a patera (?) in the left; perhaps intended for Ganymede.

The Castellani collection has only one ring of this type. It is hollow and much battered, and the workmanship less excellent. The subject is a satyr, whose legs are doubled back.

There are four rings of similar type in the Louvre (Campana Coll.); three are hollow without any silver cores. On two of them the subject of a young man seated with a draped female in his lap, or on his knee, is represented. The third has for subject a male and a female figure, both draped, standing and looking towards each other in seeming converse; he holds a sword—perhaps the parting of a warrior and his wife—Hector and Andromache? The fourth is solid, of similar execution to my No. 6; the subject Mercury wearing a chlamys, the caduceus at his side; he is reposing, his head resting on a lion's skin.

In the Etruscan Museum at Florence is also one: a man seated, a female at his side or on his knee.

All would seem to be approximately of the same period, and to have originated from the same locality.

small spot of gold, formed by a piece of wire passing through and riveted into the bezel. Length of bezel, 10 lines; width, $4\frac{1}{2}$ lines; weight, 3 dwts. $13\frac{1}{2}$ grs. It is engraved with the subject of a chimera, having the body of a lioness, from the back of which another head protrudes, regardant, driven in a car by a male human figure.

It may possibly be intended to figure two lions or lionesses drawing a biga, but the absence of any indications of the body or limbs of the second animal leads me to conclude that the well-known chimera of Tyrrhaenian, Etruscan, or Italo-Ionic art is represented.

The remarkable preservation of this ring, which is probably of earlier time than those I have already described, arises from the fact of its having been found in one of those cistæ, so abundantly discovered at Palestrina; in which the sponge, bone pins, the wooden lining, and the other objects were perfectly preserved. Among these were two wooden boxes for holding cosmetics, one formed as a sandaled foot, the other as a bird, which are figured in vol. xlii. of the *Archæologia*, plate xxvi., p. 486, and described by Mr. W. M. Wylie, F.S.A.

The other is a bronze ring, with long oval bezel rising in three stages, and set with an onyx, banded with one white between two dark strata. The hoop is rounded externally, gradually swelling to the width of the bezel; this is 1 inch 2 lines long by $8\frac{1}{2}$ broad (Plate XIII. fig. 9).

The subject of the intaglio is perhaps the earliest representation which has yet occurred of Nemesis, the daughter of Night, of Erebus, or Oceanus, further remarkable in this instance as being figured with wings, which does not appear to have been the case with the Rhamnesian statue. She is draped in a closely fitting short *chiton*, holding dependent in the right hand a branch bearing leaves at the sides and terminating in a ball or spherical fruit. Her left hand holds a cord, chain, or necklet, which she draws forward from her neck. She is advancing to the right of the beholder with a rather tripping step; her features are delicate and youthful, and their expression gentle and benign. The way in which the hair is represented in the intaglio would give the impression that a close-fitting helmet or cap, with slightly projecting brim, was intended; but a careful examination has led to the conclusion that the hair, combed closely on the head, is gathered in a roll all round.

I am indebted to Mr. A. S. Murray, of the British Museum, for the following remarks on the statue of Nemesis at Rhamnus., Mr. Murray says: "The original type of figure chosen for Nemesis was that of Aphrodite (ἐν Ἀφροδίτης σχήματι); her characteristic symbol of an apple-branch would then be a variation of the

apple as a symbol of Aphrodite: the wings with which she is sometimes figured would be an addition of comparatively late times. They were wanting in what was the most celebrated figure of Nemesis in antiquity,^a the monolithic statue of Rhamnus, which was said to have been made either by Phidias or Agorakritos from a block of Parian marble left by the Persians on the field of Marathon, where they meant to erect it as a trophy (Pausanias, i. 33, 2: Suidas and Hesychius, s. v. *Ῥαμνοσύια Νέμεσις*). This figure held the apple-branch in her right and a patera in her left hand, and wore a crown ornamented with small victories and stags." It would thus seem that the earliest known representation of Nemesis was without wings, nor does it appear when or how that attribute was added. On the other hand it would seem probable, from the rather archaic character of our gem, that its subject may have been derived from some earlier and unrecorded, but well-known, type.

Nemesis is represented on the following gems in the British Museum collection:

1. On a golden sard from the Blacas Collection; she is winged, holding in her right hand what seems to be a flower which she is in the act of smelling, and in the left a branch—presumably of an apple, or of an ash tree^b—and scourge. This fine work is of a later period than the gem under consideration.
2. On a paste, as a draped and winged figure, whose attributes are not distinguishable, from the decomposition of the surface.
3. On another paste, draped and winged, but otherwise not to be recognised.
4. A coarse late work on an inferior carnelian; she is winged, and the wheel is at her side; in the right she holds the leafy branch, and with the left hand she holds forward the chain or necklet which she wears.

Since writing the above I have been presented by my friend Mr. R. H. Soden Smith, F.S.A., with an intaglio on a pale sard, representing Nemesis with the more usual attributes. She is winged, wears a helmet, is holding a scourge of three thongs in her left hand, and what may be a bridle or her neck-chain, drawn forward, with her right; the wheel is at her feet. It is of coarse and inferior workmanship, probably of the later imperial period.

^a Pausanias says:—"πτερά δὲ ἔχον οὔτε τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαλμα Νεμέσεως, οὔτε ἄλλο πεποίηται τῶν ἀρχαίων."

^b Hirt, *Mythol. Bilderb.* p. 97, &c.

XXII.—*Vortigern, not Hengest, the Invader of Kent.* By HENRY CHARLES
COOTE, Esq. F.S.A.

Read May 2nd, 1872.

The subjugation of Kent by the Jutes is perhaps the most interesting of all the barbarian conquests of South Britain, from its priority in date and the romance with which it has been invested.

Several stories of the invasion which led to this conquest have come down to us.

That told by Beda^a is as follows: "They, *i.e.* the Britons, took counsel together as to what should be done, and where assistance should be sought for, to avoid or repel the savage and incessant inroads of the northern nations, and it was determined by all, including their King Vurtigern, that they should call in the nation of the Saxons from the parts beyond the sea, which act must be regarded as intended by Providence, as it was in reality, a punishment for their wickedness. In the year of our Lord 449 Marcianus began to reign jointly with Valentinian, and was emperor for seven years. At that time the nation of the Angles, or Saxons, invited by the before-mentioned king, comes to Britain in three long ships, and settles itself in the eastern part of the island, at the bidding of the same king, as intending to fight for the country, but in fact to conquer it. The Saxons accordingly battle with the northern invaders and beat them. When the news of this had reached home, with information also of the fertility of the island and the backwardness of the Britons, there is immediately sent over a larger fleet carrying a stronger band of armed men, which, joining the cohort that first arrived, made the army invincible. Accordingly, those who now came over received a settlement in land, by the gift of the Britons, upon condition that they, the Saxons, should fight for the peace and safety of the country, the others paying them duly for their military service. There had come men from the three stronger peoples of Germany, that is to say,

^a In the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. i. cc. 14 and 15. The history was written some time between A.D. 729 and 737, the years of the accession and resignation of King Ceolwulf.

Saxons, Angles, Jutes. * * * Their first leaders are said to have been two brothers, Hengist and Horsa. * * * Without delay, therefore, troops from the before-mentioned nations flocked emulously into the island, and this population of strangers began to increase so much that they became a terror to the natives who had called them in. Then having suddenly made peace with the Picts, whom they had by that time driven far back, they began to turn their arms against their allies. At first they compel them to supply them more abundantly with provisions, and seeking an occasion of quarrel they protest that unless a more profuse supply of provisions be granted they will break their agreement and devastate every part of the island, and they very soon put their threats into practice.”^a

This is not the only account given by Beda. We have another statement of his in the *Chronicon sive de sex ætatibus sæculi*, under the year 459. This slightly differs from the first. Herein he says: “The nation of the Angles or Saxons comes to Britain in three long ships. When report had announced at ohme that this expedition had prospered a stronger army is sent out, which, joining the former, first drove away the enemy, then, turning its arms against its allies, it subdued by fire and sword nearly the whole island from east to

^a “Initum namque est consilium, quid agendum, ubi quærendum esset præsidium ad evitandas vel repelendas tam feras tamque creberrimas gentium aquilonalium irruptiones, placuitque omnibus cum suo rege Vurtigerno, ut Saxonum gentem de transmarinis partibus in auxilium vocarent; quod Domini nutu dispositum esse constat, ut veniret contra improbos malum, sicut evidentius rerum exitus probavit. Anno ab incarnatione Domini quadringentesimo nono Marcianus cum Valentiniano, quadagesimus sextus ab Augusto, regnum adeptus, septem annis tenuit. Tunc Anglorum sive Saxonum gens, invitata a rege præfato, in Britanniam tribus longis navibus advehitur, et in orientali parte insulæ, jubente eodem rege, locum manendi, quasi pro patria pugnatura, re autem vera hanc expugnatura, suscipit. Inito ergo certamine cum hostibus, qui ab aquilone ad aciem venerant, victoriam sumpserunt Saxones. Quod ubi domi nunciatum est, simul et insulæ fertilitas, ac segnitia Brittonum, mittitur confestim illo classis prolixior armatorum ferens manum fortiolem, quæ præmissæ adjuncta cohorti invincibilem fecit exercitum. Susceperunt ergo qui advenerunt, donantibus Britannis, locum habitationis inter eos, ea conditione ut, hi pro patriæ pace et salute contra adversarios militarent, illi militantibus debita stipendia conferrent. Advenerant autem de tribus Germaniæ populis fortioribus, id est, Saxonibus, Anglis, Jutis. * * * * * Duces fuisse perhibentur eorum primi duo fratres Hengist et Horsa. * * * * * Non mora ergo, confluentibus certatim in insulam gentium memoratarum catervis, grandescere populus cœpit advenarum, ita ut ipsis quoque, qui eos advocaverant, indigenis essent terrori. Tum subito inito ad tempus fœdere cum Pictis, quos longius jam bellando pepulerant, in socios arma vertere incipiunt; et primum quidem annonas sibi eos affluentius ministrare cogunt, quærentesque occasionem divortii, protestantur, nisi profusior sibi alimentorum copia daretur, se cuncta insulæ loca, rupto fœdere, vastaturos; neque aliquanto segnius minas effectibus prosequuntur.”

west, upon the pretence that the Britons gave them insufficient pay for their services as soldiers.”^a

Here it is the pay that falls short, not the provisions, as in the first account, and no names are mentioned on either side.

Next in order I will take the story told by the writer of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

In the five MSS. which Mr. Thorpe has edited there are discrepancies more or less *inter se*.

The account given in the Bodleian, Laud MS. 636, is in the following words: “In A.D. 449 Marcianus and Valentinianus began to rule, and reigned seven years. In their days Wyrtegeorn invited the nation of the Angles to this country, and they then came in three keels hither to Britain at the place called Heopwin’s Fleet. The King Wyrtegeorn gave them land in the south-eastern part of this country, on condition that they should fight against the Picts. They then fought against the Picts, and were victorious wherever they came. They then sent to the Angles and ordered them to dispatch more assistance, and ordered that the feebleness of the Britons and the riches of the country should be told them. They then soon sent hither a greater force to the assistance of the others. Then came the men from the three nations of Germany, &c.”^b

It is observable here that though we have a British King named Wyrtegeorn we have no Hengest.

The Cotton. MS. Domit. A. viii. (much later than the other) varies the story thus: “A.D. 448. In this year John the Baptist showed to two monks, who came from the East to pray at Jerusalem, his head in the place that formerly was Herod’s dwelling. At the same time Marcianus and Valentinianus reigned, and at that time came the race of the Angles to this country, invited by King

^a “Gens Anglorum sive Saxonum Britanniam tribus longis navibus advehitur, quibus dum iter prosperatum domi fama referret, mittitur exercitus fortior, qui junctus prioribus, primo hostes a quibus petebatur, abegit, deinde in socios arma vertens totam prope insulam ab orientali ejus plaga usque ad occidentalem igni vel ense subegit, conficta occasione, quod pro se militantibus Britones minus sufficienter stipendia darent.”

^b “An. CCCCLXIX. Her Martianus and Valentinus onfengon rice, and rixadan vii winter. And on heora dagum gelaðode Wyrtegeorn Angelcin hider, and hi þa comon on prim ceolum hider to Brytene, on þam stede Heopwines fleet. Se cyning Wyrtegeorn gef heom land on suðan eastan þissum lande, wið þan þe hi sceoldon feohtan wið Pyhtas. Heo þa fuhton wið Pyhtas, and heofdon sige swa hwer swa heo comon. Hy þa sendon to Angle, heton sendon mara fultum, and heton heom secgan Brytwalana nahtscipe, and þes landes cysta. Hy þa sona sendon hider mare weored þam oþrum to fultume. Ða comon þa men of þrim megðum Germanie,” &c.

Wyrtegeorn to help him in overcoming his enemies. They came to this country with three long ships, and their leaders were Hengest and Horsa. First of all they killed and drove away the King's enemies, and afterwards they went against the King and against the Britons, and they devastated the country with fire and the sword's edge."^a

In this last version we have upon the stage, in addition to Wyrtegeorn the British King, Hengest and Horsa, the leaders of the Angles.

The three other MSS. (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, CLXXII., Cotton. Tiberius, A VI. and Cotton, Tiberius B I., are all in substance of the same tenor as the Cotton MS. first referred to).

There are two Celtic narratives also.

Gildas, writing late in the sixth century in the *Historia*, c. 23, says: "That proud tyrant Gurthrigern, leader of the Britons, and all his counsellors, are so blinded that they invite the ferocious Saxons to assist them in repelling the northern nations.^b * * * They obtain provisions and pay as soldiers, but, pretending that the latter is insufficient, they break their agreement and depopulate the country."

Nennius, another Celtic writer (at the close of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century), in his *Historia Britonum* (cc. 28, *et seqq.*) says: "Guorthigern reigned in Britain, and whilst he reigned in Britain he was pressed by dread of the Picts and Scots, by a Roman invasion, and by fear of Ambrosius. In the meanwhile there came three keels exiled from Germany, in which were Horsa and Hengist, who were brothers. * * * Guorthigern received them benignly,

^a "An. CCCXLVIII. Her Johannes Baptista ætywede twam munecon, þa comon fram east-dæle to gebiddene hi on Jerusalem, his heaved on þære stowe þe hwilan was Herodes wunung. On þone ylcan timan Martianus and Valentinianus rixodan, and on þam timan com Angelcynn to ðisum lande, gelaðode fram Wyrtegeorne cinge, him to helpe, his fynd to overcume. Hi comon on þis lande wid þrim langan scipan, and heora heretogan wæron Hengest and Horsa. Ealra ærost hi þæs cinges fynd ofslogon and aweg drivan, and syððan hi wenden agean þone cing, and agean þa Bryttas, and hi farðydon þurh fyr and þurh swyrdes egge."

^b "Tum omnes consilarii una cum superbo tyranno Gurthrigerno Britannorum duce cœcantur, et adinvenientes tale præsidium, imo excidium patriæ, ut ferocissimi illi nefandi nominis Saxones, Deo hominibusque inveni, quasi in caulas lupi, in insulam at retrudendas aquilones gentes intromitterentur * * * . Igitur intromissis in insulam barbaris, veluti militibus, et magna, ut mentiebantur, pro bonis discrimina hospitibus subituris, impetrant sibi annonas dari, quæ multo tempore impertitæ clausurunt, ut dicitur, canis faucem. Item queruntur non affluenter sibi epimenia contribui, occasiones de industria colorantes, et nisi profusior eis munificentia cumlaretur, testantur se cuncta insulæ, rupto fœdere, depopulatos. Nec mora minas effectibus prosequuntur."

and gave them the island, which in their language is called Tanet. This was in the year of our Lord 447." ^a

Nennius goes on afterwards (cc. 36, 37) to tell that the king promised the Saxons food and raiment, and they covenanted to do battle with his enemies. But the barbarians becoming multiplied in number the Britons could not feed them, and told them so. Hengist afterwards sends for more men from Germany, and the conquest of Britain is commenced.

I should say that Nennius in each of his two prologues says that he has compiled his history from histories and annals of the Saxons, *inter alia*.

The histories which I have quoted are the only authorities referred to by our historians in narrating the barbarian invasion of Kent, and they never allow us to suspect that there ever has been any other ancient account of these events. Even the German Lappenberg, though writing early English history more critically, as he asserts of himself, than all who went before him, quotes no other authorities.

Notwithstanding this there is another ancient account of the conquest of Kent, the more noticeable as it disagrees with the generally known narratives in, what I shall submit to be, a material point.

It is to this narrative, so unaccountably passed over, that I beg to be permitted to call the attention of the Society.

It is to be found in the work of an Italian historian, writing nearly as early as Beda. That that portion of his work which concerns England is entitled to credit, may be affirmed upon the general ground that in the other parts he shows himself a writer of accuracy and judgment.

As regards the chapter which refers to England, and which must be taken as an original narrative, there is special ground for assigning to it the only credit which I claim for it, viz., that it is a correct report of an old English tradition.

The special ground is this. Before the time of the writer—whose identity I will hereafter refer to—the English of all classes, noble and ignoble, high functionaries and leading men, flocked over to Rome whenever an excuse permitted it. We are told this by Paulus Diaconus, in his *History of the*

^a "Guorthigirnus regnavit in Britannia; et dum ipse regnabat in Britannia urgebatur a metu Pictorum, Scottorumque, et a Romano impetu, necnon et a timore Ambrosii. Interea venerunt tres chiule a Germania expulsæ in exilio, in quibus erant Hors et Hengist, qui et ipsi fratres erant * * * Guorthigirnus suscepit eos benigne et tradidit eis insulam, quæ in lingua eorum vocatur Tanet, Britannico sermone Ruoihin, Regnante Gratiano Secundo Equantio. Saxones a Guorthigerno suscepti sunt anno quadringentesimo quadragésimo septimo post Passionem Christi."

Lombards (lib. 6, c. 37)—“His temporibus (*i.e.*, of the Emperor Anastasius, A.D. 700) multi Anglorum gentis, nobiles et ignobiles, viri et fœminæ, duces et primates, divini amoris instinctu, Romam venire consueverunt.”^a

Any Italian clerk therefore writing early English history after the date of this influx would have an opportunity of acquiring from these travelling English all the information which he might want upon this subject, and we may fairly assume that this Italian historian did so.

Under these circumstances, if we find him differing from our native historians, it will be only reasonable to conclude that he has not invented, but has truthfully recorded, another phase of English tradition, neglected or intentionally rejected after a time by our own countrymen.

The work to which I am about to refer is the *Historia Miscella*, edited by Muratori, in his great collection of the *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*. Down to the sixteenth book, the work, though anonymous, is most probably written by Paulus Diaconus, the Lombardic historian.^b

It is in the fourteenth book that we find the account of the subjugation of Kent, and of the events which preceded it. This I will extract, and we can then compare it with those which have been already quoted.

This writer says that, after Aetius had declined to assist the Britons, some of them rally and expel the invading Picts and Scots, while others become subject to them, “quidam Britannorum strenue resistentes hostes abigunt, quidam vero coacti hostibus subjiciuntur.”

The latter words refer to the Picts taking possession of and settling in the province of Valentia, the extreme northern point of Roman Britain.

The writer then proceeds as follows: “The rest of the Britons (*i.e.* the whole of the present England and Wales) invited the nation of the Angles with their king Vertigern to the defence of their country. The Britons received them as friends and treated them as comrades; but after a time there came a change to the contrary, and instead of helpers and defenders they found them enemies and assailants. Subsequently (*i.e.* to the invitation) the nation of the Angles or Saxons comes to Britain in three long ships. When the news that this expedition had prospered reached home there was dispatched nevertheless a manifold army, which, joining the first men who had arrived, drives out the enemies on account

^a Bede in his *Chronicon* (Stevenson's edition, vol. ii. p. 203), has a similar passage:—“His temporibus (*i.e.* in the time of Theodosius, A.D. 720), multi Anglorum gentis, nobiles et ignobiles, viri et fœminæ, duces et privati, divini amoris instinctu, de Britannia Romam venire consueverunt.”

^b See Muratori's preface and Roth's preface to his edition of Suetonius, p. 111.

of whom its services were required, and then turns its arms against the Britons, upon the false pretence that they were not ready to pay them what was due to them for serving as soldiers, and it subdued by fire and sword nearly the whole island from east to west. ("At vero residui Britannorum Anglorum gentem cum suo rege Vertigerno ad defensionem suæ patriæ invitavere; quos cum amicali societate exceptos, versa in contrarium vice, hostes pro adjutoribus impugnatores que senserunt. Sequenti deinceps tempore gens Anglorum, sive Saxonum, Britanniam tribus longis navibus advehitur. Quorum dum iter prosperatum domi fama retulisset mittitur nihilominus exercitus multiplex, qui; sociatus prioribus, primum hostes propter quos petebatur, abigit; deinde in Britones arma convertit, conficta occasione, quasi pro se eis militantibus minus stipendia præparassent, totam prope insulam ab orientali ejus plaga usque in occidentalem, incendio vel gladio sibi subegit.")

This account agrees with the commonly known narratives in the main point, that the Angles were invited over to Britain, and entered into the military service of the Britons, but afterwards on a pretext turned their arms against their hosts and subdued them.

It differs, however, conspicuously in one point, and that I think an interesting one, viz., in ignoring Hengest, and replacing him by Vortigern.

This version is the more interesting, because there is evidence that the other tradition, to which Hengest is attached, was also known in Italy at the same time the geographer of Ravenna was making mention of it (v. 31.) "In oceano vero occidentali est insula quæ dicitur Britannia, ubi olim gens Saxonum, veniens ab antiquâ Saxonîâ cum principe suo, nomine Anschis, in ea habitare videtur." ^a

That being so, our historian, knowing both traditions through English information, must have selected that to which his English informants gave most credence, and I think it can be shown that they were right.

An examination of the name itself will assist us in our conclusions.

Zeuss says^b that it is Cymric—Gortigern—and means great lord. At the same time its termination "gern" is undeniable Gothic and German. Of course it is not Latin.

But it is perectly clear that a King of the Britons, if there was one at this

^a J. L. C. Grimm (*Deutsche Mythologie*; *Schöpfung*, p. 537, edit. Göttingen, 1843) thinks that the geographer meant Æsc, the son of Hengest. "Das kann Hengist sein, oder noch lieber Oesc, dessen sohn, den ich mit Askr verglichen habe." This is scarcely critical. In corruptions of names the reverse is the rule, viz. the change of a dissyllable into a monosyllable.

^b *Grammatica Celtica*

time,* could only have come out of the paramount race of the country, viz. of the descendants of the Roman colonists, and would by necessity have had a Roman name, a name received from his ancestors and in consonance with the language which he spoke. That language was Latin, spoken in all the cities of Britain, and by the upper and middle classes, at and after the departure of the imperial authorities from this country.

Upon this point St. Patrick and his writings afford conclusive evidence.

That Saint was the son of a decurion of some Roman municipium in the north-western corner of Valentia, the town itself being more than probably Dumbarton.

He has left us his own life written in Latin, under the name of *Confessio*, doing so proveably because that was the only language known by him, besides Irish, an acquaintance with which he had made in Ireland.

Further, when he had occasion in A.D. 450 to excommunicate a British magnate of the cognomen of Coroticus, who had harried a part of Ireland where the Saint's new converts lived, he addressed to him a Latin epistle in order that he and his friends might fully understand their position before God.^b

That the Saint employed the Latin language in this epistle in order to be understood, his own words show. "I therefore (says he)^c earnestly request of every one, whosoever as a willing servant of God may become the bearer of this letter, that it be not withheld from any one, but rather that it be read before all people, and in the presence of Coroticus himself."

Upon this passage Dr. Todd observes, "As this letter is expressly said (viz., by St. Patrick) to have been originally written in Latin, we may infer that the people to whom it was to be read must have understood Latin. The followers of Coroticus were therefore Roman Christians of the provinces of Britannia, the colonists, or descendents of the colonists, who had settled there under the Roman rule."

Again, both in the same epistle and in the *Confessio*^d St. Patrick calls himself, though writing in Latin, "indoctus, rusticissimus."^e The ability to write in Latin

^a Constantius, in the genuine biography of S. Germanus, never mentions any king. I have observed upon this silence of Constantius in "A Neglected Fact in English History," p. 171 in note.

^b Dr. Todd's S. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland, a memoir of his life and mission, p. 385; and R. Rees's British Saints, p. 136.

^c Dr. Todd's S. Patrick, p. 385.

^d Ib. p. 353.

^e So Prudentius (Ruinart's Acta sincera Martyrum, p. 242, edit. Ratisbon 1859) says of himself in his hymn de Martyrio Sancti Laurentii (vv. 144, 145):

"Hos inter, o Christi decus,
Audi poetam rusticum,
Cordis fatentem crimina."

did not prove the saint to be a learned man, simply because that language was his own vernacular.

Though the use of the Latin language by persons whose race was derived from Rome would imply also the employment of Roman proper names, the latter can be shown more directly.

When St. Germanus was over here in the years of our Lord 429 and 448, the only name of a Briton, which his biographer Constantius gives us, is Latin or Graeco-Latin, a form of name very common under the empire, viz., *Elafius*.

In the same age St. Patrick (*Patricius*) was the son of Calpurnius, who was the son of Potitus, who was the son of Odissus.*

At the time of Diocletian's great persecution we find, besides St. Albanus,^a a bishop named Angulus martyred "in Britanniis civitate Augusta," i.e., in London.^c

At the Synod of Arles, A.D. 314, were Eborius, Restitutus, and Adelfius, bishops; Sacerdos, a priest; and Arminius, a deacon, all from Britain.^d

In epigraphy we have Niger Marinianus, an "eques singularis castrorum praetoriorum, natione Britannicianus."^e We have also M. Secundus Silvanus, a "negotiator cretarius Britannicianus."^f The form of word "Britannicianus" places these names at a late period of the empire.^g

Ausonius (A.D. 380)^h satirizes a Briton named Silvius Bonus.

Gennadius (A.D. 458)ⁱ mentions "Fastidius Britanniarum episcopus," a contemporary of Pelagius, another and more famous Briton.

Taking it as a fact (if I may be so permitted) that Wyrtegeorn was the real leader of the Angles or Jutes, and that there was an old English tradition that asserted it, it only remains to inquire why this tradition after once flourishing was discarded, and the new one of Hengest adopted. I think that the reason for this is simple.

^a Dr. Todd, p. 353, quoting the *Confessio*.

^b Constantius, in his Life of S. Germanus, speaks of S. Albanus, the former saint visiting his tomb; we cannot therefore doubt the truth of the martyrdom.

Venantius Fortunatus, in later days, also commemorates him (lib. viii. carm. 4, quoted by Ruinart in his *Acta sincera Martyrum*, p. 333, edit. Ratisbon, 1859). "Egregium Albanum fecunda Britannia profert."

^c See the Martyrology of the pseudo-Hieronymus in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. i. p. 28.

^d Petrie's Collect.

^e Zell, *Delectus inscriptionum Romanarum*, No. 1067.

^f Zell, No. 284.

^g See Notitia, "Invicti Juniores Britanniciani." "Exculcatores Juniores Britanniciani," (c. 19, in partibus occidentis.)

^h Epig. 109—114.

ⁱ Petrie's Collect.

As time went on, and when the Jutic invaders of Kent had become great men, the tradition, as the Italian historian has preserved it, was not enough for their national glory.

Wyrtegeorn was a leader whose exploits were confined to the conquest of Kent. He was unconnected with any mythus which the barbarians revered.

There was, however, an epic warrior as familiar to them as the real one, whose exploits were not confined to a mere county of England, but who had left his name upon Friseland and Holland, who had in popular estimation built the burg of Leyden (a *castellum* of Drusus), and who had stormed the Castle of Fin, a hero as shadowy as himself.

This was Hengest, the Angle, upon whom songs, which we still possess, had thrown all the charm of romance.*

Between the fabulous Hengest and the real Wyrtegeorn there was the connection of race, and the scenes of their achievements were not far distant from each other.

For these reasons the true old warrior was deposed and the epic hero was put in his place.

* Beowulf, cantos 16 and 17, and the fragment called the Battle of Finnesburh.

XXIII.—*On the Crypt of the Chapter House, Westminster Abbey.*

By HENRY HARROD, Esq., F.S.A.

Read March 31, 1870.

BENEATH the Chapter House at Westminster is a Crypt of so remarkable a character that it is surprising no efforts should have been made to ascertain the purpose of its construction, or, if such efforts have been made, that they should have produced no result.

There is a description of it in Mr. Scott's "Gleanings," from which we learn that, although but thirty feet in diameter, the walls are eighteen feet in thickness. The vault is supported by a stout central pillar, which is curiously hollowed out at two stages, "as if," adds Mr. Scott, "for the concealment of valuables." On the east side is a recess for an altar, the jambs of the recess having mortice-holes as if for iron bars or a screen; it was lighted by six small windows; and the narrow passage which leads to it from the south-east corner of the south transept is, from its turning twice in the thickness of the wall, over forty feet in length.

When I add that the interior is of the same date, or thereabouts, as the Chapter House above, and that no subsequent alterations appear to have been made, I need say nothing more about its architectural features. But we have here a vault of extraordinary strength and solidity, to all appearance expressly constructed for some special purpose.

The Histories of Dart, and Neale, and Brayley, and the Historical Memorials of Dr. Stanley offer no explanation.

The author of the Historical Memorials however, making use of more recent researches, disposes of some of the errors of the older histories; and I shall avail myself of the authorities referred to by the Dean of Westminster in my endeavour to throw light on the history of the Chapter House crypt.

The plan in the accompanying plate shows the near neighbourhood of the ancient palace, and that it was divided from the abbey by a wall running from

the palace-gate near King Street, past the east end of St. Margaret's Church, across the site of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, and, passing in close proximity to the east end of the infirmary chapel, it turned to the east where now the jewel-house of Richard II. stands, running in the direction of the Thames. (See Plate XIV.)

In this wall was a gate leading from the palace to the abbey, the exact position of which I have been unable to ascertain, but it must have been somewhere nearly opposite the door in the south transept now known as the Poets' Corner door.*

On the palace side of this wall was a road leading from the King Street gate into the Old Palace Yard, and from the point where it entered the wall formed the boundary of that yard.

On the abbey side of the wall was a considerable piece of ground, but to the portion of it on the north side of the choir I need no further refer than to point out that in a charter of Abbot Herbert, between 1121 and 1140, the church of St. Margaret's is described as "the church of St. Margaret standing in our cemetery."^b

The space on the south side was inclosed on the south by the infirmary buildings, except a narrow strip between the east end of the infirmary and the palace wall, where there was a cartway into the inclosure. This narrow strip was purchased by the Crown in the 51st Edward III. to isolate the tower called the Jewel-house, then erected at the south-west angle of the palace and inclosed with a wall. In the letters patent it is described as within the limits of the "Close" of the Abbey; and Widmore gives an extract from the abbey archives, which is quoted in the Gleanings (p. 227), which states the fact, omitting all about the wall, but adding, "*Erat autem inter Turrim prædictam et murum infirmarii, ubi nunc est clausura prædicta, via pedestris et caretaria usque ad angulam Turris.*" The western boundary was the dormitory and south transept, and on the northern side stood the choir, leaving a narrow space at the east connecting it with the northern cemetery. Into this southern precinct the Chapter House extended its flying buttresses, stretching out for some distance in every direction.

On the infirmary side of the ground, between the infirmary cloister and the dormitory, was the old chamber of the prior, for in the statutes of Ottobon, in the fourth year of Pope Clement IV.^c (1268), he directed that the prior should

* In the depositions concerning the sepulture of Henry VI. printed by Dr. Stanley, it is referred to as the "postern." *Historical Memorials*, p. 506.

^b *Harleian Charters*, 84, f. 46.

^c *Cotton. MSS. Faustina, A. III. 210.*



not occupy "the chamber called the prior's chamber before the door of the infirmary, next the infirmary cloister, except on account of sickness," but to remove to some spot more accessible to those of the monastery who were in health. The legate further pointed out that a new door had been made in the chapel of the infirmary, by means of which a passage had been opened from the back court of the palace through the infirmary to the cloister and other parts of Westminster, the use of which disturbed the sick, and he therefore directed the door to be closed. This door probably opened into this ground or close.

I have thought it necessary to be thus particular in showing what intervened between the palace and the abbey, for much of what I have to say about the Chapter House Crypt would not be understood without bearing these details in mind.

How much earlier than the time of Henry III. I know not, but certainly in his time, the treasury known as the Chapel of the Pyx was, as now, in the hands of the officers of the Crown.

It was formed by walling up two bays of the vaults beneath the dormitory, and at the time of the erection of the Chapter House by Henry III., and of the vestibule from the cloister, the staircase to the dormitory occupied the space between the Pyx Chapel and the Chapter House vestibule.

There was a treasury, prior to the erection of the Chapter House at Westminster, in the Tower of London.

In the 19th year of Edward I. a sum of 5*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.* was laid out in paving what is called the treasury of the wardrobe of the King under the Chapter House of Westminster, "*subtus Capitulum Westmonasterii*," and in repairing doors and other parts of the same. These were done by one John de Convers, the King's clerk, who did not account until the 32nd Edward I., when the entry appears on the Pipe Roll, but he states them to have been done "*anno decimo nono.*" *

Portions of inventories of plate and jewels, made then and shortly after, exist, but, as they are without any express statement of the place of deposit, they are useless for my present purpose.

Among the wardrobe accounts for the 27th Edward I. is an inventory of plate, jewels, relics, &c., headed, "*Inventarium factum per Radulphum de Manton et Jacobum de Dalilegh apud Westmonasterium mense Novembris in principio anni regni Edwardi vicesimi septimi de omnibus Jocalibus ejusdem Regis et aliis*

* In the 19th year he had received a sum of about 25*l.* to lay out, and had subsequently accounted for all but 6*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.* In the Rolls of the 24th and 31st years he stands as a debtor for that amount.

inventis in Thesauria Garderobæ ejusdem Regis subtus Capellam Monachorum ibidem."

This includes a very large number of the most valuable of the Crown jewels and plate, as well as relics and valuables, then considered almost beyond price.

Now I need scarcely point out that the treasury in the cloister is neither "subtus Capellam monachorum" nor "subtus Capitulum," even if they do not, as I believe they do, mean the same place. In the list of the 28th Edward I. the only things remaining in the Tower treasury were eight old zones and five old silk and leather zones,* and these are included in the list of things left in the treasury at Westminster by the thieves. My belief is that the vault built with such prodigious strength had been constructed expressly for the purpose, and had then been occupied as the treasury of the King's wardrobe.

It does not appear that any money or anything required for frequent use was there kept, and one can hardly imagine that the treasury connected with the exchequer, with the office in the adjoining palace, can have remained unvisited for a period of more than four months, as that robbed in 1303 must have been.

We now come to the records of the great robbery of the treasury in the 31st Edward I.

These are numerous, but by no means complete. There is the king's writ for an inquisition to be made, dated from Linlithgow on the 6th of June, and for the arrest of the abbot and eighty monks and servants of the abbey, in which the value of the treasure lost is stated to be 100,000*l*. And there are also the numerous verdicts of the various juries summoned in London and the neighbourhood. But of the actual trial and its result no record exists. There are statements made by two of the chief offenders, but whether made before or after trial is not stated.

From these documents the lucid account of the robbery by Mr. Burt in the "Gleanings" is compiled. This has been condensed by Dr. Stanley in the Memorials, and, as it is necessary to recall the facts, I cannot do better than quote the learned Dean's words, although on several important points I am obliged to differ from him.

"The summer of 1303 witnessed an event which probably affected the fortunes of the Treasury ever afterwards. The King was on his Scottish wars and had reached Linlithgow, when he heard the news that the immense hoard on which

* Lib. Quotid. Cont. Gard. 345.

he depended for his supplies had been carried off.^a The chronicler of Westminster records as matters of equal importance, that in that year 'Pope Boniface VIII. was stripped of all his goods, and a most audacious robber by himself secretly entered the treasury of the King of England.' The chronicler vehemently repudiates the wicked suspicion that any of the monks of Westminster were concerned in the transaction. But the facts are too stubborn. The chief robber doubtless was one Robert de Podlicote, who had already climbed by a ladder near the palace gate through a window of the Chapter House and broken open the door of the refectory, whence he carried off a considerable amount of silver plate. The most audacious attempt on the treasury, the position of which he had then ascertained, he concerted with friends, partly within, partly without the precincts. Any one who had passed through the cloisters in the early spring of that year must have been struck by the unusual appearance of a crop of hemp springing up over the grassy graves, and the gardener who came to mow the grass and carry off the herbage was constantly refused admittance. In that tangled hemp, sown and grown it was believed for this special purpose, was concealed the treasure after it was taken out. In two large black panniers it was conveyed away across the river to the King's bridge or pier, where now is Westminster Bridge, by the monk Alexander de Pershore and others, who returned in a boat to the Abbot's Mill on the Mill Bank. The broken boxes, the jewels scattered on the floor, the ring with which Henry III. was consecrated, the privy seal of the King himself, revealed the deed to the astonished eyes of the royal officers when they came to investigate the rumour. The abbot and the eighty monks were taken to the Tower, and a long trial took place. The abbot and the rest of the fraternity were released, but the charge was brought home to the sub-prior and the sacrist. The architecture still bears its protest against the treason and the boldness of the robbers. The approach from the northern side was walled off, and the treasury thus reduced by one-third. Inside and outside of the door by which this passage is entered is nailed the skin of a fair-haired ruddy-complexioned man. The same terrible lining is also affixed to the door of the sacristy in the south transept of the abbey. These fragments of human skin are generally said to belong to a Dane; but in fact there is no period to which they can be so naturally referred as to this; and they doubtless conveyed the same reminder to the clergy who paced the cloisters or mounted to the dormitory door,

^a Although not of very great importance, it is necessary to say that the jewels and plate carried off were not from the hoard upon which the King depended for his supplies. The great bulk of them were not of recent acquisition, and many remained in the possession of the Crown for several subsequent reigns.

as the seat on which the Persian judges sate, formed out of the skin of their unjust predecessor, with the inscription 'Remember whereon thou sittest.' They are doubtless 'the marks of the nails and the hole in the side of the wall' to which the Westminster chronicler somewhat irreverently appeals, to persuade 'the doubter' not to be faithless, but 'believing in the innocence of the monks.' From that time, however, the charm of the royal treasury was broken, and its more valuable contents removed elsewhere."^a

To this account it is necessary that I should add, that Robert de Podlicote, the principal actor in the crime, stated that he began his work of breaking through the wall on the night of the eighth day before Christmas, that he continued his work every night until the 24th of April, when he entered into the treasury, that he remained there the day and night following, and the night after that.

It is further necessary for me to point out that Dr. Stanley's account of the cloister-yard being sown with hemp appears to be incorrect: where this took place will presently appear.

Although Podlicote was the head of the gang, he appears to have been very materially assisted by William de Paleys, who had the custody of the palace gate, of whose guilt also there could be no doubt, for he had the case of the Cross of Neith, and a unicorn's horn, and other valuables from the treasury, under his bed. He was called the warden of the palace, and he is also stated to have been the keeper of the Prison of the Fleet.^b And with respect to him there are, in the inquisitions, such allegations as these:

"They say he received and permitted the burglars to go through the palace whenever they pleased."^c

"They say also that he closed the palace gates at an hour he ought not, and would not allow the neighbours to go through to the water or the cloaca as they were accustomed."^d

"Certain of the monks were suspected, because they were frequently going from the church to the palace in his company."^e

All these point to the burglary having been effected on the palace side of the monastery.

The cloister is but once mentioned in the inquisitions, and then not with

^a Historical Memorials, 383, 4, 5.

^b In Strype's "Stow" it is said these offices customarily went together. Edmund de Cheney had grants of these places in the 5th and 12th Edward III.

^c Palgrave's Inventories of the Exchequer, i. 276.

^d Ibid. p. 282.

^e Ibid. p. 284.

reference to this act, but to a supposed attempt to rob the treasury in the cloister four years before. It is said that suspicion at this time fell on the monks because an attempt had been made to rob the treasury, "namely, under the door of the treasury towards the cloister."^a

The opposite side of the cloister treasury and the Chapter House vault abutted upon the open space or close I have before described, bounded east by the palace wall; and I therefore now proceed to gather from the documents some indication of what this place really was.

The sacrist and his officers were suspected because they had charge of the church and the close of the abbey.^a In another place: "because they had the keys of the gates, and watched night and day in the cemetery, 'ubi burgaria facta fuit.'"^b

They say the sacrist found, on St. Barnabas day last, a silver gilt cup without a foot, and with a cover like a pix, "under the wall of the King's palace," against the said church (of St. Margaret).^c

They say that he and his men closed the gates of the cemetery, and prevented a man entering who had bought the herbage of the place where great part of the treasure was found, the day the search was made.^d A sort of roundabout way of describing the place, which could hardly have been needed had it been the cloister yard.

It was also asserted that John de Lynton knew of the robbery, because he sowed hemp in the cemetery, where none was wont to be sown.^e And that he dug up the road made towards the treasury, and obliterated the track of the thieves.^f

There is a still clearer piece of evidence. Two monks, Alexander de Neuport and William de Chelke, were suspected, but they do not appear to have held any office. They were suspected because Alexander de Neuport had his chamber "adjoining the cemetery where the monks were buried," which is between the said treasury and his said chamber, so that no noise could be there made without his perceiving it, and it is added that it was with the monk's consent the hemp was sown in the cemetery, in order that the treasure might be hid there.^g

The thieves, having entered the precincts by way of the palace, found themselves at once in this close or cemetery and within its gates; the exterior wall of the treasury abutted upon it, overlooked by the sleeping chamber of some of the monks, and in a spot where the monks were buried.

^a Palgrave, i. 288.

^c Ibid. p. 280.

^e Ibid. p. 274.

^b Ibid. p. 282.

^d Ibid. p. 277.

^f Ibid. p. 289.

I am not aware of any other evidence that this was the monks' burial-place; and Dr. Stanley states that they were buried in the cloister-yard; but he gives no authority, and I have been unable to find any in the "*Consuetudines*" of Ware, which was his authority for much of his description of the monastic buildings, but in Davies's *Rites of Durham* there is a plot of ground described, in a precisely similar position to this at Westminster, which was called the Centry Garth or cemetery, where all the prisoners and monks were buried.*

The monks who ought to have heard the disturbance, Newport and Chelke, may have occupied a room where the prior's chamber had been, near the infirmary cloister, but this would be at some distance from either treasury; it seems therefore to me far more likely they occupied the first compartments in the dormitory, where a portion of the cemetery would lie between them and the inner and most secluded face of the basement of the Chapter House, where night after night, for more than four months, Podlicote may have worked with his tarrers (terriers or augers) and other tools, unseen by the watchers and unheard by the monks, making "the marks of the nails, and the hole in the side of the wall" to which the chronicler appeals for confirmation of his statement that the monks had nothing to do with the robbery, an appeal he would scarcely have ventured to make had the hole been within their own cloister.

Podlicote speaks of first getting a great quantity of the valuables out of the breach, and then of taking a portion the next night "out of the gate behind St. Margaret's church," and of burying it there, placing some also in a tomb in St. Margaret's churchyard. These latter having been discovered and carried to the sacrist, and being found in his possession, attracted suspicion to him.

The statement made by John de Rippingall, another of the offenders, gives the names of no less than eighteen persons as being present, including himself and Podlicote, and one of the monks, namely Ralph de Mordon, the cellarer, but he does not mention the sacrist.

One of the most precious treasures of the King's wardrobe was the Cross of Neyth, of which many interesting particulars will be found in the Notes to the *Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobæ*, of the 28th Edward I., published by the Society.

Having been acquired by the King in Wales in his eleventh year, he for a long time carried it in all his progresses, and oblations to it, made in some church or chapel where the King happened to be, are constantly occurring in the accounts.

* *Rites of Durham*, pp. 88, 99.

In the account above-mentioned oblations are made to it on the high altar of the Abbey of Stratford and in the chapel at Holm Cultram, the thorn from Christ's crown being also offered to.

At the time of the robbery both were in the wardrobe, and I would suggest that the altar with the marks of a screen or series of iron bars before it was the place of deposit of relics considered so precious. The robbers did not venture to, or did not care to, trouble themselves with the cross; the case, doubtless covered with precious stones, was secured by William de Paleys.

In the 10th of Edward II. it was in the King's chapel at the palace of Westminster, and in various other places in subsequent years, until the 25th of Edward III., when it was at St. George's, Windsor, where it ever after remained.

The curious cavities in the pillar of the Chapter House vault may well have served to contain and secrete the coffer in which the more precious of the valuable relics were placed.

I believe I have taken from the inquiries all that can throw light upon the subject, and the conclusion I have arrived at is, that the place attacked was the King's treasury of the wardrobe, at that time under the Chapter House of Westminster.

With this robbery all faith in its strong walls appears to have vanished; the stolen goods were never again taken to Westminster; they remained in the custody of Sir John de Wrokenford at the Tower treasury. In that year John le Flemmyng received 77*s.* 4½*d.* for making a new door to the treasury there.

In the 17th Edward II. there is an indenture of delivery of jewels, plate, &c. at the Tower treasury, many of the articles described being evidently the same as those included in the old inventories of the treasury of the wardrobe at Westminster.

When we reach the 30th Edward III. the most valuable goods are still said to be in the treasury in the great Tower of London; the rest in the treasury in the cloister of the Abbey of Westminster.

To what use it was subsequently applied I have been unable to learn. Externally it seems to have been gradually buried up, and the earth accumulated to a considerable depth in the vault itself; and in 1790, when Pennant saw it, but one of its small windows could be seen above ground; at that time it had an entrance from the garden of Mr. Barrow.*

Beside this there is, I am told, another breach in the wall, one of them possibly Podlicote's breach.

* Pennant's London, p. 79.

The proper passage to it, however, is from the south transept, whether the original one I am unable to say. If instead of turning into the transept it had its outlet in the old revestry, it would account for two things we hear of there, for the human skin on the door, and for the curious painting on the wall of a penitent sacrist praying to the Virgin, bearing in her hand what is called a gridiron, but which may as well be an iron-bound coffer, the case of the precious relic of the Saviour's cross, which Adam de Waresfeld's negligence had put in such imminent peril.

XXIV.—*On Byzantine Churches, and the Modifications made in their Arrangements owing to the Necessities of the Greek Ritual.*—By EDWIN FRESHFIELD, Esq. M.A. F.S.A.

Read April 3rd, 1873.

There is no subject that appears to me to present a better field for inquiry to a Christian antiquary than the architecture and antiquities of the Byzantine Church and the Churches associated with it.

Although much has no doubt been lost, much still remains, and a far from incomplete history of Byzantine architecture and of the different styles prevailing at the different epochs of that empire might be collected even from the churches still existing in the cities of Constantinople, Salonica, Athens, and Trebisonde alone, and there would still remain the churches of the Monasteries of Mount Athos and of the islands, without touching upon those of Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt.

My object in this communication is to point out what I believe to be one of the great landmarks in the Byzantine style, and its connection with the Greek Liturgy. The landmark is this: where an ancient Greek church is found with three apses it is subsequent in date to the Emperor Justin II., or has had a new east end applied; where it has only one apse it is prior to that date.

Byzantine architecture is so intimately connected with the Liturgy of its Church that the study of one necessarily involves the other.

On examining the churches I was struck to find in the later buildings a distinctive feature found equally at Corfu and Trebisonde, at Alexandria and at Studenitz, which I did not find in the earlier examples, and this feature I will explain.

Numerous Christian churches exist in Constantinople, now used either as mosques or applied to secular objects; of these, three are known to have been built prior to and during the reign of Justinian: viz. the celebrated Church

of St. John of the Studium; the Church of St. Sergius and Bacchus, called by the Turks Kutchuk Aya Sofia, or Little Aya Sofia; and the Church of Aya Sofia itself, justly styled the Great Church. There is also one church of the time of Justinian, that of the Apostles, which was destroyed shortly after the taking of Constantinople, but which is sufficiently known by the description of Procopius.

There are a dozen churches still existing in Salonica, and of these also three at least are buildings anterior to, or of the date of, Justinian, viz. those of St. Demetrius, St. George, and the nameless church now called Eski Djouma.

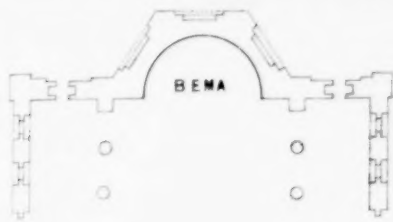
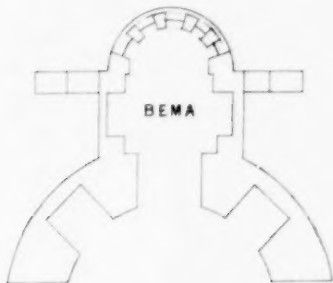
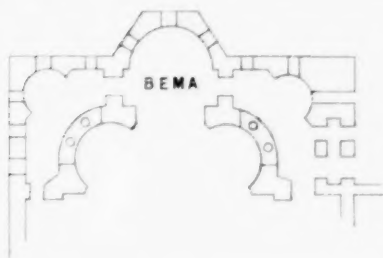
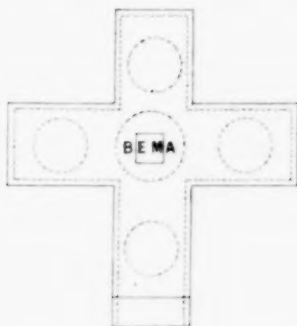
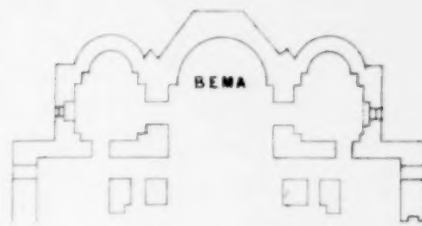
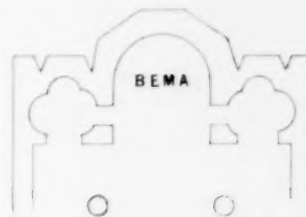
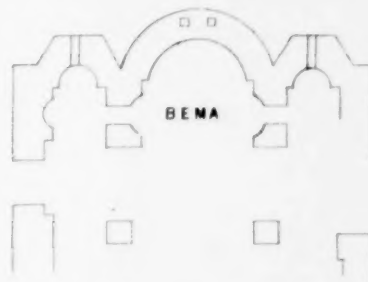
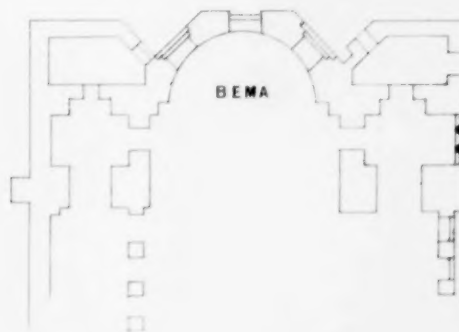
Of these various churches, St. George at Salonica, a circular church with one apse, is undoubtedly very little after the date of the Emperor Constantine. St. John of the Studium, a three-aisled basilica with one apse, is of the date of Leo the Macedonian. The Eski Djouma, a three-aisled basilica, and St. Demetrius, of a quasi-cruciform shape, both with only one apse, are of about the same date, and Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, the Aya Sofia, and the Church of the Apostles are of the date of Justinian.

There is, as far as I know, only one church at Athens earlier than the date of Justinian, and this is doubtful, if we except the Temples of Theseus and the Parthenon, both of which have been used as churches.

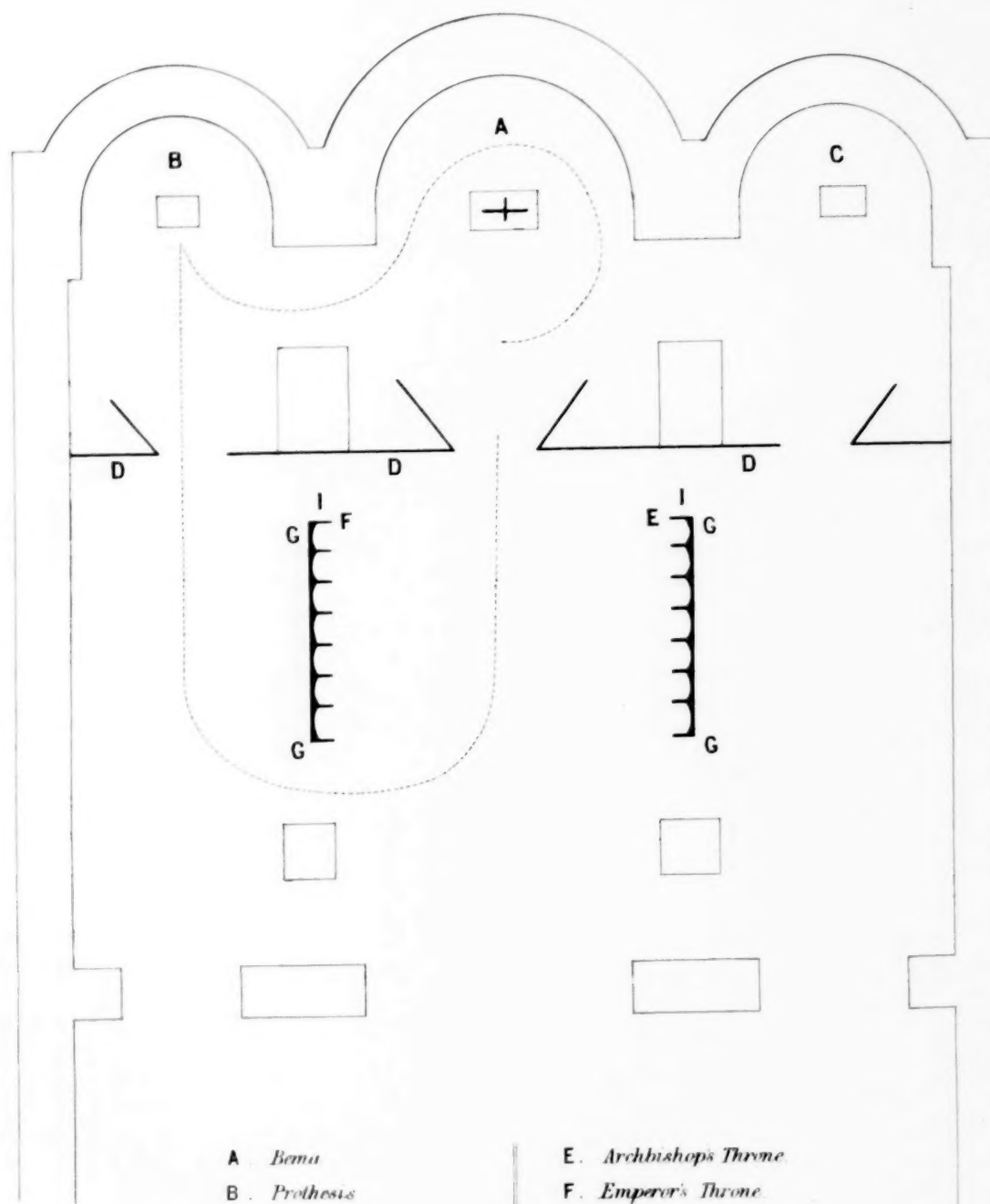
Now in not one of these churches proper is there more than one apse; I say proper, because there is attached to the Church of St. Demetrius a second church of a later date, which must not be mistaken for it. All these churches may be found figured in Salzenberg, *Alt-Christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel* (Berlin, 1854), or in Texier and Pullan's *Byzantine Architecture*, from which the plans of the east ends of some of the churches given in the accompanying plate (Plate XV.) are taken.

The ruined church at Pergamos (if church it be), and also the churches at Ephesus, Sardis, and Philadelphia, in Asia Minor, and many others in Syria, known to be anterior to or of the reign of Justinian, also the church of the Monastery of Mount Sinai built by Justinian, and the two Athenian temples, have only one apse. But after a very diligent search I cannot find that a single church built for the Greek rite, after the date of Justin II. and before the extinction of the Byzantine empire, had ever less than three apses, and in almost every case the apses were so erected as to be connected one with another.

Now the study of the Greek Liturgy would have led one to expect to find every Greek church with three apses, and these three apses part of a holy inclosure. I was much surprised, therefore, to find that the more ancient churches had only one. This naturally led me to inquire the probable date at

1. *S^t John of the Studium, Constantinople*2. *S^t George, Salonica*3. *S.S. Sergius & Bacchus, Constantinople*7. *The Apostles, Constantinople*4. *S^t Sofia, Salonica*5. *The Theotokos, Constantinople*6. *The Pantocrator, Constantinople*8. *S^t Eirene, Constantinople*

(Nos 2 & 4 are taken from Texier & Pullon's work upon *Byzantine Architecture*. Nos 1, 3, 5, 6 & 8 from Salzenberg's *Alt-Christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel*. No 7 is derived from Procopius' description.)



- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------|
| A . Bema | E . Archbishops Throne. |
| B . Prothesis | F . Emperor's Throne |
| C . Diaconicon | G . Stalls |
| D . Ikonostasis | |

The Dotted Line marks the course of the procession at the Entrances

GROUND PLAN OF A GREEK CHURCH.

which the use of three apses became in the Greek Church a liturgical necessity, and the conclusion I came to was that in the reign of Justin II. the Liturgy was altered, and with the alteration a consequent change in the buildings took place.

In the accompanying plate (Plate XVI.) is a plan of an ordinary Greek church; it is purposely exaggerated at the east end, and has, it will be observed, three apses. That in the centre is the Bema; that on the left or north side is the Prothesis; that on the south is the Diaconicon.

These apses are divided from the body of the church by a high screen going up almost to the roof, and in this screen there are three doors, each door corresponding with the centre of the apse to which it is opposite.

As far as I am aware, in every church built after the time of Justin II. these three apses exist, and were almost universally connected by openings from one into another, which formed part of the original construction of the building. The screen that I have mentioned is called the Ikonostasis. The inclosure within the screen is reserved entirely for the clergy, and so strict is this rule that in some parts of the East if a layman enters the whole inclosure has to be purified.

The use of these three apses is as follows :

The centre apse contains the holy table, and this stands at the place indicated in the plan, namely, the chord of the arc. There is a space amply sufficient for free passage all round it. In the southern apse is a convenient place for keeping the vessels of the church. In the northern apse is a small table upon which the bread and wine are put prior to their being placed on the holy table for consecration. And here in passing I would remark that a Greek church can only have one altar, and the Liturgy can only be celebrated once at that altar during the day. I mention this to prevent the impression that these apses are used as they could be in a Latin church.

The Greek Liturgy, after various prayers, commences with the reading of the Epistle and Gospel.

Prior to the reading of the Gospel, which takes place in the body of the church, either from a lectern or a pulpit, the book of the gospel is laid upon the holy table and is brought into the body of the church by the priests and deacons in procession, walking round the holy table through the passage into the prothesis through the door leading from the apse of the prothesis into the church, and so through the body of the church.

The deacon does not enter into the bema, but stands outside, and at the

appointed time reads the Gospel. This is called the Little Entrance. The Great Entrance, which is a procession of considerably more importance, takes place after the reading of the Gospel, when the elements are brought from the table of the prothesis and placed upon the holy table.

I think I cannot do better than insert the rubric applicable to this ceremony from the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, curtailing it somewhat.

When this prayer is finished they also say the Cherubic Hymn, and then the deacon censens the holy table in a circle, and he and the priests then go to the prothesis, the deacon preceding. And the deacon, having censened the holy things, and said to himself "God be merciful to me a sinner," saith to the priest, "Sir, lift up." And the priest, raising the veil, puts it on the left shoulder of the deacon, saying, "Lift up your hands in the sanctuary and bless the Lord;" then taking the holy disc he puts it with all care and reverence on the deacon's head, the deacon also holding the censer with one of his fingers, and the priest himself taking the holy chalice in his hands they go through the north part preceded by tapers and make the Great Entrance.

During the time that this ceremony takes place a hymn is sung, which has so important a bearing upon the matter that I make no apology for giving it *in extenso*. It is called the Cherubic Hymn and may be translated as follows :

Let us who mystically represent the Cherubim and who sing the Trisagion Hymn to the life-giving Trinity lay aside all worldly care as about to receive the King of all, invisibly attended by the spears of the angelic hosts, Allelujah.^a

I shall have occasion to mention this hymn again, and at present only draw your attention to one word, which I have translated "attended by the spears." The Greek word is *δορυφερούμενον*. Most translators of the hymn have given the go-by to it altogether.

As the bread and wine are carried through the church the Greeks bow the head with great reverence; and this also is a matter which I shall revert to presently, because it is manifest that at this particular time the bread and wine, not having been consecrated, are in any view of the case merely bread and wine. Therefore, whatever reverence they might have been disposed to pay to the elements after consecration, there is no reason why reverence should be paid to them then. In a large church, where there are many priests, the ceremony is very imposing.

^a Οἱ τὰ χερουβίμ μυστικῶς εἰκονίζοντες, καὶ τῇ ζωοποιῇ Τριάδι τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον προσάδοντες, πᾶσαν τὴν βιωτικὴν ἀποθώμεθα μέριμναν, ὡς τὸν Βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων ὑποδεξόμενοι ταῖς Ἀγγελικαῖς ἀοράτως δορυφερούμενον τάξεσιν. Ἀλληλούια.

^b See Neale's History of the Eastern Church, i. 372, 430.

If we refer to the ideal plan which I have given, which is an adaptation, exaggerated somewhat, of the ground plan of the church of St. Theodore at Athens, and compare it with the other plans of the churches, it will be seen how specially applicable architecturally the plan of St. Theodore's is to the ceremony I have described, and how inapplicable are the earlier examples. At St. George's the ceremony could only be performed by making three doors in the narrow screen separating the apse from the circular church. In St. John of the Studium doors take the place of the two apses.

The construction of the churches of St. Sergius and Santa Sofia might make the ceremony possible, but only by a makeshift of wooden side-screens. The two eastern doors at Santa Sofia make the use of a wooden screen there absolutely necessary. The plan of the church may be found in Salzenberg. Now, it is curious that both Ducange and Dr. Mason Neale have speculated as to where the prothesis and diaconicon in Santa Sofia could possibly have been; Ducange fancied they were in the two semicircles at the south-west and north-west of the bema.

This position Dr. Mason Neale controverts,* assigning a different place for them, viz., in the recesses at the north and south of the bema; but he admits the difficulty of this arrangement.

It is to me very remarkable that, seeing as he did the difficulty and knowing so much as he did of Byzantine architecture and liturgy, the true reason never struck him, viz., that the church of Santa Sofia was not originally provided with a prothesis and a diaconicon, and any that were there were only makeshifts, probably wooden inclosures. But, however puzzled Dr. Mason Neale and Ducange might have been after examining the plan of Santa Sofia, how much more would they have been puzzled if they had attempted to find the prothesis and diaconicon in the Church of the Apostles.

The description taken from Procopius^b of this church is as follows. Where I rely upon a passage I have translated it exactly and given the Greek, the other parts I have curtailed.

Moreover, he (Justinian) carried out his design in this manner: two straight lines were drawn out, intersecting in the middle in the form of a cross; one line going east to west, and the other from north to south. Besides the exterior wall, the church was bounded internally by a double row of columns one above the other. At the crossing of these two straight lines, and as far as

* Neale, *History of the Eastern Church*, i. 240.

^b *De Aedificiis*, i. 4.

possible in the middle, a place was built not to be entered by those who do not officiate, which they call, as is seemly, the *Ierateion*.^a

The arms were all equal, except that which went towards the west was as much longer than the others as was necessary to make the shape into the form of a cross.

As far as the roof is concerned, that which was over what is called the *Ierateion* is similar to that which is over the middle part of the Church of Sofia, only that it happens to be smaller.^b

The whole description of this church is very interesting ; it was cruciform, with five domes, like those of St. Mark's at Venice, only none of the domes except the centre had windows ; but I have quoted enough for my purpose to show that the *Ierateion* was under the centre dome in the middle of the church.

This can only answer to the *agion bema*, where to this day, as above remarked, none but an ecclesiastic may enter ; indeed, the word *Ierateion* is still used in the Greek service books to mean the *bema*.

It is evident, therefore, that some change had taken place in the Liturgy after the time of the building of these churches, which had necessitated or induced a corresponding change in the construction of the churches, or that the particular ritual had been so developed as to make the change necessary, and I cannot, as I said before, understand how Dr. Neale, whose book is full of ground-plans, did not see it.

Now, as to the primitive Liturgies the case stands thus : they are three in number, and are called by the names of St. Clement, St. Mark, and St. James. With respect to that of St. Clement, there is, I believe, some doubt if it was ever in use. St. Mark's Liturgy is the normal Liturgy of the Church of Alexandria, and St. James that of the Eastern Church.

It would be too long a subject, and require more learning than I am possessed of, to enter into the intricate question of the age of the Liturgies of St. Mark and St. James. Without going so far as to say that they are the composition entirely of the apostles whose names they bear, there is good reason to suppose that some considerable portions of them are at least of that date.

With the Liturgy of St. Clement the question is somewhat different. This Liturgy is found in the Apostolic Constitutions, and the question is whether it is of the date of these or earlier. Mr. Palmer and Dr. Mason Neale, who have exhausted the subject of these Liturgies, have come to the determination that

^a Κατὰ δὲ ταῖν δυοῖν εὐθείαιν τὸ ζεῦγμα, εἴη δ' ἂν κατὰ μέσον αὐταῖν μάλιστα, τοῖς οὐκ ὀργιάζουσιν ἄβαντος τετέλεσται χώρος, ὅνπερ ἱερατεῖον, ὡς τὸ εἶκος, ὀνομάζουσι.

^b Τῆς δὲ ὀροφῆς τὰ μὲν τοῦ ἱερατείου καλουμένου καθύπερθεν τῇ τῆς Σοφίας ἱερῷ κατὰ γε τὰ μέσα ἐμφερῇ εὔργασται, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ταῦτα ἐκείνων ἐλασσῶσθαι μεγέθει συμβαίνει

the Liturgy of St. Clement is considerably older than the time of the Apostolic Constitutions, which Dr. Mason Neale fixes as that of the third century. In the Liturgies as given by him in his carefully collated editions of them, it will be found that in the Liturgy of St. Clement the cherubic hymn does not exist.

In the Greek version of the Liturgies of St. Mark and St. James the cherubic hymn is introduced. But it must not be forgotten, that of these Liturgies that of St. James is still used in the orthodox Church of the East, and the Liturgy of St. Mark was in use down to the twelfth century; and the hymn was therefore introduced from Constantinople. In the Coptic and Syriac versions of these Liturgies the hymn does not exist, but the rubric in all these Liturgies applicable to the Great Entrance is very different to that in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom.

1st. In the Liturgy of St. Clement the rubric is as follows: "And when this (the expulsion of the catechumens) is done, let the deacons bring the gifts to the bishop in the sanctuary, and let the priests stand upon his right hand and upon his left, as disciples standing by their master."

2nd. In the Liturgy of St. Mark the rubric is still more curt; it is this: "And the holy elements enter into the sanctuary."

3rd. In the Liturgy of St. James, which was the parent of that of St. Chrysostom, the rubric is quite as meagre, it is this: "The priest, carrying in the holy gifts, says this prayer."

The simplicity of these rubrics as compared with that of St. Chrysostom is manifest.

We must next observe that in the annals of the time of the Emperor Justin by Cedrenus, after mentioning the introduction of a hymn at the celebration of the holy communion on Thursday in holy week, he adds,* "And a rubric was made that the cherubic hymn should be sung," and also this, "and he (*i.e.* Justin) added to the church of the Blacherni two apses."

Now the cherubic hymn is that I have just mentioned as being sung during the Great Entrance, and from all these facts I deduce: first, that in the earlier Liturgies there was no provision for any such ceremony as that of the Great Entrance, therefore no architectural necessity to provide for it; secondly, that this particular hymn was introduced in the time of the Emperor Justin to suit a more elaborate ritual, and that an architectural necessity arose for providing for the new ritual, and that this is evidenced by the arrangements made by the Emperor in the church of the Palace of the Blacherni, one of the largest and most celebrated churches in Constantinople.

* Synopsis, p. 684.

To show the importance of the ceremony I will give an account, though of a later date, of the Great Entrance on certain occasions, such as the coronation or marriage of the Emperor when he attended the church of Santa Sofia, and the patriarch officiated. This account is to be found in Curopalates, p. 94, and is as follows :—

When they begin to sing the hymn at the Great Entrance (*i.e.* the cherubic hymn) the more honourable of the deacons, coming into the church, request the emperor to approach, and he goes with them to the prothesis, where the elements are, and while he is standing without the prothesis a gold vestment, called a *mandyas*, is placed over his cloak and diadem. The emperor at this time holds in his right hand a cross, which it is customary for the emperor to hold in his hand when he also wears his crown, and in his left a stick: he occupies at this time the ecclesiastical place of the officer called the deputy. The emperor then, holding the cross and stick, leads the way throughout the whole entrance; the Varangian guards, all bearing halberds, and young noblemen, in number one hundred, in complete armour, escorting him on either side.

Next after the emperor the deacons follow, and after them the priests carrying the sacred vessels and the elements themselves. Taking the usual course through the church, the procession arrives as far as the *soleas* (*i.e.* the space in front of the *ikonostasis* in front of the holy doors, *viz.*, double doors leading to the *bema*.) The procession remains without; the emperor alone crossing the *soleas* finds the patriarch (who has remained in the *bema*) standing at the holy doors.

The two, *viz.* the patriarch within and the emperor without the doors, then stand inclining their heads the one to the other in form of welcome. And after this comes the secondary of the deacons holding in his right hand the censer and in the other that which is called the *omophorion* (the pall) of the patriarch. (Here follows a long explanation of the reason why the secondary does this, which I have omitted.) The secondary of the deacons then inclining his head censes the king, saying with a loud voice, "May the Lord God remember the power of thy kingdom in His kingdom now and ever and to ages of ages," and then he says, "Amen." The same prayer is also repeated by the priests and deacons forming the procession.

They then coming to the *bema* say to the patriarch, "May the Lord God remember thy holiness in His kingdom now and ever and to ages of ages."

When this is finished the emperor, again approaching the patriarch, takes off the gold *mandyas* and hands it to the proper officer and returns to his throne. The Liturgy is then proceeded with.

Now, in addition to the halberds with which the imperial guards were armed, even as our yeomen of the guard still carry them, six spears, decorated with red and white silk, were fixed in the choir during this ceremony, and after the service were carried in front of the emperor.

I take it that it is to these spears and the halberds of the Varangians that reference is made in the hymn by the word *δορυφερόνμενον*, which I believe only means that the spears were presented, or as we should now say arms were

presented, and the comparison therefore is between the emperor attended by his guards and the presence of Our Lord at the Eucharist attended by the heavenly host. This presence of the emperor and his bowing his head to the patriarch probably was the origin of the Greeks bowing their heads at a place in which liturgically there was no excuse for their so doing; although an Eastern Durandus has given another reason for it.

I think then that I have shown, (1st) a reason why three apses were required after the age of Justin and not before, (2nd) that they were added then, (3rd) that the churches built before that date had only one apse, (4) that churches built after had three. It seems to me therefore proved that where an ancient Greek church is found with only one apse it is anterior to the date of the Emperor Justin II.; where it is found with three it is either subsequent in date to that emperor or has been altered.

There are two churches which I have not mentioned, yet to which I think I ought to draw your attention, and these two churches I have considered as in an intermediate stage. They are the churches of St. Eirene at Constantinople and St. Sofia at Salonica, but I think I can show that both of these bear out my theory.

With respect to the church of St. Eirene there is a very great question as to its date. The church of St. Eirene was the ancient cathedral church of Constantinople, the church in which Alexander Bishop of Constantinople passed the night before the celebrated day on which the heretic Arius was to have been received into the Church by the order of the emperor, but in the course of which he died.

Subsequently the church of the Aya Sofia or the Great Church was commenced by Constantine and finished by his son Constantius. It was built almost adjoining to the church of St Eirene, and the two remained in the same inclosure until the time of Justinian, when, having been burned, they were pulled down and the present church of Aya Sofia built.

The question is when the church of St. Eirene was built. Mr. Fergusson in his *Hand-book of Architecture* says, "Of the churches that have been illustrated at Constantinople, or described, one slightly more modern than St. Sofia is that of St. Eirene in the Seraglio, now used as an arsenal." After some hesitation I am disposed to think Mr. Fergusson is right, and that the church of St. Eirene was commenced at the very end of the reign of Justinian.

The plan (Pl. XV., fig. 8) will show that the church has only one apse, but then it has two arrangements by the side of it which were used as the prothesis and diaconicon; but I examined these and found them to be subsequent additions.

The curious feature in this church is the westernmost dome, which has no windows to it, and from it we may gather what the four domes in the arms of the Church of the Apostles were like, for they are described by Procopius as being without windows.

The second church, namely that of St. Sofia at Salonica, is also worthy of consideration. The north and south apses are additions, and it will be observed that the architect has not succeeded in preventing the entrance being askew. (Pl. XV., fig. 4.) The actual date of the church is unknown, but it is probably the same as St. Eirene.

The churches of Syria form a distinct and very interesting study, which I have by no means lost sight of. They may be divided into two great heads, churches built by the Greeks, and churches built during the time of the Crusaders. Some churches of the former class up to the seventh century are figured by Count de Vogué in his book on Syrian Churches, and these show some strange peculiarities which will require future investigation and consideration, probably arising from the use of the Liturgy of St. James.

Few of them have three apses, and only one or two an arrangement specially adapted to the ceremony of the Great Entrance. The two most important of the churches figured by Count de Vogué, viz., those of St. Simeon Stylites and St. Sergius of Bosra, have each three apses. The former of these churches was erected between 440 and 550. The latter about the year 512, and in each instance the triple apse is a later addition.

Of the churches of the date of the Crusades, although many have three apses, only two have indications of the special arrangement I have mentioned. Count de Vogué mentions that one of the churches so built was for the Jacobites,^a and the other for the Maronites,^b in both of which Oriental Liturgies would be used.

In these remarks I have avoided any reference to Jerusalem. Jerusalem has become so bitter a battlefield that I shrink from being drawn into the controversy. Moreover, my belief is that the churches were much altered during the Latin kingdom and little can be gathered from them.

^a Les Eglises de la Terre Sainte, p. 292.

^b *Ibid.* p. 374.

XXV.—*The Will, Inventories, and Funeral Expenses of James Montagu, Bishop of Winchester, anno 1618. From the original in the possession of the Baroness North. By EVELYN PHILIP SHIRLEY, Esq., F.S.A.*

Read Feb. 20th, 1873.

JAMES MONTAGU (or Mountagu, as he wrote it himself), fifth son of Sir Edward Montagu, of Boughton, in the county of Northampton (who was the eldest son of Sir Edward Montagu, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and the founder of the ducal house of Montagu), was born at Boughton in the year 1568, and educated in Christ Church College, Cambridge, and became eventually Master of Sidney College, "where," as Anthony Wood observes,^a "he was noted for his piety, virtue, and learning." When the University went to meet James I. on his coming from Scotland, his Majesty first took notice of him at Hinchinbrooke (the seat of the loyal Sir Oliver Cromwell, uncle to the Protector), and made him Dean of the Royal Chapel, and in 1604 (December 17)^b Dean of Worcester. On the 17th of April, 1608, he was consecrated Bishop of Bath and Wells, and eight years afterwards, viz., in 1616, translated to the see of Winchester.^c "For his faithfulness, dexterity, and prudence," adds Wood, "in weighty affairs, the king chose him to be one of his Privy Council." (Oct. 11, 1617).^d

Dr. Peter Heylin in his "Observations on the Historie of the Reign of King Charles," printed in 1656, tells us,^e that "the Bishop, being a great stickler in the quarrels at Cambridge, and a great master in the art of insinuation, had cunningly fashioned King James unto these (Calvinistic) opinions, to which the King's education in the Kirk of Scotland had before inclined him; so that it was no very hard matter for him (having an Archbishop [Abbot] also of his own per-

^a Ath. Oxon. ed. Bliss, ii. 853.

^b State Papers, Domestic, James I. i. 432.

^c Le Neve's Fasti, ed. 1716, p. 34.

^d State Papers, Domestic, James I. ii. 488.

^e Heylin's Observations, p. 77.

suasions) to make use of the king's authority for recommending the Nine (Calvinistic) Articles to the Church of Ireland, which he found would not be admitted in the Church of England."

Fuller, in his *Worthies of England*, gives also a short notice of the Bishop; he says, that "he was rather nursing Father than Master to Sidney College, for he found it in bonds to pay twenty marks per annum to Trinity College for the ground whereon it is built, and left it free, assigning it a rent for the discharge thereof. When the King's Ditch in Cambridge (he quaintly adds), made to defend it by its strength, did in his time offend it by its stench, he expended a hundred marks to bring running water into it, to the great conveniency of the University." He tells us also that the Bishop "was highly in favour with King James, who 'did ken a man of merit' as well as any prince in Christendom. He translated the works of King James into Latin, and improved his greatness to do good offices therewith."*

The State Papers preserve very few notices of Bishop James Montagu; there is however one letter in his autograph to Lord Salisbury, written when Bishop of Bath and Wells, on the 15th of August, 1608, on the state of the Church in his diocese, and some verses addressed to him by Samuel Daniell, the poet laureate, consoling him in sickness, in the year 1618. This must have been during his last illness. One remarkable incident however remains, a report, mentioned in certain Notes by Sir Thomas Wilson, taken September 28th, 1618, soon after the Bishop's death, "That the Queen had begged the life of Sir Walter Raleigh, and that the Bishop, when visited by the King a little before his death, told him he should never see him again, and would therefore beg one thing of him, viz.: the life of an old gentleman, a great offender, who yet was dearly respected by the late queen, viz.: Sir Walter Raleigh,"^b The Bishop made his will on the 1st of April, 1618, an original, entirely in his own writing, remaining among the muniments of the Baroness North, at Wroxton, in Oxfordshire (the representative of his brother and executor, Sir Charles Montagu). In this document his lordship refers to "the finding many infirmities springing up daily, the decay and dissolution of this earthly tabernacle to approach." In fact he died within four months at Greenwich, on the 20th of July, 1618, being then only fifty years of age. After thankful and pious expressions of his faith and trust in Christ, he desires that his body may be decently buried without cutting or mangling, if it be possible, in the great church of Bath, in some convenient place in the body of that church, to stir up some more benefactors to that place." Then follows a

* *Worthies*, ed. 1662, p. 284.

^b *State Papers, Domestic*, James I. ii. 578.

very loyal recognition of his duty to the King, to whom he leaves "a cupp of goule of a 200^{li} price." He bequeaths a ring of seventeen diamonds to his mother, and to each of his brothers, Sir Edward Montagu, Sir Henry Lord Chief Justice, and Sir Sidney Master of Requests, a piece of plate of the value of 20*l*. "To the most worthy Marquis of Buckingham I doe give a diamond ringe of seventeen diamonds, in token of my unfayned love to him, having ben the most faythfull frend that ever I had." After the bequests to Sidney College before^d referred to by Fuller, he observes, "If any shall thinke I have given to little for good uses in my death, I answer I have bestowed much in my life; I am suer not so little as 5000^{li} upon my two bishoprikes." After legacies to his servants and the gift of "one of my two best diamond ringes to my sister the Lady Charles," to weare for my sake duringe her life, and after to be given to her daughter my goddaughter," he leaves the rest of his estate in money, jewels, &c., to his brother Sir Charles Montagu, whom he constitutes sole executor, "for he hath well deserved to distribute my estate after my death, since he hath taken paynes to manage it in my life." He also enjoins him to take James Risley, "his ancient, honest, and faithfull servant," to be his assistant in the management of his estate because he knows it best, and to him he bequeaths "the garter ringe I wear uppon my finger, to keep as a remembrance of me duringe his life." The will appears to be sealed with this ring, the impression being the arms of Winchester impaled with Montagu within the garter. The last paragraph but two of the will is as follows:—

I have made no mention of funerall charges, for that I would leave it to the discretion of my executor, for beinge to be buried in a remote place I see no great reason to be at any extraordinary charge heere, yet my will is to have 300^{li} bestowed uppon a monument in the body of the church of Bath, and for all other charges I would not have my executor to exceed the sum of 400^{li}.

With regard to the monument above referred to, and which still exists on the north side of the nave of the Abbey Church of Bath,^b the expense was exactly what the Bishop had enjoined (300*l*.). But the funeral charges greatly exceeded the sum which he directed to be the maximum of expenditure, amounting to no

^a Lady Charles? The Bishop's sisters are stated in the Peerages to have been Lucy, married to Sir William Wray, of Glentworth, co. Linc. knt.; Susanna, to Sir Richard Sondes, of Throwley, co. Lanc. knt.; and Theodosia, to Sir Henry Capel, of Rayne, in Essex, knt. I conclude that by Lady Charles he intended his sister-in-law, Mary, daughter of Sir W. Whitmore, the second wife of Sir Charles Montagu.

^b See the Camden edition of Dingley's History from Marble, where this monument is given at pp. 48 and 58, and also the Addenda, p. 155, for the agreement for the making of it, transcribed from the original at Wroxtton.

less than 940*l.* 18*s.* 11*d.* The accounts appeared to me so curious that I have had them transcribed, and present them to the notice of the Society of Antiquaries, as they exhibit a most heterogeneous collection of items pressed into the service of an undertaker's bill at the beginning of the seventeenth century, besides proving in a precise, though indirect, manner the difficulties of transit at that period, when three shillings and four pence had to be paid "to one that was a guide to the Bathe." This "necessary expense" appears to have been incurred at Newbury, and, I conclude, refers to the passage over Salisbury Plain.

The expenses begin with the items of the embalming; the bowels being buried at Greenwich; and it is remarkable that, although the interment did not take place for a month, no lead coffin seems to have been provided, but only a wooden one, "with pitch, flax, and rosen to it, which cost one pound." The consequence of this misplaced economy was a repetition of the embalming process, as we learn from items for "Stuffe to new imbalm the body," and for "Searclothing to carry it stanch to the Bath;" an affair of considerable difficulty, for we find at the very beginning of the accounts that new wheels, "both fore and after wheels," had to be made for the coach which was hired to carry the corpse to Bath, together with new bolts and bars, and harness of every description, rendered necessary, one is led to believe, either by the terrible state of the roads, or by the imposition of the people employed. Certainly, the expenses which pass under the general term of "Funeral Charges" were of an elastic character; for instance, we find a sum of five shillings set down "for ale and posset drink for my Lord Chief Justice in the Bath!" and "silk gowns provided for Sir Charles Montagu's lady, her four daughters, waiting gentlewoman, and four maids." A principal part of the expense was of course the mourning, or "blacks" as it was then called, which every one at all connected with the late Bishop received at his funeral; but a great deal was spent in eating and drinking during the three days which the funeral train (after the body had laid in state at Winchester House in Southwark for a month) was on its way to Bath. The procession consisted of fifty horses, for the hire of which twenty-five pounds was paid, as we learn from an additional account of expenses, and the proceedings of a suit at law which was the result to Sir Charles Montagu of his troublesome executorship; from the same authority also it appears that three horses died during the journey, for which a charge of thirty-seven pounds is found in the additional expenses.

The first day's journey was from Southwark to Reading, where they put up at the George Inn, though some of the company "lay" at the "Cardinal's Hat;" the next day, after baiting at Newbury, they came to Marlborough, and on

Wednesday they got to Bath; here they probably remained for the rest of the week, setting out on their return on the following Monday. The hire of the horses, including their return to London, is stated to have been for nine days.

In conclusion, I may observe that Sir William Segar, Garter King at Arms, was paid 100*l.* by composition for all things belonging to his (the herald's) business, and 10*l.* was the price of "making the epitaph for the tombe," the name of the author being omitted. The funeral sermon was preached by Doctor Rivett, apparently in the church of St. Mary Overy, now called St. Saviour's Southwark, to whom a gilt cup of the value of 8*l.* was given for his fee. I conclude this was Dr. Andrew Rivet, a celebrated French Protestant divine, though it does not appear that he visited Oxford, where he was incorporated D.D., till August 30, 1621.

The inventories at the Bishop's palaces of Winchester House, Southwark, Waltham, and Farnham Castle, are remarkable solely for the proofs which they afford of the very simple, nay bare, condition of those episcopal residences. A few tables, court-cupboards, and benches are nearly the only items; the floors were matted, but the walls appear to have been unhung with tapestry; no plate is mentioned; and the only article of luxury is the purple velvet robe, which was doubtless the habit of the Bishop of Winchester as prelate of the Garter, and which was valued at 40*l.*

I. Will of James Montagu, Bishop of Winchester, 1618.

In Dei nomine Amen.

Statutum est omnibus ut semel moriantur. In reverence of this eternall statute I have all my life longe felt before me the day of my death, never desieringe to live longer than became me by the lawe of nature, nether yet ferringe more to dye then did become me by the rule of a Christian. Findinge now of late through many infirmityes springinge up dayly in me the decay and dissolution of this earthly tabernacle to approach, That my contemplations of another world might be the more free and my distractions for matter of this world the fewer, I have heare made a breife disposition of that little estate that it hath pleased God of his goodnes to bestowe uppon me:

Therefore I James Mountagu, Bishop of Winton, beinge in perfect estate of mind and memory, I prayse God therefore, doe make this my last will and testament upon the first day of Aprill, 1618: First and above all other thinges I doe render to Almighty God his Divine Ma^{ty} all humble and hartly thanks for his many and rich mercies bestowed uppon me, especially that beinge borne in the light of the Gospell he boeth gave me to be brought up in the knowledge of his truth, and made me a minister of his Word and Sacraments, and advanced me by the hand of a most sacred Kinge to serve him in his Church in the most worthie and waytie callinge of a Bishop, most

humbly beseeching his Divine Ma^y that so longe as this mortall life shall last in me I may walke before him with a perfect harte. And when his good pleasure shalle be to separate my soule from my body, that then, though I beare about me a pressinge doune wayt of sinne, yet I may by the mercies and meritts of Jesus Christ my only Savior be pardoned and fully acquitt of all my sinnes and iniquities, and appeare righteous in his sight. So that my soule may be received into his glorious kingdom ther to remayne for ever with the blessed Trinity with angells, saynts, and soules of just and perfect men, Amen.

My body I comit to the earth whence it was taken, there to rest in hope of a glorious resurrection, beseeching my executor that it may be decently buried, without cuttinge or manglinge, if it be possible, in the great church of Bath, in some convenient place in the body of that church, to stirr up some more benefactors to that place.

Next the disposinge of my soule and body to Almighty God I doe tender unto the Kinges most excellent Ma^y, my most gracious, deere, and Royall Master, all humble and dutifull thanks for all his gracious goodnes towards me, and for those high favors he hath ever multiplied uppon me, which I doe professe next the salvation of my soule have been the greatest comfort of my life. God from above reward him, and blesse the Queen's most excellent Ma^y whom I have ever found in sicknes and in health most gracious unto me. As also the most worthy Prince Charles, that all there dayes may be many and happy uppon earth. And in some small remembrance of my infinite obligations I doe desire my executor to present his Ma^y with a cupp of goule of a 200^{li} price as a poor remembrance of a lounnge servant, who ever served his Ma^y with as true a hart, as redly a mind, and as affectionate a desier as ever servant served master on earth.

Unto my most deere and singular good mother I doe give my fayr ringe of 17 diamonds if it please God she doe survive me. Unto my worthy and lounge brothers S^r Edward Mountagu, S^r Henry L. Cheife Justice, and S^r Sidney M^r of Requests, I doe give a peece of plate of 10^{li}, to every one of them, hauinge left them all better remembrances of an other kind.

Unto the most worthy Marques of Buckingham I doe give a diamond ringe of 17 diamonds in token of my unfayned loue to him, having ben the most faythfull frend that ever I had. [Valued at 100*l*.] To the poor in general I doe give one 100^{li} to be bestowed at the discretion of my executor.

To Sidney Colledge I doe give 20^{li} rent charge for ever to be taken out of my land of Coppingford, wherof 20 markes is for to discharge Trinity Colledge rent, and 20 nobles to be bestowed as the master and fellowes shall thinke fittest for the good of the house.

If any shall thinke I have given to little for good uses in my death I answer I have bestowed much in my life, I am suer not so little as 5,000^{li} uppon my 2 Bishoprikes. And I thinke it both a naturall and a christian duty to doe somewhat for the good of the house from which I am descended.

I doe likewise give to Sidney Colledge all my bookes in all places where they are. [Valued at 200*l*.]

Unto my ancient, honest, and faythfull servant James Riseley I doe give my Closse of Horewalls, wherof there is a lease made to my brother the L^t. Chiefe Justice and him, with a power reserved to my selfe to declare the uses: I doe therefore declare that my meaninge is, that that lease and all the benefitt of it shall wholly and only goe to the good of James Riseley.

Unto my seruant Vaughan I doe giue 40^{li}.

Unto my good and diligent seruant Nicolas Younge I doe give one 200 markes in monny and all my scarlet gownes and robes and rich gloues. [Valued at 33*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*.]

Unto my good seruant Willm Lingam I doe give 20^{li} in monny and all my apparrell whatsoever and wearinge linnen. [Valued at 40*l*.]

Unto Gland Patter my page I doe give 10^{li} in monny and a new sute of clothes.

Unto my seruant Wells I doe give 20^{li} in monny.

Unto all the rest of my houshold servants I doe give 2 full yeares wages giuinge them the testimony of honest and lovinge servants, beinge sorry for nothings more then that I am not able to reward them every one particularly, but I doubt not they, consideringe my estate, will find I haue delt like a good master with them.

I doe giue unto my good sister the Lady Charles on of my two best dimond ringes to weare for my sake duringe her life, and after to be given to hir daughter my god-daughter.

All the rest of my monny, plate, jewells, goods, chattles, movables whatsoever, not bequeathed in this my last will, I doe give unto my deare and lovinge brother Sr Charles Mountagu.

And I doe make, constitute, and ordayne my sayed Brother Sr Charles Mountagu my only and sole executor of this my last will and testament, for he hath well deserved to distribute my estate after my death, since he hath taken paynes to mannage it in my life, and I am sorry his reward is like to be no greater, since his travayle hath been so much for my good; only I doe injoyne him to take James Risley to be his assistant in the managinge of this my estate, because he knows it best, and I doe give to James Risley the garter ringe I weare uppon my finger to keepe as a remembrance of me duringe his life. [Valued at 8*l*.]

I doe intreate my deare brothers Sr Edward and Sr Henry Mountagu Lo: Chief Justice to be the superuisors of this my last will and testament, and if any controversy fall out about any thinge in it to be decided by them.

I have made no mention of funerall charges for that I would leave it to the discretion of my executor, for beinge to be buried in a remote place I see no great reason to be at any extraordinary charge heere, yet my will is to have 300^{li} bestowed uppon a monument in the body of the church of Bath, and for all other charges I would not have my executor to exceed the sum of 400^{li}.

This is my last will and testament written with my owne hand and sealed with my seale. If I have omitted or forgotten any thinge ether necessary in duty or fittinge in honor I desire my executor to supply it though it be with some losse unto him.

Thus I take my leave of this world and of all my lovinge kindred and friends, hopinge we shall have a more happy meetinge in a more happy world.---Amen.

JA: WINTON:

L.S.

Juratus, Ex^r. 22^o Julii, 1618.

EDM: POPE.

(Endorsed in the Bishop's autograph).

The last Will and Testament of James Montagu Bishop of Winton:
published the 25 of May, 1618, and witnessed by those whose
names are heere subscribed.

JA: RISLEY.

THOMAS WELLES.

JOHN VAUGHAN.

NIC: YOUNGE.

II. Inventory of Goods at Winchester House.

The goodes in Winchester House in Southwarke as they were prayسد and the Inventarie thereof deliued to Mr. Tho: Andrewes:—

	£	s.	d.
Item in the great hall a new longe table	2	0	0
Item 4 tables coued with deale boards	1	0	0
Item 4 formes	0	10	0
In the great kitchen a broade table standinge on 4 tressles	0	15	0
Item, a dresser board and 5 shelves	1	10	0
Item a great copper boyler	5	0	0
In the pastery 4 pasterie boards	2	0	0
Item 6 shelves	0	5	0
In the larder 5 boards to laye meate on	0	13	4
Item 2 barres with pinnes to hang meate on	0	2	0
Item in the great chamber a large table standing on 4 tressles	1	0	0
Item a litle table	0	6	8
Item a courte cupboard	2	0	0
In the counsell chamber the room new matted	4	0	0
In the chapell a table and 5 bench formes	1	10	0
In the litle closet new shelves 6	0	6	0
Item the roome matted	0	10	0
In the litle kitchen 2 dresser boards and 5 shelves	1	5	0
In the pasterye there, 3 pasterie boards and 2 shelves	3	0	0
In the pantry 2 boards to sett meate on	1	0	0
Item 4 shelves and a beere stall	0	5	0
In the scullerie a boarde and 2 shelves	0	13	0
In the litle butteryes 4 stands to sett beere on	1	0	0
Item 3 shelves	0	3	0
Item in the wine seller a table and stales for beere	1	0	0
In the great butterye 3 long stands to lay beere on	1	0	0
In the pantrye by the great hall a good binge to put bread in	1	0	0
Item 2 chambers by the hall, both new matted	4	0	0
In the closset w th in the 4 shelves	0	4	0
Item the longe gallerie new matted	8	0	0
Item the passage gallerie new matted	3	0	0
Item up the stayors a bigg bell	4	0	0
The sume of the goodes in Winchester house is	52	13	0

The goodes at Waltham praised by M^r. Aston and others of my lords owne people:—

In the greate dyninge roome a drawing table, a square table, and a liûre cupboard	2	10	0
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	£	s.	d.
Item in the next to the dyning roome a square table	0	3	4
Item in the litle dyneinge roome a longe table, a square table, and a cupboard in the upp gwesten chamber	1	0	0
Item in the wardrope a table	0	3	0
In the nurserie a table, in the wardrope a bedsteed, another in the garden tower	0	13	0
In the wardrope a table and in the new hall a forme	0	2	0
In the commission chamber a table and a liüre cupboard	0	15	0
In Sr Richard Norton's chamber a lyüre bedsteed	0	3	4
In the upp gwesten chamb' a liürs cupboard	0	2	0
In the best gwesten chamb' a brushing table	0	2	0
In the butcher's chamber a bedsteed	0	2	6
In the panterie a chest	0	6	8
In Wise his chamber a bedsteed and a truckle bed in Sr. Rich: Norton's men's chamb'	0	3	4
In Mr. Treasurer's lodginge one old lüre bedsteed	0	2	0
In the porter's chamber a lüre bedsteed	0	2	6
In Mr Langford's men's chamb' a liüre bedsteed	0	2	6
In the great study a long table and a square table	0	8	4
In the litle study a square table	0	3	4
In the washouse a table	0	1	6
In the butterie a beere cask	0	10	0
Item a clocke and a bell	5	0	0
In Mr Vaughan's chamb' a standinge bedsteed	0	2	6
In Mr Gleasons chamb' a halfe-headed bedsteed	0	2	6
In Mr Stevenson's chamb' a half-headed bedsteed and a foldinge table	0	8	4
In the next chamber a litle trundle bed	0	2	6
In Mr. Vaughan's chamber a folding table	0	3	4
In the next chamber a ioyned bedsteed	0	8	0
In the chamber ou the gate a new square table and liverie cupboard	0	6	6
In the studie there a new square table	0	4	0
In the next chamber a broken bedsteed	0	1	0
In Dr Rivett's mans chamb' a truckle bed	0	2	6
In Mr Tresure's chamber a livery bedsteed	0	3	0
In the great hall a fayre new table and frame, 2 new ioyned formes w th cou'ring for 4 old tables	3	0	0
In the chamber above the Commission chamber one standing bedsteed.	0	8	0
In Sr Rich. Norton's chamber a new square table and a cupboard	0	5	0
In Br Bilson's chamb' a new side cupboard	0	5	0
In the upp' gwesten chamb' a new square table	0	4	0

	£	s.	d.
In the best guesten chamb' a new square table	0	4	0
In Wise his chamb' a litle square table	0	1	6
In the stable an old luire bedstead	0	2	6
In the brewhouse a great longe cooler and diu's vessells belonginge to the brewhouse	15	0	0
Item 18 joyned stooles	0	18	0
In S ^r Tho: Bilson's chamber a square table and a side cupboard	0	6	0
Item netts for fishinge	3	0	0
Item 200 loads of fire-wood in the yard and houses	10	0	0
The sume of the goods at Waltham	50	11	10

The goods at Farnham Castle praised by my lord's own people:—

Item 3 loade and 1200 of lath	3	0	0
Item olde and new tymber	5	0	0
Item tyles, lime, sand, and hayre	3	0	0
Item deale boords, 84	4	12	0
Item a grindstone and irons about it	0	5	0
Item 4 greate theales of 30 foot a piece 3 foot 3 inches broad and three inches thicke	5	6	8
Item new matts in the king's 3 new buildings	10	0	0
The sum'e of the goods at ffarnham	31	3	8
Item a purple velvett roabe	40	0	0
Sum ^m totall of all is	174	8	6

(Endorsed) Inventories of Winchester House—

To Rec: for 6 y^{ds} & $\frac{1}{2}$ as ffollows:

M ^r of the Game p ^r añ	5	0	0
Keep ^r Hambleton P ^k	3	0	0
Constable of ffarnham	8	0	0

16

6

96

8

M^r Risley hath rec.

104

w^{ch} he ought to repay.

III.—*Funeral Expenses of James Montagu, Bishop of Winchester, 1618.*

[All omissions by reason of the decay of some parts of the document are indicated by notes.]

The account of S^r Charles Mountagu, knight, sole executor of the last Will and Testament of the Right Reverend father in God, Jeames, late Lo^r Bishopp of Winton, made of all such debts, payments, costs, charges, and necessarie expences which the said executor hath paid, disbursed, satisfied, and laid out in and about the execution of the said Lo^r Bishopp deceased, his Will, from the day of his death, which was the xx^o of July, 1618, as followeth.

THE CHARGE.

	£	s.	d.
Imp ^r mis this accomptant chargeth him selfe with all the goods, chattells, household stuffe, debts, plate, jewells, and readie monie of the said Lo ^r Bishopp deceased speatified in an inventorie thereof made, to which he referreth him selfe, extending in all to the sume of . . .	3,225	9	6

THE DISCHARGE.

FUNERALL CHARGES.

Imp ^r imis for sending of messengers to London and to other places to expedite businesses after his death	1	10	0
Item to tolle the bell at Greenwich and Southwarke	0	6	8
Item for a windeing sheete and other things p bill	1	17	4
* Item for the burial of his bowells at Greenwich	2	0	0
Item for breakēg the ground in the chauncell	2	0	0
Item for the hearse cloth	0	5	0
Item for the pullpitt cloth	0	5	0
Item for the clark's attendance	0	2	0
Item for makeing the grave	0	2	0
Item for an afternoones knell	0	6	8
Item to the minister instead of his gowne	2	0	0
Item to Mr. Rowland the churgion for his helpe to imbowell him	2	0	0
Item to an othe ^r churgion for his helpe to imbowell him	[obliterated]		
Item to an othe ^r churgion for his helpe to imbowell him	0	12	0

FUNERALL CHARGES (fol. 2):— 12*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.* 16 15 2

Item to a woman to attend the churgeons with water, mopps, clothes and other things	0	10	0
Item for wyne and beere for the watchers	0	9	0
Item for watching the corps at Greenwich 2 nights and for lights	1	10	0

* This entry is erased in the original.

	£	s.	d.
Item to William Lingham to provide searchclothes to wrap the bowells in .	1	10	0
Item for a coffin, and pitch, flaxe, and rosen to itt	1	0	0
Item for his paynes takeing and diligence	1	0	0
Item for a long coach to bring the corpps to Southwarke by night . .	2	0	0
Item for torches to burye the bowells	1	15	0
Item to the poore that night the bowells there buried	1	0	0
Item to a footeman sent downe into the cuntrye to my brothers to give notice of his death and tyme of the funerall for his paynes and charge . .	2	0	0
Item to a landresse	1	10	0
Item to 2 men that watched the corps at Winchester house a month .	2	0	0
Item to a coachmaker to pvide the coach to carrye the corpps to Bathe ffor 2 new fore wheeles	4	10	0
Item for 2 new hinder wheles	2	0	0
Item for new bolts	0	4	0
Item for a new swibb barr	0	2	0
Item for a new pay'e of spring irons	0	10	0
Item for 3 clouts & grease	0	4	0
Item for locks & rounds	0	6	0
Item for rayles	0	5	0
Item for new covering the coach with black chirte, nayles and tacks .	2	0	0
Item for new strayneing the frame of the bedd	0	2	0
Item for new webb cushions & thongs	0	5	0
Item for strapps & leathe's	0	2	6
Item for quishions & thongs for behinde	0	4	0
Item for a payre of howsings	0	3	0

FUNERALL CHARGES (fol. 3):—

Item for 2 newe croope's	0	2	0
Item for beareing leathe's and buckles	0	4	0
Item for bellie bandes and a short peace and buckles	0	5	0
Item for new altering the harnesse	0	10	0
Item for oyleing, blacking & dressing y ^e harnesse	0	6	0
Item paid to one sadler for provisions for the iorney when the corps was carried downe to Bathe—item for divers girts and strapps	0	13	4
Item for a French furniture	0	15	0
Item for black cotten to cove' 3 saddles	0	14	0
Item for makeing the couers	0	6	0
Item for 2 black bridles	0	3	0
Item for bñke stirrups & leathe's	0	5	0
Item for varnishing a bitt & for new bosses	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Item for diu's saddles borrowed for the iorney	1	10	0
Item for bñke bridles & snaffles	0	10	0
Item for mending old saddles	0	15	0
Item for strapps, girthes, croopers, buckles & loopes	0	16	8
Item for cou'ing many of the gentlemen's saddles w th bñke	2	0	0
Item paid to the harnesse maker for provisions for the iorney. Item for new coupleing raynes	0	2	0
Item a new bolt & cassoe to line it	2	0	0
Item an other new bolte & cassoe to line it	2	0	0
Item for neats leather wings & thonges and nayles	0	18	0
Item for new bayes to couer the bedd and seate	1	10	0
Item for feathers for the bedd	1	5	0
Item for a new bottome for the bedd	1	0	0
Item for new polle peeces	0	7	0
Item for coppe ^r buttens	0	3	0
Item for rolleing leather, and a buckle	0	1	4
Item for feathers and buckles for the polle end	0	2	3
Item for new braces	0	12	8
Item for one new harnesse	2	0	0
Item for an othe ^r new harnesse	2	0	0
Item for new threed raynes for 4 horssees	1	15	0
Item for new traces	1	0	0
	26	16	3

FUNERAL CHARGES (fol. 4):—

Item given to Parker, the scullerye man, to goe downe to the Bathe	2	0	0
Item to Thomas, an other of the kitchin, for to carrie him downe to the Bathe and for his worke there	1	15	0
Item to M ^r Bradford, the Clarke of the Kitchin, to carrie him downe to make provisions at Bathe	2	0	0
• Item for the hire of a coach for my Lo ^r Cheife Justice and my other brothers	1	10	0
Item for the hire of 4 horssees	2	0	0
Item for the coachman's hire	1	13	4
Item to the carrier of Wells to carrie pvisions for the funerall att one tyme	2	0	0
Item to another for carrying of things for the gentlemē	1	13	4
Item to another for cariage of the blacks	1	15	0
Item for cou'ing the coffin w th blacke clothe	2	0	0
Item for stuffe to new imbalme the bodye and for scareclothing to carrie it stanch to the Bathe	1	14	6
Item to one that vndertooke the doeing of it	1	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Item to an other that holpe him	0	10	0
Item for fyer spent about it	0	5	0
Item given to docto ^r Rivett for preaching the funerall sermon, a guilte cupp .	8	0	0
Item to the ringers att St. Marie Overs ^a when the corps was carried awaye .	1	10	0
Item for drinke and other things at Kingstone while my Lo ^r Cheife Justice staid there	1	5	8
Item for mending a wheele and other things that broake at Kingston . . .	0	18	6
Item to some that did helpe about the coach	0	3	4
Item to the ringers there	0	5	0
Item to the ringers at Maidenhead	0	5	0
	36	0	8

FUNERALL CHARGES (fol. 5):—

Item paid for my Lo ^r Cheife Justice his supper, and the rest of the companie on Mundaie night at Reading at y ^e George	1	19	0
Item paid for bread and beere			
Item paid for wyne and sugar	2	0	0
Item paid for sallets	0	10	0
Item p ^d for mutton rost and boyled	1	18	10
Item p ^d for capons and pulletts	1	9	0
Item p ^d for lambe	1	6	2
Item p ^d for veale	1	0	0
Item p ^d for rabbits	1	0	0
Item paid for ducks	0	14	0
Item paid for chickins	0	17	6
Item p ^d for pigeons	0	12	0
Item for harteshorn	0	9	0
Item for frute & cheese	0	12	6
Item for fyer	0	14	4
Item paid for my Lo ^r & the rest of the companie for breakefast on Tuesday morninge at the George at Reading	0	18	6
Item paid for mutton rost and boyled			
Item beefe rost and boyled	0	16	4
Item p ^d for rabbitts	0	6	8
Item p ^d for chickins	0	9	0
Item for wyne & sugar	2	0	0
Item for bread and beere	1	10	0
Item for fyer	0	6	0
Item calues head	0	3	6

^a St. Mary Overy, now St. Saviour's, Southwark.

	£	s.	d.
Item butter night & morneing	0	8	0
Item for milke & eggs	0	4	0
Item for frute & cheese	0	7	0
Item given in the house	0	10	0
Item to 4 men that watched the corps all night	0	4	0
Item given to the ringers of 2 pishes	0	10	0
Item given to the poore	0	5	0
Item paid for horssmeate at the George for hey for 40 horsses	1	6	8
Item for pravinde ^r for one stable	1	10	0
Item for pravinder for another stable	1	10	0
Item for greasing the coach	0	2	0
	28	9	0

FUNERALL CHARGES (fol. 6):—

Item for horssmeat & lodging for them that laye at the Cardinalls Hatt in Reading for wyne	0	8	0
Item for tobacco	0	5	0
Item for fyer	0	3	0
Item for beere	1	0	0
Item for a glasse	0	2	6
Item for 18 bushells of oates	1	19	0
Item for beanes	0	7	0
Item for hey	1	0	0
Item to the sadler	0	16	0
Item for shoueing	0	9	8
Item given in the house	0	3	0
Item for mending a coach at Theale	0	9	0
Item for a bayte at Newberrie	1	15	0
Item to the ringers there	0	5	0
Item for Tusday nights supper att Marleboarough at y ^e White Harte. Item for mutton rost and boyled	1	14	0
Item for veale rost & boyled	1	2	0
Item for capons & pulletts	0	16	6
Item for rabbits	0	15	10
Item for chickins	0	14	6
Item for bread and beere	2	0	0
Item for trouts	0	9	2
Item for wyne	2	0	0
Item for sugar	0	16	0
Item for milke	0	2	0
Item for salletts	0	8	0

	£	s.	d.
Item for rost mutton, rabbits & chickins at an other inne	0	13	6
Item for frute and cheese	0	10	4
Item for horsse meate att the Beare	1	19	6
Item for the mens suppers there	2	0	0
Item for theire breakfast there	1	7	0
Item given in the house	0	3	6
Item for horssmeat at the White Harte in one stable for oates	2	0	0
Item for otes in an other stable	2	0	0
Item for beanes	1	8	0
Item for hey in one stable	2	0	0
	34	2	0

FUNERAL CHARGES (fol. 7):—

Item for a sicke mares meate and to the ostler to looke to her	0	10	0
Item for the hyer of a horsse	0	8	0
Item paid the sadler	0	5	0
Item to the smith for drenchings	0	9	0
Item to the smith for shoueing and mending the coach	0	7	6
Item for the gentlemens suppers that came from Waltham and met vs there	1	16	0
Item for theire breakefast	0	18	0
Item paid the sadler and the smith there and at the Beare	1	12	0
Item paid for theire horssmeate	1	10	0
Item given to the begge's	0	5	0
Item paid the watche's	0	8	0
Item paid M ^r Steevenson for his supper and horssmeate at Newberrye when he came before to make pvision	0	10	6
Item to one that was a guide to the Bathe	0	3	4
Item for my Lo's Breakefast and the company at the White Harte for mutton rost and boyled	0	18	6
Item for beefe rost and boyled	0	9	6
Item for rabitts	0	5	6
Item for chickins	0	4	10
Item for wyne and sugar	2	0	0
Item for bread and beere	1	12	2
Item for fyer at night and in the morning at all the innes	0	14	6
Item for boyled neats tounge	0	3	6
Item for butte ^r at night and in the morneing	0	9	4
Item for milke & eggs	0	4	8
Item for frute & cheese	0	7	6
Item given to the cooks	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Item given to the servants in the house	0	10	0
Item given to the ringers	0	5	0
Item for a baite by the waye to Bathe	2	0	0
Item for horssemeate and to the ostle's	1	5	0
Item paid to M ^r Walter Chapman for ^a			
3 houses, plate, linnen			
pvisions as he made for			
other disburssments be			
our abode there			
hand			

FUNERALL CHARGES (fol. 8):—

Item for thinges vsed by the Herrold at Armes	2	0	0
Item for timber to make the hearse	1	10	0
Item for nayles & pinnes to sett it vpp	1	19	6
Item for timber rayles to hang the blacks about the church	2	0	0
Item to the carpenters to frame the hersse	0	9	0
Item for setting vp the rayles about the church	1	9	0
Item for the hearrolds diet at Bathe the first night they came thither	1	10	0
Item for theire dinners & wyne the next day	1	4	0
Item for theire supper's that night	0	17	6
Item for theire breakefast the next morneing	2	0	0
Item for theire horssemeate	0	5	0
Item given in reward in the house where they lay	1	0	0
Item given in reward for some that came from London with them	0	5	0
Item paid the butcher for meate at Bathe dureing our abode there, for some men that came before, for a qu ^{ter} of mutton	0	4	0
Item for a peece of beefe	0	5	6
Item for 2 ioyns of veale & a legg of mutton	2	0	0
Item for 2 muttons	1	0	0
Item for 2 lambes	0	10	6
Item for a side of veale	1	10	0
Item for xxx pounds of suett	1	0	0
Item for vdders	0	14	4
Item for neats tounes	0	9	8
Item for marye bones	2	0	0
Item for 2 muttons	1	0	0
Item for one mutton	1	16	0
Item more for two muttons			

^a MS. destroyed in this place.

	£	s.	d.
Item for 4 lambes	1	14	0
Item for one calfe	1	0	0
Item for another calfe	0	16	0
Item more a * & a veale	0	10	0
Item for a fore quarte ^r of an ox	2	0	0
Item for a hinde quarte ^r of an ox	1	15	0
Item for a hinde quarte ^r of an ox	1	12	0
Item for an othe ^r quart ^b			
Item for a quarter of			
Item more for an other			

FUNERALL CHARGES (fol. 9):—

Item paid the fowler for one douz and d of godwitts	1	12	0
Item for plouers	1	4	0
Item for 12 douzen of pigeons	2	0	0
Item for quails	1	17	0
Item for a douz ^r of turkeys	1	10	0
Item for an other douzen of turkeys	1	7	0
Item for 4 turkeyes more	0	10	0
Item for 5 douzen of chickins	1	10	0
Item more for 6 douzen of chickins	1	9	0
Item more for 4 douz ^r of chickins	1	4	0
Item more for 4 douz ^r of chickins	1	4	0
Item for a douz ^r of capons	1	10	0
Item for a douzen of caponetts	1	4	0
Item for another douz ^r of capons	1	10	0
Item for another douz ^r & halfe of capons	1	13	4
Item for a douz ^r of cockes & pulletts	0	18	0
Item for a douz ^r & d of cockes & pulletts	1	4	0
Item for 6 douz ^r of snipes	1	0	4
Item more for 6 douz ^r of snipes	1	2	8
Item for 4 douzen of ducks	1	3	10
Item for 2 douzen of partridges	1	4	0
Item for carriage & gathring all thes together	1	6	8
Item paid for horssemeate vidz. in one stable for hey	2	0	0
Item in that stable for oates	1	18	6
Item in an othe ^r stable for hey	1	14	0
Item in that stable for oates	1	10	0
Item for beanes in the firste stable	0	13	4
Item for beanes in the last stable	0	18	8

* Half a calf.

^b Obliterated in MS.

	£	s.	d.
Item for straunger's horsses that came from Wells & other places on the funerall day	0	11	0
Item for Mr. Bradford's horssc & some that came with him	0	12	0
Item more for straunge's horsses that came to the funerall	0	10	6
Item for one that brought things from Wells	0	3	6
Item paid a saddler	0	4	0
Item paid for S ^r Edward Mountagues horsses for hey *	0	0	
And oates			
Item paid for S ^r Sidney			hey & oates

FUNERALL CHARGES (fol. 10):—

Item for 5 bushells of fine Lamas wheate	1	13	4
Item for 5 busheells more	1	13	4
Item for manchett ^b	2	6	0
Item for second bread	2	0	0
Item in cakes	2	0	0
Item for bakeing of pyes & pasties	1	10	0
Item paid M ^r Witton Chapman for baye salte	0	3	0
Item paid for white salte	0	1	4
Item paid for 4 pound of peper	0	11	0
Item for paper	0	2	0
Item for girth webb	0	0	8
Item for fine sugar	0	3	0
Item for wyne vineger	0	5	6
Item for oliues and cape's	0	8	4
Item for a 3 gallon jugg	0	3	0
Item paid the clarke of the kitchen for 16 couple of rabbitts	1	6	0
Item for 8 partriges	0	10	0
Item for artichocks	0	18	0
Item for 8 rosting piggs	1	0	0
Item for 5 douzen of pigeons	0	15	0
Item for 12 pound of butter	0	3	8
Item for creame	0	5	0
Item for frute	0	6	0
Item for snipes	0	15	0
Item for sucketts & comfates ^c	0	5	4
Item for fyer	1	5	6
Item for candles	0	8	0

^a The MS. here imperfect.^b The best kind of white bread.^c Sucketts, conserves, or sweetmeats.—See Harrison's Description of England, p. 167.

	£	s.	d.
Item for a barrell of butter	2	0	0
Item for phesants	1	0	0
Item for docto ^r Wood's lodging	1	1	0
Item for docto ^r Rivett's lodging	0	10	0
Item given where the docto ^r s laye	0	5	0
Item for Mr. Langford's lodging & horssmeate	0	10	0
Item paid a smith for shoueinge some of the horses	0	8	0
Item paid for nayleyng others	0	6	6
Item to him drenching some of those that had galled			
Item paid an othe ^r smith ^a			

FUNERALL CHARGES (fol. 11).—

Item paid for Mr. Wiffm Yalding and Mr. Martyn Yaldens lodging & horssmeate	0	19	6
Item paid an other bill for lodgings	1	4	8
Item paid for docto ^r Dorrell's lodging & horssmeate	0	10	6
Item for ale & possett drinke for my Lo ^r Chiefe Justice in the Bath	0	5	0
Item given amongst the servants in the houses in reward	2	0	0
Item to Mr. Risley for 20 poore men that came from Wells to attend the funerall for gownes, money and meate as followeth, vidz: to John Riggbie for his gowne	1	5	0
Item to him in money to beare his charges and in reward	0	5	0
Item to Thomas Robie for his gowne	1	5	0
Item to him in money to beare his charges, & in reward	0	5	0
[Next follow payments to 18 persons, who are not named, for their "gowns, charges, and rewards," amounting in the whole to the sum of]	20	15	0
Item deliue ^d to Mr. Walter Chapman for 30 poore men, to be distributed at Bathe as followeth, vidz: to ——— for his gowne & xij ^d in reward	1	6	0
[Amounting in the whole to the sum of]	36	8	0

FUNERALL CHARGES (fol. 13).—

Item to for his gowne & reward	1	6	0
Item to for his gowne & reward	1	6	0
Item for breakeing the ground in the church	2	0	0
Item given to the ringers	0	16	0
Item to the men that watched the hearse	1	0	0
Item to the beadles that kept the church doore	1	0	0
Item paid for my Lo ^r Cheife Justice his supper & the rest of the companye at Marlebourough at theire returne from Bathe. Item for mutton, rost & boyled	1	0	4
Item for veale	0	19	0
Item for capons and hennes	0	15	0

^a The paper at this corner of the folio decayed and torn off.

	£	s.	d.
Item for rabbits	0	8	0
Item for a pigge	0	3	0
Item for chickens	0	12	0
Item for sallets	0	3	6
Item for wyne	1	10	8
Item for sugar	0	9	4
Item for frute & cheese	0	6	6
Item for a legg of mutton	0	1	6
Item given in the house	0	10	0
Item for mending of both the coats	1	0	0
Item for hey for the horses in one stable	2	0	0
Item for oates in that stable	2	0	0
Item for beanes there	0	14	0
Item for oates in an other stable	1	10	0
Item paid the smithes bill	0	10	0
Item paid the sadler's bill	0	6	4
Item given to the ostles	0	4	0
Item paid for supper in another inne	1	13	0
Item paid for horse meate there	1	9	6
Item paid for breakfast there, for steakes	0	12	6
Item paid for veale	0	8	0
Item paid for chickens	0	4	8
Item paid for rabbits	0	4	0
Item for butter & eggs & buttered eggs	0	4	4
Item for bread & beere	2	0	0
Item for wyne & sugar	1	14	0
Item for troutes	0	6	6
Item for frute and cheese	0	8	0
Item for milke	0	3	6
Item for fyre at night & in the morning	0	10	0
	34	1	8

FUNERALL CHARGES (fol. 14):—

Item for breakfast in the other inne	1	18	0
Item to the footeman for drinkeing money	0	5	0
Item given to the poore	0	5	0
Item to a smith & sadler att this inne	0	15	0
Item paid for supper for pte of the companie that went to Reading, for mutton roast and boyled	0	9	6
Item for sallets	0	3	6
Item for bread & beere	1	0	3

	£	s.	d.
Item for frute & cheese	0	3	8
Item for capons & chickins	0	8	4
Item for rabitts	0	4	0
Item for hey	1	3	6
Item for oats	1	2	0
Item for breakefast next morneing	1	8	0
Item for wyne & sugar	0	18	5
Item given in the house	0	5	0
Item paid the smithe and sadler	0	4	4
Item paid to messengers that brought sicke horsse from Malbrough to Waltham	0	15	0
Item to Garrard for his charges to Bathe	1	2	0
Item to M ^r Bradford for his charges from Bathe to Waltham	1	10	0
Item to M ^r Risley for his charges from Bathe to Waltham	1	14	0
Item to Kitt Cooke for his charges from Waltham to Bathe and backe againe .	0	13	4
Item to Henry the groome for his charges to Bathe & backe againe to Waltham	0	10	0
Item to Laurence Caut for oates spent at theire goeing to Bathe	2	0	0
Item paid to the smithe for shoueinge theire horsse for the iorney and uppon an old bill oweing	2	0	0
Item to the sadler for his worke	0	6	0
Item to Kelsey for his charges to Bathe and backe againe to Waltham	0	6	8
Item for S ^r Charles & his men at Waltham at his returne from Bathe for sup- per the first night	1	10	6
Item for dinner the next day	1	9	6
Item for breakefast the next morneing	1	2	0
	27	8	6

FUNERALL CHARGES (fol. 15):—

Item for hey at Waltham	1	10	6
Item for oates there	1	12	0
Item paid the smith and sadler	0	6	0
Item given in the house	0	4	0
Item p ^d for wyne & sugar there	0	10	0
Item at ffarneham for the firste nights supper	2	0	0
Item next morneing breakefast	1	10	0
Item for that night supper	1	5	0
Item given in the house	0	3	0
Item for hey bothe nights	1	18	6
Item for oates there	1	2	0
Item for a bayte betwixt ffarneham and London	0	14	6
Item for 4 yerds of blacke cloth for the coach horsse at 8 ^s p yerd	1	12	0

entered
alreadye.

	£	s.	d.
Item paid for the hire of black bayes to hang round the church & the 3 houses at Bathe	5	0	0
Item for the spoyleing of 80 yerds of black bayes	2	0	0
Item ^a paid unto M ^r Risley my Lo ^r B ^{pps} steward of his house for the blacke for my Lo ^r servants and chapplins in severall places as appeareth by a bill vnder his hand and as hereafter followeth: ^a			

BLACKS FOR THE MOURNERS AS FOLLOWETH.

THE POORE GOWNES:—

Imp ^r mis to S ^r Henrie Mountagu, Lo ^r Cheife Justice of England, for 8 yerds of cloth at xx ^s p yerd	8	0	0
Item to S ^r Edward Mountagu for 5 yerds	5	0	0
Item to S ^r Charles Mountagu for 5 yerds	5	0	0
Item to S ^r Sidney Mountagu for 5 yerds	5	0	0
Item to M ^r John Woodward for 5 yerds	5	0	0
Item to M ^r Mountagu Watts for 5 yerds	5	0	0
Item to D ^r Rivett sor 5 yerds	5	0	0
Item to D ^r Dorrell for 5 yerds	5	0	0
Item to D ^r Wardd for 5 yerds	5	0	0
Item to D ^r Wood for 5 yerds	5	0	0
Item to M ^r Pellin, minister of Bathe, for 5 yerds	5	0	0
Item to the Warden of Woodam ^b Colledge	5	0	0
	78	19	6

FUNERALL CHARGES (fol. 16):—

Household Servants and Officers.

Item to M ^r Risley steward of my Lo ^r s for 5 yerds	5	0	0
Item to M ^r Vaughan for 3 yerds at 15 ^s p yerde	2	5	0
Item to M ^r Gleeson for 3 yerds at 15 ^s	2	5	0
Item to M ^r Young for 3 yerds	2	5	0
Item to M ^r Sanderson for 3 yerds	2	5	0
Item to M ^r Stevenson for 3 yerds	2	5	0
Item to M ^r Stapleton for the like	2	5	0
Item to M ^r Wells for the like	2	5	0
Item to M ^r Crosse for the like	2	5	0
Item to M ^r Daye for the like	2	5	0
Item to M ^r Langford for the like	2	5	0
Item to M ^r Bradford for the like	2	5	0
Item to M ^r Morgan for the like	2	5	0
Item to M ^r Stroude for the like	2	5	0

^a Erased in the MS.^b Wadham.

	£	s.	d.
Item to M ^r Browne for the like	2	5	0
Item to M ^r Roger Coale for the like	2	5	0
Item to M ^r Wifm Yalden for the like	2	5	0
Item to M ^r Martyn Yalden for the like	2	5	0
Item to M ^r Phillipps for the like	2	5	0
Item to M ^r Rowland for the like	2	5	0
Item to M ^r Godwin for the like	2	5	0
Item to M ^r Blagroue for the like	2	5	0
Item to Thomas Browne for 3 yerds at 12 ^s p yerd	1	16	0
Item to Richard Smith for 3 yerds at 12 ^s p yerd	1	16	0
Item to Xpöfer Coward for the like	1	16	0
Item to Anthonye Meynes for the like	1	16	0
Item to John Wassel for the like	1	16	0
Item to John Backwell for the like	1	16	0
Item to George Prior for the like	1	16	0
Item to Henrye Wise for the like	1	16	0
Item to Laurence Caute for the like	1	16	0
Item to Xpöfer Cooke ^a	1	16	0
Item to Wifm Lingum for	1	16	0
Item to Henrye Hasell for the like	1	16	0
Item to John Armestronge for the like	1	16	0
Item to Edward y ^e cooke for the like	1	16	0

FUNERALL CHARGES (fol. 17):—

Item to George Vinte for 3 yerds at 12 ^s p yerd	1	16	0
Item to Wifm Sharpe for the like	1	16	0
Item to Edward Lewes for the like	1	16	0
Item to John Irishe for the like	1	16	0
Item to Henrye Clarke for the like	1	16	0
Item to George Cambell for the like	1	16	0
Item to James Haleing for the like	1	16	0
Item to Richard Cunningham for the like	1	16	0
Item to Phillipp the porter for the like	1	16	0
Item to Marie his wife for a gowne	1	10	0
Item to Euan Meredith my Lo ^r wate ^r man for y ^e like	0	16	0
Item to his wife for a gowne	1	10	0
Item to John Trott for the like	1	16	0
Item to my Lor ^s smith for the like	1	16	0
Item to Thomas Crammer y ^e coatchman for the like	1	16	0

^a A hole in the paper in this place.

	£	s.	d.
Item to Jeremy Lawes for the like	1	16	0
Item to Edward Gamall for the like	1	16	0
Item to M ^r Vaughans man for the like	1	16	0
Item to M ^r Langfords man for the like	1	16	0
Item to M ^r Steeuensons man for the like	1	16	0
Item to D ^r Rivetts man for the like	1	16	0
Item to D ^r Powells man for the like	1	16	0
Item to D ^r Wards man for the like	1	16	0
Item to D ^r Woods man for the like	1	16	0
^a Item to the warden of Wadam Colledg his man for y ^e like	1	16	0
Item to the 2 keepers of the Counsell Chamber in lew of theire cloakes demaunded by them as a due	2	4	0
Item for 4 men for my Lo ^r Cheife Justice at 12 ^s p yerde	7	4	0
Item for 4 men for S ^r Edward Mountagu at 12 ^s	7	4	0
Item for 6 men for S ^r Charles Mountagu	10	16	0
Item to S ^r Sidney Mountagu for 3 men	5	8	0
Item to M ^r Woodwardes man for 3 yerds	^b 16	0	
Item to M ^r Mountagu Watts his man for	16	0	

FUNERALL CHARGES (fol. 18):—

Item for S ^r Charles Mountagues ladye for a silke gowne	10	0	0
Item for silke gownes for her 4 daughters	10	0	0
Item for a gowne for her waiteing gentlewoman	5	0	0
Item for gownes for 4 of her maides	6	0	0
Item paid to S ^r Wiffm Segar principall kinge at armes by composition for all things belonging to theire businesse	100	0	0
Item for makeing the epitaphs for the toombe	10	0	0
Item for makeing and finishing the toombe, with the grate of iron, and for the carriage of it from London to Bathe and all other charges about it	300	0	0
	441	0	0

Sum to^t of funerall charges is 1,240 18 11

DEBTS PAID. Debts which the Lo^r Bi^{sh} owed at his death.

Item paid vnto M ^r . Vaughan for the household expences for one weeke for diet ending the 18 of Julye 1618 as appeareth vppon his booke	20	5	0
Item paid vnto M ^r Vaughan that was oweing for lodgings att Greenwich vppon his bill due before my Lo ^r s death	14	1	6
Item paid that was oweing for linnen before my Lo ^r died	2	0	0
Item paid to M ^r Sharnan for house rent that was oweing due before my Lords death	40	0	0

^a Erased.^b MS. torn here.

	£	s.	d.
Item paid that was oweing to Phillip the porter vpon his bill due before my Lo's death	1	7	0
Item paid to Mr Sanderson that was oweing for horssmeate before my Lo's deathe vpon his bill	17	10	0
Item more paid vnto Mr Vaughan vpon bill for houshold expences	15	1	4
Item paid that was oweing vnto a sadler vpon his bill due before my Lo's death	16	15	0
Item paid that was oweing vnto a smith vpon his bill due before my Lo's death	3	12	2
Item paid the bittmaker vpon his bill that was oweing before my Lo's death	2	7	0
Item paid vnto docto' Boone the phesition for his dailie attendance vpon my Lo' before his death	20	0	0
Item paid to a glasier vpon his bill that was at my Lo's death	1	12	6
Item to M ^{rs} Sherman when my Lo' lay at Greenwich for her great paynes taken before my Lo' death	2	0	0
Item for spoyleing & burneing her linnen	1	0	0
Item for breakeing hir glasses and burneing hir pewter and brasse	1	0	0
Item to hir 2 daughters for their paynes takeing	2	0	0
Item to hir maides for their paynes takeing	1	0	0
	163	11	11

DEBTS PAID (fol. 20):—

Item paid to Tubman the Apothica ^{rye} vpon his bill oweing before my Lo's death	15	19	0
Item paid a coatchmaker vpon his bill that was oweing him before my Lo's death	4	9	0
Item paid to Mr Steeuenson vpon a bill oweing him before my Lo's deathe	2	13	0
Item paid to Phillip the porter for 4 weekes bord wages for him selfe & his wife for keepeing Westminster house oweing before my Lords death	4	0	0
Item paid Mr Younge vpon a bill oweing him before my Lo's death	1	2	0
Item paid the smith vpon his bill for shoueing the coatch horsses due before my Lo's death	0	18	0
Item paid to a brewer vpon his bill oweing him before my Lo's death	5	1	0
Item paid the chauntle ^r vpon his bill oweing him before my Lo's death	4	4	0
Item paid the bookbinder his bill oweing him before my Lo's death	11	6	8
Item paid the glasier att Westminster vpon an old debt due before my Lo's death	2	0	0
Item paid to 4 of the servants that were sent to Wells for their halfe yeares wages	8	0	0
Item paid to Eauan Floyde that was oweing him before my Lo's death	20	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Item paid by Mr Risley to Mr Peye of Hampshire that was oweing him before my Lo's death as appeares by his acquittance	40	0	0
Item paid by Mr Risley to the Widdow Reeve of Hamshire that was oweing hir before my Lo's death	4	0	0
Item paid that was oweing to a playsterer att Westminster house before my Lo's death	1	16	0
Item oweing to Eauens the brewer vppon his bill due before my Lo's death	1	12	0
	<u>127</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>8</u>

DEBTS PAID (fol. 21):—

Item oweing to the carrier of Farnham for carriages to London from Waltham from the 18 ^o of Decembre 1617 to the day of my Lo's death p bill	17	0	0
Item paid a sadler that was oweing him vppon his bill before my Lo's deathe	1	6	0
Item paid to Mr Neuye the marchant att Southton for wyne p bill oweing before my Lo's deathe paid by Mr Risley	69	2	8
Item paid Mr Risley vppon his accompt for frute and spice oweing at Bristowe before my Lo's death	20	17	0
Item more paid Mr Risley vppon his booke of accompts oweing him from our Lady day 1618 to the day of my Lo's deathe	314	18	6
Item paid into the Exchequer that was oweing for tenthes of my Lo's owne landes due before his death	279	6	5
Item paid to an apothecarrie vppon his bill oweing him before my Lo's death	0	8	0
Item paid a laundresse that was oweing hir	2	0	0
Item paid my Lo's taylor oweing him vppon his bill due before my Lo's death	2	5	0
Item paid my Lo's Attorney Mr Yalden that was oweing him vppon his bill	10	10	0
Item paid to a locksmith that was oweing him	1	19	0
Item paid to a ioyner that was oweing him	2	0	0
Item paid Mr Yalden in full of all reckonings that was oweing him	2	0	0
Item paid Wiffm Lingum for an old debt oweing him	1	0	0
Item paid the brewer of Westminster vppon an old debt oweing him	0	18	0
	<u>726</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>7</u>

DEBTS PAID (fol. 22):—

Item paid to the telle's, audito's, and strikeing a talley, and to Mr. Phillips for charges comeing to London	9	10	0
Item paid to a taylor vppon his bill	0	5	0
Item paid Cap ^t Fisher vppon a bill of debt	10	0	0
Item paid for a siluer spone lost to George Vince	0	7	6
Item paid to Mr Younge for a qu's wages oweing to him before my Lo's death	2	10	0

	£	s.	d.
Item paid to Mr Sande'son for a qu's wages oweing to him before my Lo's death	2	10	0
Item paid to Mr Martyn Yalden vppon an other attorneyes bill for Eager's sute due before my Lo's death	3	18	0
Item paid to Mr Crosse that was oweing him before my Lo's deathe	4	0	0
Item paid Mr Steeuenson vppon a harnesse make's bill oweing before my Lo's death	1	7	0
Summe tot of the debts is	1,048	10	8

NECESSARIE EXPENCES.—Monie disbursed for necessarie charges since the late Lo' Bpp of Winton's death.

Item for a monethe's charge in kepeing my Lo's houshold together att Winchester House in Southwarke, for horssmeate and man's meate vntill they went to the funerall	100	0	0
Item for remooueing the stuffe from Greenwich to London att seu'all tymes	1	18	0
Item for remooueing the stuffe from Waltham to London for the carriage of 4 loade	20	0	0
Item for remooueing the stuffe from Westminster house	0	15	0
Item for my owne expences and my menns in necessarye iorneyes and other charges about the estate	40	0	0
Item paid for prooueing my Lo's will	1	10	0
Item for S ^r Charles, his expence in goeing downe to the audite to Winchester, together with the expence of all the rest of the office's there for the tyme of tenn dayes or thereabouts, and his charges coming back againe to London as appeareth by sev'all billes	25	6	0
Item for the charges of this sute alreadye spent:—			
Item to Mr Oland to reteyne him for my procte ^r vppon my Lo's firste sute	0	11	0
Item to reteyne Dr Duche at the firste	1	2	0
Item to reteyne Dr Talbott at the first	1	2	0
Item to Dr Duche & Dr Talbott for counsell vppon my citation	2	0	0
Item to Dr Talbott & Dr Duche to goe before the judge	2	0	0
Item to my procte ^r & his man	0	13	0
	196	11	0

NECESSARIE EXPENCES:—

Item for drawing & writeing of my peticōn to my Lo' Chauncello ^r for my appeale	0	15	0
Item to one of my Lo's chambe ^r for getting the peticon signed	1	2	0
Item for the comission vnder the seale	2	17	0
Item to othe's for speeding the seale	1	10	0

	£	s.	d.
Item to my pctor and register for going divers tymes with me to p'sent the Commission to the Commissioners	1	0	0
Item to retheyne Dr Haywood when my other counsell were goin out of towne .	1	2	0
Item to my procte ^r vppon a bill	7	0	0
Item to Dr Haywood to review my intergatoryes	1	2	0
Item to my procte ^r and his man for draweing them	0	10	0
Item to Dr Haywood for pleading in court vppon my appeareance	1	0	0
Item spent by my Comissone's when they went to sitt vppon the Comission att Winchester	8	17	10
Item to my procto ^r vppon his bill for writeing that jorney	3	16	0
Item to the register for my Lo's Commission	3	6	8
Item to Dr Haywood, Dr Talbott, & Dr Duck to consulte vppon my aunswere	3	0	0
Item to them againe to consulte vppon my allegations	3	0	0
Item to Dr Talbott and Dr. Duck about my second aunswere	1	0	0
Item to Sr John Hayward for advise vppon exhibiting my allegacōns	1	10	0
Item to Dr Talbott for the like	1	10	0
Item to Dr Duck for the like	1	10	0
Item for my proctor to attend them	0	10	0
Item to Dr Talbott for goeing to Lambeth	0	10	0
Sum toī of the necessary expence			

NECESSARIE EXPENCES:—

Item to Sr John Hayward for counsell vppon my accompt	1	0	0
Item to Docto ^r Duck vpon the same	1	0	0
Item to Do ^r Talbott vppon the same	0	10	0
Item to my procto ^r for his attendance	0	10	0
	3	0	0

Suma totalis of the necessary expences 245 19 6

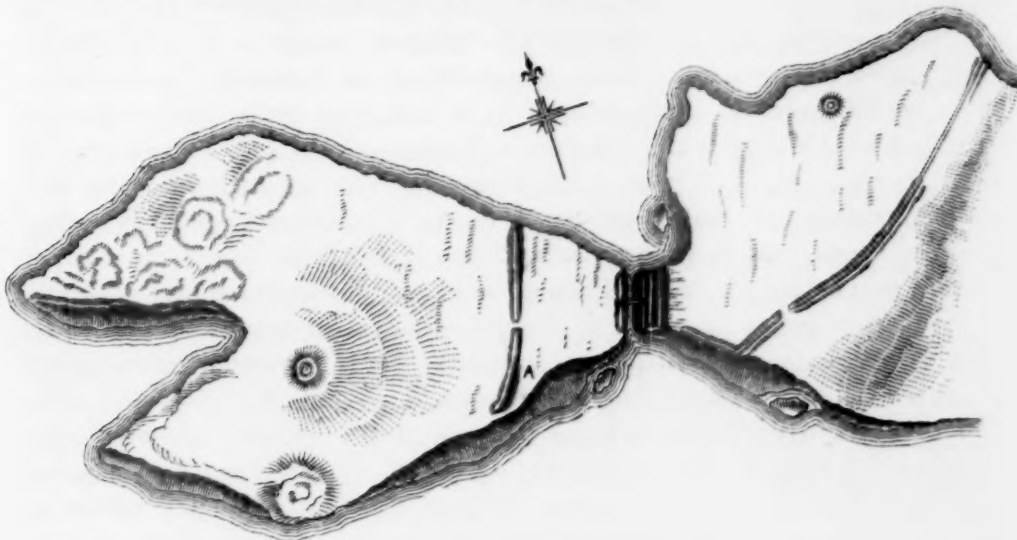
XXVI.—*Account of the Exploration of Tumuli at Trevelgue, or Trevalga, in the parish of St. Columb Minor, Cornwall; with Notes on a singular "Cliff Castle" on the same Estate.* By WILLIAM COPELAND BORLASE, Esq. F.S.A.

Read May 2, 1872.

THERE are few pieces of coast scenery in England so little familiar to the tourist as the northern shores of Cornwall. Unexplored, yet well worth exploring, that bleak district still happily remains a "land beyond railways." Of the treasures it has in store for the geologist, or the lover of natural history, it would be superfluous here to speak; suffice it to say, that, in the shape of cliff castles and tumuli, it presents to the antiquary one continued series of objects of interest. Along the whole line there is scarcely a high piece of cliff or a promontory which does not bear on its rough crest some landmark of pre-historic times. So rapidly, however, is the work of denudation going on, that even within the memory of those now living many a tumulus has fallen a prey to the sea, carrying with it, probably, the bones of some ancient rover, thus rudely restored to that element on which, centuries ago, his bark so gallantly rode. To quote one of the most striking examples of the encroachment of the sea since man left his traces on the cliff, I will take the instance of a "cliff castle" three miles to the north of the town of Camborne. This fortification, in common with all these singular entrenchments, was raised for purposes of defence against the *land* side, and consists of a double line of earthworks drawn across the neck of what was once a promontory some 70 paces broad. Within these ramparts, where once no doubt there was ample space to accommodate the whole defending force, there is now nothing but a precipice descending abruptly to the sea, some 300 feet below, and leaving scarcely standing room for a single individual between it and the inner side of the earthwork. I mention this instance of the rapidity of the process of denudation on this coast because, from their close proximity to the edge of a similar cliff, it

is highly probable that in another half century the very barrows I am about to describe will have shared the same fate.*

The Trevelgue estate is situated about two miles east of the little watering-place of Newquay, in the parish of St. Columb Minor, and is the property of Lord Churston, by whose kind permission I was enabled to carry on my excavations. The chief object of interest is an exceedingly curious and partly insulated "cliff castle," justly considered the finest and most typical of these fortifications in the West. From its proximity to the tumuli which are the object of this paper, and with which it is perhaps contemporaneous, a brief description of these almost unnoticed remains may not be altogether out of place.



CLIFF CASTLE AT TREVELGUE HEAD, CORNWALL.

Scale 1 inch to 100 yards.

Approaching it from the land side, a cultivated slope brings us down to the first ditch and rampart, the latter averaging about 8 feet in height. This line is 150 paces in length, and reaches from sea to sea, thus cutting off a piece of the promontory 250 paces long by 150 broad. On the north-east side of this inclosure stands a barrow, 4 feet in height, in which I discovered, on the 13th of March, 1872, a deposit of calcined bones, placed in a small cup-shaped hollow, scooped out of the natural soil and covered by a flat stone, around which were the marks of fire.

* It was owing to the falling away of the cliff that the Gwythian urn, figured by Dr. Borlase (*Ant. of Corn.*), was found.

Passing across the promontory to its western extremity we find our progress barred by three parallel and contiguous lines of earthwork. These consist, first, of a ditch 8 feet deep and 12 feet wide; secondly, of a rampart 20 feet broad and 10 feet high; thirdly, of a second ditch also 12 feet wide; fourthly, of a second rampart 20 feet high and 30 feet wide; fifthly, of a third ditch 10 feet wide, hewn out of the solid rock; and, sixthly, of a third and last rampart 10 feet high. The neck of land traversed by these lines averages from 80 to 100 feet in breadth.

On the sea side of the third rampart is a chasm 25 feet wide and 55 feet deep, separating the mainland from an island, through which the sea flows at high water.

Crossing this channel by a modern rustic bridge we arrive at the insular part of the castle, the entrance to which is guarded by an embankment parallel to those on the mainland. This rampart is 20 feet high by 30 feet thick, and extends along the edge of the rocks for a distance of 125 feet. Traversing the island for sixty paces further we come to the sixth and last rampart. This was clearly designed for the special protection of the island citadel. It is 100 yards in length, and measures about 12 feet high on the outer side. At the western end, among the *débris* of this embankment, thousands of rude chippings of flint may be picked up (see A in Plan), together with bones of animals and charcoal. A second tumulus crowns the highest part of the island, and completes the list of the earthworks in this singular place.*

Scarcely a quarter of a mile to the eastward of this "castle" stand the two tumuli which form the special subject of my paper. Perched as they are on the very edge of the most lofty and conspicuous portion of the cliff, they remind us forcibly of the well-known lines in the epic of Beowulf, where the hero bids his barons build for him a *low* "at the flood-dashed headland," so that the sea-farers when they see it

High looming on Stroneness,
Sithance shall call it
Beowulf's barrow,
As their beak-carved galleys,
Out of hazy distance,
Float haughtily by.

On arriving at the tumuli on the 7th of March, 1872, we discovered that they

* So thickly are the "cliff castles" distributed along this coast that the situations of three others, viz., Trevarrian, Bedruthan, and Park Head, can be distinguished from the summit of Trevelgue island.

lay in a direction east-north-east and west-south-west, the distance between them being 38 feet. They are connected with each other at their northern bases by a low semicircular bank of earth, now about 2 feet in height, but which the farmer assured me was once considerably higher.* The westernmost barrow has a circumference of 250 feet, but it is rather oval than round. Its height in the centre measures 11 feet.

Driven by the inclement weather to the sheltered side of this mound, the workmen commenced by cutting a trench towards the middle from the north. At the depth of two feet below the surface it became evident that the whole substratum of the mound was composed of burnt earth, literally as red as brick. Of this there were at least several hundred cartloads, and, if we take into consideration the small quantity of earth that can be burnt at a time, and also the small compass to which the process of burning is known to reduce a large pile, we shall be the more astonished at the length of time, perhaps months and years, during which the beacon must have been kept alight, and also at the great quantity of earth which must have originally been accumulated on the spot.

Finding nothing in the centre of the mound (with the exception of a fragment of Romano-British domestic pottery, which may have fallen from an upper stratum), we followed the burnt earth in an easterly direction, and presently arrived at a pile of stones, most of them from the beach below, so burnt and blackened that it seemed as if the fire had only just been extinguished from them. Immediately under these lay a large spar, remarkably flat for a rock of that nature, known to belong to the geological formation of a valley a mile distant. In length it measured 10 feet 6 inches, in breadth 5 feet 6 inches, and in thickness 1 foot 9 inches, and consequently weighed about seven tons; the outer edge was only 24 feet from the eastern side of the mound. Sinking a pit on that side we found that the rock rested on the natural and unmoved soil. It subsequently appeared, however, that a pit had been sunk immediately beneath it, into the sides of which four slate slabs, placed on edge, had been inserted so as to form a chamber. Of this vault the internal length was 6 feet 2 inches, the breadth 2 feet 6 inches, and the height 2 feet 9 inches. So well had the unhewn slates (which were admirably adapted for the purpose) been fitted together that no earth or *débris* had found its way into the chamber. On looking in with a candle I perceived that some whitish matter, which turned out to be unburnt bone, mingled with dark earth, was lying on a pavement of thin slates; but at the north-west end (the chamber lay north-west and south-east) slates alone were visible. On

* The ground-plan would resemble, therefore, a crescent, with a disc at each extremity.

lifting these the fragments of the skull were discovered, and, as the chamber had never been previously disturbed, it is difficult to account for the fact that these were *under* the pavement and not *above* it, as was the case with the rest of the body. From the absolute decomposition which had taken place it was impossible to determine the exact position in which the body had been laid.

On the 11th of March we returned to the spot for the purpose of exploring the second tumulus. This one was circular, with a diameter of 86 feet. It measures 14 feet in height, but at the top there is a slight depression. The workmen commenced operations by sinking a shaft 12 feet in diameter from the summit to the centre of the mound. On the turf being removed a layer of rough stones, raised from the surface of the land adjoining, was laid bare. This continued for three feet, and beneath it was a stratum of tough yellow clay, five feet deep, the natural product of an adjacent valley. Mixed with this were a few pieces of charred wood, but no burnt earth as in the other tumulus. At a depth of five feet from the surface, and almost in the immediate centre of the pile, the workmen found among the clay a deposit of calcined bones, about a quart in all. These were not placed in any cist or urn, and not even protected by a covering stone. Calcined deposits of a similar nature I have frequently discovered in Cornish barrows and "cairns," and a careful investigation of some hundred tumuli in the county^a has proved that in nineteen cases out of twenty cremation was the mode of interment practised by the builders of the mounds. This secondary interment may therefore be supposed, roughly speaking, to be contemporaneous with the large majority of Cornish tumuli. Among the bones lay a single flint chip, used, I fancy, for lighting the fire which consumed the body.

Under the layer of clay was a second pile of stones, also three feet thick, some of them much burnt. These rested, as in the former case, upon a large rock, in this instance a slate, which, from the portion of it we were able to uncover, was judged to be at least eight or nine tons in weight. It had evidently been brought from the beach below, and at each end it rested on the hard unmoved soil. By sinking on one side of it, the discovery was soon made that, as in the former case, this stone was also the lid of a cist or grave. When an entrance had been effected, the interior dimensions of the chamber proved to be—length (*i.e.* from north-west to south-east), 5 feet 2 inches; breadth, 2 feet 10 inches; and height, 2 feet 9 inches. A pavement 6 inches thick had been laid on the natural floor, and upon it lay a skeleton in a contracted position, and (as is

^a Some explored by myself, and others, where a careful record of the exploration had been preserved and recorded. See the work I have since published, *Nenia Cornubie*, London, 1872.

usually the case in other parts of England) on its left side. The skull had fallen in, but its fragments lay on the north-east side, one foot from the end wall. From thence the vertebræ of the back stretched across to the opposite or southern corner, and the body was bent at the hips and knees. All the bones, with the exception of a few teeth, have since crumbled to dust; but one of the lumbar vertebræ, when perfect, measured 2 inches in transverse diameter by $1\frac{1}{16}$ inch thick. The arms had been stretched out towards the knee, at which point lay a stone axe-hammer, 4 inches long. It is formed out of a granitic rock, composed of felspar, quartz, and shorl, known to occur in the vicinity.

Of the occurrence of similar perforated axe-hammers in the North of England Canon Greenwell has kindly supplied me with four examples, three of which accompanied unburnt contracted skeletons.

The most remarkable feature in this discovery, and that which led me to suppose it might be worthy of your notice, is the fact that, while cremation is the ordinary mode of interment in Cornwall, and while in rare cases an instance of extended inhumation has been brought to light, no other authentic example has, previous to this one, occurred of that contracted form of burial which is the rule rather than the exception in other parts of England, the North in particular.

Whether the unique character of these interments may be taken as negative evidence that these tumuli were the sepulchres of "up-country" adventurers, or whether the fact of the axe-hammer being formed out of a stone found *in situ* ought to be considered conclusive of the native origin of the deceased, is a question which I must leave to the judgment of those whose experience has exceeded my own. If the latter is the case, the Trevelgue Barrows must be at once acknowledged to be the most primitive interments yet discovered in the West.

XXVII.—*The Camps on the River Avon at Clifton, with Remarks on the Structure of Ancient Ramparts. By the Rev. H. M. SCARTH, M.A.*

Read Feb. 1st, 1872.

The progress of building has of late years destroyed many of the old historic features of our land, removed ancient earthworks, and covered their sites with modern dwellings; and as the growth and improvement of modern cities have almost effaced the traces of the old fortified towns—which usually formed the centres from which they have spread, so their surrounding villas have not unfrequently destroyed the vestiges of the earthworks that once crowned the hills in their neighbourhood.

It is so at Clifton, near Bristol, where the ancient fort that once crowned the down is almost obliterated, and the noble suspension bridge, recently erected to connect the two opposite banks of the down, and to unite the counties of Somerset and Gloucester, has nearly effaced another of the most interesting earthworks in the county of Somerset.

Most visitors to Clifton will have remarked the three camps or fortified posts which guard the passage of the Avon, one on Clifton Down and the other two on the opposite bank of the river, one on each side of Stokeleigh Slade, commonly called Nightingale Valley. These three camps are ancient historical monuments, and serve to mark the first rise of the power and greatness of this country.

Happily Seyer, in his History of Bristol, published in 1821, has given a detailed account of these camps as they were in his time, together with a plan of their position; and they have attracted the notice of Stukely, and more recently that of Mr. Leman and Sir R. C. Hoare. Leman supposed that the Wansdike, which can be traced from the woodlands of Berkshire, beyond Savernake Forest, as far as Maesknoll, terminated at this point, and that the camps on the Somerset side mark the possessions of the Belgæ, while Clifton Down Camp marked the

boundary of the tribe of the Dobūni or inhabitants of Gloucestershire. Probably one of the camps on the Somerset side is of a later construction than the other. The camp nearest to Rownham Ferry is called Bower or Borough Walls; that on the other side of Nightingale Valley is called Stokeleigh Camp.

The camp at Clifton is situated at the top of the hill, and contains between three and four acres. It has three aggers and two ditches; the third ditch is nearly obliterated. The inner rampart, according to Seyer, is 293 yards in circuit, forming a quadrant, having the precipice of the Avon as the boundary to the west. The entrance is at the north-east, and the distance from it to the precipice 115 yards. The inner rampart is now reduced to three feet in height. The construction of this rampart seems to be similar to that of Bower Walls, of which we shall speak hereafter.

Much of the area, particularly on the western side, was, when Seyer wrote, broken into "small shallow pits." These were, most probably, marks of ancient quarryings. Some appearance of a stone gateway was once discernible. There are two other entrances, one at the western and the other at the southern point, but only narrow footways, close to the precipice. Along the south side of the area is a line of turf, 2 or 3 feet high and 4 or 5 broad at the base, probably intended as a protection from approaching too near the precipice; and in the western corner is an inclosure about 40 yards square, being a continuation of the same turf line. There is from this a descent to the river down the precipice, by a footway which joins a roadway. By the side of this roadway, about 20 feet above high-water mark, is a small spring of water, which never fails.

William of Worcester (A.D. 1450) attributes this camp to one Ghyst, a giant, and places it before the time of William the Conqueror. In William of Worcester's time large and small stones lay around its circuit, so that there appeared tokens of its ancient strength.

Leman regarded the quadrangular inclosure within this camp as of Roman construction, and indicating a late occupation by that people. Roman coins, according to Seyer, have been discovered here and at Clifton; and he regarded this camp as the first origin of the city of Bristol.

Across the Avon, and at the entrance to Nightingale Valley or Stokeleigh Slade, there was, according to Seyer, a firm passage at low water across the river, over which, at spring tides, boys could wade, and from which vessels navigating the river at low tide were liable to take damage. This passage, the position of which is indicated in the accompanying plate, which is chiefly taken from Seyer's work, may at some time have connected the three camps.

The two fortresses on the Somersetshire side are called :—

1. Bower or Borough Walls, and
2. Stokeleigh Camp.

They are separated by the deep combe called Stokeleigh Slade. Up this combe passes an ancient road about 18 feet wide and raised about 3 feet, which continues about 50 feet, and is then lost; but at the top of the combe, near the turnpike road to Leigh, it reappears.

As you ascend the combe the camps overhang on each side.

Bower Walls is to the south, and nearest Rownham Ferry.

To the east it is bounded by the precipice of the Avon. The length on this side, in a straight line, is 270 yards. This camp forms a quadrant, and has three ramparts and two ditches, like that on Clifton Down. On a projecting point of the cliff, directly opposite the observatory, was a circular mound just rising above the level surface, which may have been a signal station, but this is now destroyed by the suspension bridge. On the north-west side this camp is bounded by another precipice overhanging the combe. A straight line along this side would measure 155 yards. The curve of the quadrant along the inner rampart would measure 455 yards. The area inclosed would be about 7 acres. (See Plate XVII.)

According to Barrett, p. 20, an ancient quern and a sword-hilt were found within this camp.

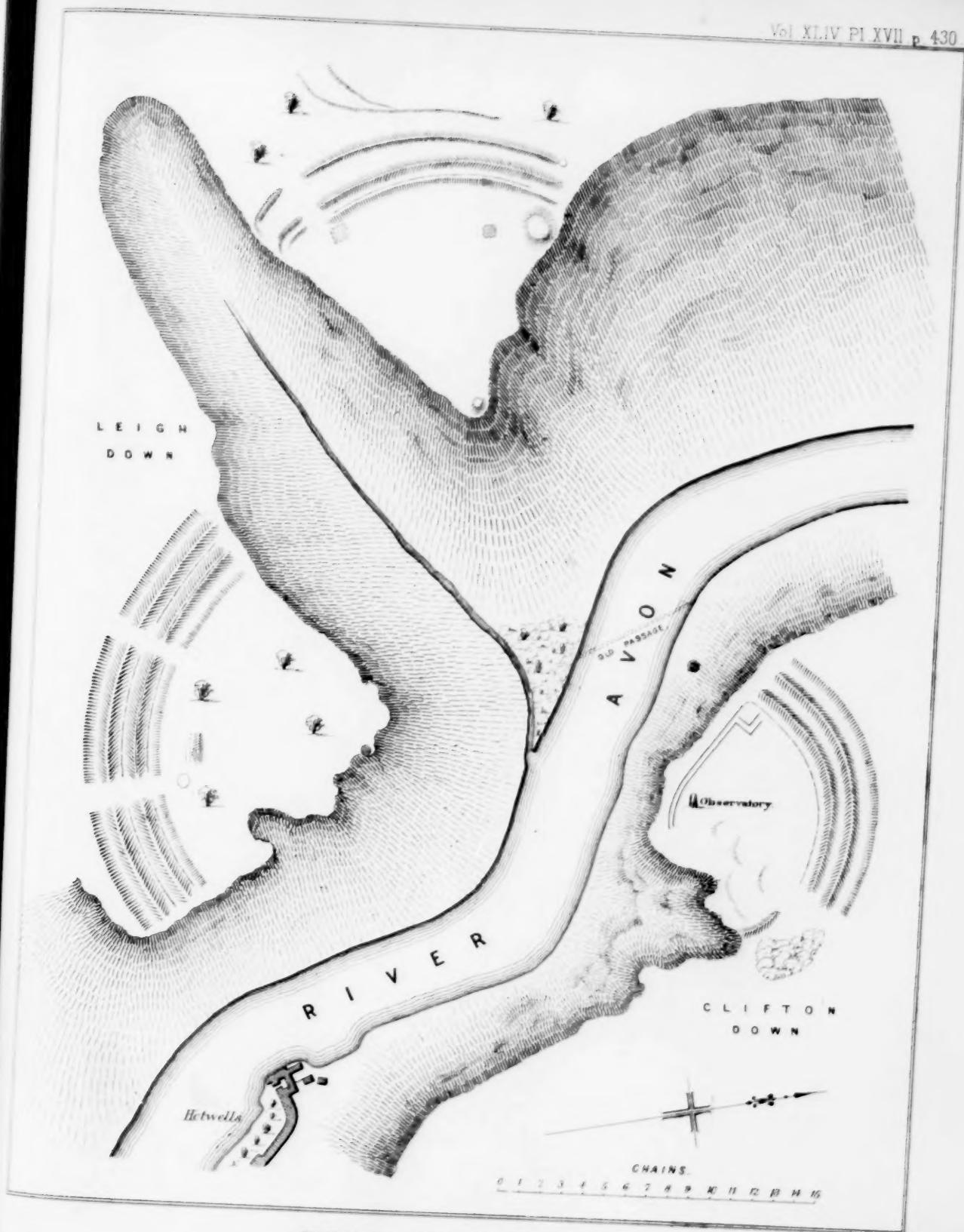
The spring or well was near the rampart, close to the western entrance.

The suspension bridge, erected 1864, carries you straight within this camp, and the road from it passes through the triple rampart.

"At Bower Walls Camp," Seyer says, "the principal entrance is on the south-west, through the ramparts, above 50 feet wide; within, and in front of it, the ground rises as if the foundation of a gatehouse or some such building was beneath. There is a narrow entrance in the western corner, that is, the ramparts do not extend to the edge of the precipice, but leave sufficient room for a road. Some few yards distant from the main entrance, nearer to the river, is a very narrow gap in the inner rampart, apparently a footway or small gate.

"Still lower down seems to have been another gateway 10 or 12 feet wide, from which a road or path turning to the left passed under the rampart, and was inclosed or secured by another rampart on the right hand, so that this road passed for some distance in a cavity or ditch between two ramparts: a construction not easy to be accounted for.

"The lowest entrance is about 10 or 12 feet wide; adjoining to which and connected with the rampart is a mound, probably the site of a round tower, a defence of the gate.



CAMPS ON THE RIVER AVON

C.F. Keil, Lith. London, E.C.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1876



"The area is crossed in various places by stony ridges, which have the appearance of being the foundations of long walls or ranks of houses."

He adds that the camp is in the parish of Long Ashton, and that its name, Bower Walls, is synonymous with Borough Walls, and derived from the Saxon Burgh.

If we follow the road recently made from the suspension bridge through this camp to join the Portishead Road, we shall see by the undulating line of the wall on each side, which has three rises and three depressions, the exact position of the triple rampart. Within the northern portion of the camp some villas have been erected.

As I have always felt a deep interest in these primitive fortresses, I went over to Clifton more than a year ago to look at the villas lately erected within this camp, and found that the ancient rampart, which runs in the form of a quadrant, and fortifies the space between the deep chasm formed by the Avon and the combe, was under very rapid destruction, being levelled for the purpose of providing material for a new road, as well as stone for burning into lime. The rock which forms the chasm through which the Avon flows is the mountain limestone, and very extensively used for lime, and its qualities were well known to the constructors of this ancient fort.

The inner and highest rampart of the three bounding the camp, having been cut through, exhibited a perfect section of the internal structure. The agger, according to Seyer, is 18 feet high, or 22 feet from the bottom of the ditch. I was very thankful to have an opportunity of examining it, and for obtaining information from the workmen employed in its destruction.

The interior of the vallum is composed of a solid bed of concrete, formed by burning the limestone, and, when slaked, throwing broken stones into it, and banking it up on each side with earth and stones. The remains of the wood by which the limestone was burned is still evident in places, throughout the masses of concrete, and, as the workmen observed to me, we could ascertain the direction in which the wind blew at the time of its construction, the fire having burned the stones into lime, so as to give the mass an inclination in the direction of the wind. As the demolition of this rampart has been continued the mode of its first construction has become more evident. Fires have been kindled at intervals of from 9 to 15 feet apart, and these have been covered with limestone, and banked up on each side, while holes for the admission of air are traceable at intervals. I followed the line of the inner rampart throughout its course, and found that it had been opened in many places, and exhibited the same form of construction throughout. The centre was a mass of concrete, the sides earth and

stone. This mode of construction gave the vallum great strength, and the inner vallum of the three is the highest and most pointed.

Seyer observed the lime, and supposed that the rampart had been crowned by a wall, and that the wall had fallen down, leaving only the foundation, but this is not the case. He noted this both in the camp in Clifton Down as well as that called Borough Walls, and says of the former that a layer of charcoal was discovered under the mortar. The mass of concrete commences from the very foundation, and continues to the top of the vallum, but is less solid towards the top. It is now no easy matter to break it, and large masses are thrown down into the ditch. It consists of rock, lime, and burnt wood.

The construction of this rampart has forcibly reminded me of the vitrified forts in Scotland. Here the entire rampart is a solid mass of burnt matter, containing stones, and seems to have been constructed much in the same way as the camp at Borough Walls, only earth and loose stones do not cover the vallum, which in the vitrified fort is a solid mass of stone and cinder or *scoriæ*. I am informed that the ramparts of some of the camps in Gloucestershire are of the same construction, but those that I have hitherto examined are formed entirely of earth and stone without any concrete.

Stokeleigh Camp, on the opposite side of Nightingale Valley, is in perfect preservation, and the interior free from trees and underwood; while that called Borough Walls has been entirely overgrown. The ramparts at Stokeleigh Camp are at present perfect; but how long they may so remain is doubtful, as the building of the suspension bridge has opened this side of the river to adventurous speculators, and the ancient fastnesses will, no doubt, in the course of time give place to trim villas and the elegances of modern refinement. This has been the case at Weston-super-Mare, where the camp on Worle Hill, so perfectly described by the late Rev. F. Warre, in the Somersetshire Archæological Society's Proceedings (1851), p. 64, and one of the finest specimens of ancient castrametation in this part of England, is being gradually destroyed for the purpose of modern buildings. The ramparts of this fortress however are composed entirely of dry-walling, without any lime, and are probably of much more ancient date than the forts on Leigh Down or Clifton Down.

The primitive military architecture in Ireland is formed of dry-walling, and, though it exhibits considerable skill both in structure and engineering, and is said to resemble the earliest Pelasgian monuments in Greece, yet the inhabitants seem rarely to have had recourse to the action of heat.^a

^a Wilde's Catalogue of the Museum of the Royal Irish Acad. p. 119, Dublin, 1857. A few instances, however, seem to have been observed by Dr. Petrie.

Vitrified forts are very common in the North of Scotland,^a and specimens of the vitrified stones are to be seen in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in Edinburgh.

M. Viollet-le-Duc mentions a vitrified fort at Péron, in the neighbourhood of St. Brieuc, Brittany.^b It is described as an oval inclosure, composed of granite, clay, and trunks of trees; and the vitrification seems to have been effected by covering the stone rampart with fagots, and then setting the whole on fire. The granite thus became fused and vitrified, while the clay became solid and adhered to the agglutinated mass.

A specimen from the vitrified fort at Craig Phadric, near Inverness, shows the partially decomposed mass of granite adhering to the indurated clay. The section of the vallum is described as made of lumps of granite mixed with trunks of trees, and covered on the outer side by a thick coating of clay.

There is, therefore, a considerable analogy between the vitrified forts of Scotland and Brittany and the construction of that on Leigh Down. The people who constructed them in each case well knew the effect produced by fire upon the rocks of the neighbourhood, and the purpose to which it could be turned as a defence. Granite and clay would run together into a compact mass; limestone burned and slaked would form a cement for the loose stones which were so abundant on the down; thus a most compact and durable rampart could be formed.

The mode of constructing ancient ramparts for the defence of cities or camps is a subject of deep interest, and we find them to have been very various. The earthen mound is the simplest, dug up out of the ditch and thrown inward, rammed down, and then crowned with a row of sharpened stakes pointing outwards; but this, though sufficient for a temporary camp, was not enough for a permanent city. The stronghold of a people must be strongly fortified, for that was where all their wealth, or all that was reckoned most precious, was to be kept secure.

The most ancient walling in this island appears to be that constructed without any lime, and commonly called dry-walling. The ramparts of many camps are so formed. The camp above Weston-super-Mare on Worle Hill is a very fine example, and I believe the rampart at Dolebury (Somerset) has no lime to it.

^a See "Account of some remarkable Ancient Ruins," &c. by John Williams, 1777; *Archæologia*, v. 255; vi. 87, 100; x. 147; *Archæologia Scotica*, iv. 160, 280; *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scotland*, viii. 145; ix. 81, 378, 397; *Trans. Roy. Soc. Literature*, ii. 227; Macculloch, *Highlanders and Western Isles of Scotland*, i. 292; and Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, ii. 92.

^b *Dict. of Architecture*, v. pp. 205, 206; *Journ. Brit. Archæol. Assoc.* ii. 278, where a plan is given; *Archæol. Cambrensis*, 3d. Ser. vi. 335.

The rampart of Stokesleigh Camp, opposite Borough Walls, is probably so formed, but unless it is opened it is difficult to speak accurately. The stones which form the summit of the inner rampart appear to project all one way, as if piled upon or against a palisade.

We may, I think, class the ramparts that remain of fortified posts in this country under the following heads:—

1. The simple earthen rampart, which was used for temporary occupation only. To this the walls of Wareham, which are formed of earth, are an exception, as they are of great extent and magnitude, and have been intended as a permanent protection to the town. A very good account of them will be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1865, p. 431, by Charles Warne, Esq. F.S.A.

2. Stone ramparts, rudely thrown together, of which there are numerous examples in this county.

3. Dry-walling, as at the Worle Hill Camp, the wall itself being often covered with its own *débris*, and only to be distinguished after this is removed.

4. The examples presented by the camps in Clifton Down and Leigh Down, where the centre is of rude concrete formed as I have described.

5. The vitrified forts, of which so many examples remain in Scotland.^a

6. The more perfect and elaborate Roman construction, where the front face of the wall is hewn stone, with bonding courses of brick running through the wall at certain intervals, the interior being a mass of concrete, and the back or inner part of the wall supported by earth, as at Cirencester.^b

It would be difficult to assign a date to the camp, either on Clifton Down or at Borough Walls; I cannot however but regard it as a rude imitation of the Roman method of construction, and, if so, later than the Roman period. It is to be regretted that more attention has not been given to the construction of the ramparts of these hill-forts, as they often present peculiarities by which we might be enabled to assign a probable date to their formation.

^a They are also known in Bohemia; see *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scotl.* viii. 155.

^b Buckman, *Remains of Roman Art at Corinium*, p. 10.

XXVIII.—*Remarks on some Pictures of Quintin Matsys and Holbein, in the Collection of the Earl of Radnor, at Longford Castle.* By JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, Esq. F.S.A.

Read May 15, 1873.

IN the Exhibition of Works of the Old Masters made this year (1873) at Burlington House there have been four pictures attributed to Holbein. Three of the four^a were from the collection of the Earl of Radnor at Longford Castle, where they have long been well known, and they are particularly described by Mr. Wornum in his *Life and Works of Hans Holbein*, 1867. But the occasion of their being publicly exhibited to many thousands of intelligent observers is one which must invest them with fresh interest, whilst it has afforded an opportunity for more considerate examination than it is always possible to bestow upon pictures when suspended on the walls of a great house. I therefore think there may be room for a few remarks upon these three pictures, even after the attention they have received from Mr. Wornum; whose general conclusions I do not propose to dispute, but rather to confirm; whilst I would offer some historical illustrations in relation to them, which, though actually not very recondite or far-fetched, do not appear to have been hitherto applied as they might have been.

I will first notice the pair of Portraits, which are the earlier works in point of date. They were thus entered in the catalogue of the Royal Academy:—

175. *Ægidius, the Friend of Erasmus.* *Hans Holbein.*

178. *Portrait of Erasmus: signed Johannes Holbein, 1523.*

This portrait was sent by Erasmus to Sir Thomas More in the care of Holbein.

At the outset I venture to express some regret that, when catalogues of this class are compiled, greater caution is not observed in making positive assertions unless supported by full authority. To frame a catalogue of an Exhibition

^a Of the fourth, which was thus described: "198. Portrait of a Young Man in a green striped dress. *Hans Holbein.* Panel, 17½ in. by 13 in. Lent by George P. Boyce, Esq." all that need be said is, that it is a half-length figure of a nobleman wearing the Order of St. Michael, the work perhaps of François Janet, called Clouet,—certainly not of Holbein.

of the Old Masters for the Royal Academy ought to be regarded as a very different undertaking to making a catalogue for an auction-room, and a careful regard should be paid to historical accuracy, having an eye not only to standard authors, but also to the facts ascertained by more recent criticism. Now Mr. Wornum has distinctly shown (p. 147) that this portrait of Ægidius is the work of Quintin Matsys, not of Holbein; and that discovery should have been thankfully admitted, and recognised. Then, with regard to the portrait of Erasmus, the assertion that this was the picture "sent to Sir Thomas More under the care of Holbein" is heedlessly made, and is moreover without any substantial foundation. For Erasmus did not send his portrait to More under the care of Holbein, but he sent it in the year 1525 as the production of a painter whose name (so far as appears) was not then mentioned, and it was not until the year after that Holbein himself followed the picture and came to England. Besides, Mr. Wornum has mentioned (p. 141) that the portrait of Erasmus now at Greystoke also claims to have been the picture sent by Erasmus to More. Whether that picture is dated I do not know; however, as it is allowed to be an excellent picture, it may well be that which arrived here in 1525, for Erasmus would more probably send as a specimen of the painter's skill a picture which he had recently produced than one painted two years before, which is the date of the portrait of Erasmus now at Longford Castle. Holbein is said to have painted Erasmus repeatedly whilst they both were at Basel.^a Therefore the assertion that any particular picture is that whereby Holbein was introduced to Sir Thomas More should not be advanced without some reservation, nor until the identity can be entirely proved.

It may be remarked, in passing, that the Greystoke picture is supposed to be the original of the portrait of Erasmus best known from numberless engravings. It is a three-quarter face looking down, with hands clasped in front. It was engraved by Lucas Vorsterman from a portrait then in the Arundel collection, and dedicated to Thomas Earl of Arundel. Walpole, in a very confused note upon this and the Longford picture, says that it passed into the Arundelian collection from the cabinet of Andrea de Loo.

^a "I assume that all the genuine portraits of Erasmus by Holbein were drawn or painted in Basel, between the years 1521 and 1526, that is, when he was still in the prime of his maturity, when about fifty-five years of age [he was fifty-five in 1521, but sixty in 1526]; he is grey, not white, and the eye is still brilliant. It would be difficult to determine any number for the genuine portraits; they may be several, but not many. These genuine pictures have again been multiplied by copies."—Wornum, *Life and Works of Holbein*, p. 138.

Mr. Wornum says, "It was bequeathed by Alatheia, Countess of Arundel, to her grandson Charles Howard, an ancestor of the present Duke of Norfolk"^a (not of the present, but of the Duke who died in 1815).

In Burke's *Seats of Great Britain*, 1854, second series, i. 144, it is stated to bear the following inscription :—

Hannes Holbenne me fecit.
Johannie novie me dedit,
Edvardus Surry me possidet.

Mr. Wornum's description of the portraits of Ægidius and Erasmus at Longford Castle, with his attendant criticisms and remarks, occupies from p. 145 to p. 150 of his *Life and Works of Hans Holbein*, 1867. His preference of the portrait of Erasmus to the other as a superior work of art is decidedly expressed; he is much disposed to pronounce it to be by Holbein, and "an admirable Holbein" too; but, having perfectly satisfied himself that the portrait of Ægidius was the work of Quintin Matsys, he is unable to come to any other decision but that both pictures were his. But I ought to quote his own words—

"These two pictures (he remarks) have passed as a matter of course as portraits by Holbein, and even as exceptionally excellent examples of that painter. What follows will show that they are most probably two capital works of the smith of Antwerp, Quintin Matsys. That of Ægidius is certainly by Quintin; about the Erasmus there may be a doubt" (p. 146).

Again, in conclusion, "We can only safely pronounce this picture to be an admirable Erasmus; but were it not for the record in question (meaning a letter of Sir Thomas More) we might have as positively pronounced it an admirable Holbein also, though my own impression now is that it is the work of Quintin Matsys" (p. 150).

This, then, was Mr. Wornum's final sentence; but he had previously urged the following powerful arguments in favour of Holbein: "There is a difficulty in the difference in scale of two pictures supposed to have been painted at the same time, and as companions. The colouring, and especially the carnations of the faces, are much the same in both, but the portraits are not companions for a diptych; they both look the same way, to the right, and they are painted on a different scale, the Erasmus being much larger, and the superiority of this as a painting over the Ægidius is most striking. The hands of the Erasmus are

^a i. e., the first of Greystoke.

vigorous masculine hands, such as we have found in other of his portraits and in other pictures by Holbein, while the hands of the *Ægidius* are meanly painted, and not at all like Holbein's work. The accessories are all better painted in the *Erasmus*, especially the book on which his hands rest, and his yellow fur cuffs, which are exquisitely managed. The head itself is infinitely superior, though the drawing of the eyes does not show that precise mastery which we often find in the eyes of Holbein's pictures. It is not, however, that I believe Quintin incapable of having painted such a picture as this, for the picture of the man and his wife counting their money, at Windsor, known as *The Misers*, bears a strong resemblance to it in its details; but that he should have been so unequal to himself in so brief an interval of time, a few weeks or months at most, is the point which tells chiefly in favour of Holbein's authorship of one of this pair of portraits."

The cause of Mr. Wornum's embarrassment is simply this: He failed to perceive that the portrait of *Erasmus* painted by Quintin Matsys in 1517 had been exchanged for one painted by Holbein in 1523. This embarrassment leads him to dispute the date, MDXXIII., upon Holbein's picture, and to imagine it may have been altered from MDXVIII. by the conversion of an x to a v in the Roman numerals; and it further leads him to adopt the erroneous date 1518 instead of 1517, in order to reconcile these matters of date. He says (p. 147) "These pictures were evidently painted, or at least finished, in 1518;" and he affirms (*ibid.*) that in October 1518 Sir Thomas More acknowledged their receipt. This however is a complete misapprehension. The letters of Sir Thomas More—for there are two which relate to Quintin's work, one addressed to *Ægidius* and the other to *Erasmus*—are dated respectively October 6, 1517, and October 7, 1517; and 'as for the date upon Holbein's picture, it is MDXXIII. bearing no mark of alteration, and as clear and indisputable as any other feature.

Two Latin lines, now not very easily deciphered, further attest that this picture is the work of Holbein. Dr. Waagen (in 1835) says, "The name of Hans Holbein and the date MDXXIII. are on a book. The shortness of the time would not allow me to decipher a Latin inscription." The truth is that Holbein's name occurs only in the Latin inscription. As Mr. Wornum states (p. 145): "On one of the books is the date, which is at present distinctly MDXXIII. On the edges of this same book is a damaged Latin legend which comprises the names JOANNES HOLBEIN; it would be difficult to read all the other words."

I took some pains to read them this year at the Royal Academy Exhibition,

but was not entirely successful. Both lines are imperfect, and the first word has been blunderingly mended, but I believe them to have been originally an epigrammatic couplet supplied by Erasmus himself, something apparently to the effect that Holbein had imitated the life so closely that he rather appeared personally in the shape of Erasmus, than presented him by the painter's art. The first word, which was important to the meaning, I cannot conjecture.* The following is my reading of the rest:—

AI EDEO IOANNES HOLBEIN NON FA(CIT ERAS)MVS
[PLVS] MICHl MIMVS ERIT QVAM MICHl [MIRVS] ERAT.

Holbein's great merit in his portraiture is absolute fidelity. Mr. Wornum says of his portrait of Archbishop Warham, "I instance this picture as an illustration that Holbein had the power of seeing what he looked at, and of perfectly transferring to his picture what he saw. *Suum cuique* might have been Holbein's motto: he gave every man his own, substituting nothing from himself, and this I imagine to be a very high quality." In this passage Mr. Wornum in fact paraphrases the expression used by Erasmus in his epigram, although he had not read it, that in portraiture Holbein is a perfect *mimus*,—true to the life.

And in another place Mr. Wornum remarks, "We may depend upon it that we have, through the master-pencil of the Augsburg painter, more faithful portraits, truer effigies, of the prominent men and women of Henry's time, than of any other period of our history, not excepting even the days of Vandyck or of Reynolds" (p. 207). In which judgment all who fully appreciate the works of Holbein will cordially unite.

Two other Latin couplets accompany the pictures at Longford Castle, inscribed upon little tablets which are suspended beneath them; they are as follows:—

E tenebris clarum doctrinæ attollere lumen
Qui felix potuit primus Erasmus erat.

Ægidium musis carum dilexit Erasmus:
Spirat ab Holbeno pictus uterque manu.

These are composed much in the spirit of the sixteenth century; but, as they attribute both pictures to the hand of Holbein, they must belong to a period

* Dr. Waagen reads it ILLE EGO. (Supplement, p. 357.)

sufficiently late for the reputation of Quintin Matsys to have become obscured, and were perhaps penned by Dr. Mead or one of his learned friends.*

The modern ownership of the two pictures is not traced higher than to Dr. Mead. At the sale of his collections in 1754 the portrait of Erasmus was sold for 105 guineas, and that of Ægidius for 91 guineas. Both were then purchased by the Earl of Radnor.

At what anterior date the portrait of Erasmus which Quintin Matsys had painted was set apart, and the picture painted by Holbein in 1523 was substituted for it, it is not easy to conjecture; but that such a change was actually made I shall be able completely to show, and that from information suggested, I might almost say derived, from Mr. Wornum's own pages. I shall presently describe both the designs of Quintin Matsys' diptych, but I first beg to borrow Mr. Wornum's own description of Holbein's Erasmus of 1523. "He is seated in his black cap and furred coats, the undercoat lined with sable, the upper with black fur, resting his hands on a very handsomely bound book before him, and on the gold edges of the leaves of this book are the words, partly in Greek and partly in Roman letters, ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΙ ΗΘΟΝΟΙ ΕΡΑΣΜΙ ΡΟΤΕΡΟ—the rest of the last word being cut off by the yellow sable cuff of his coat, 'The Herculean labours of Erasmus of Rotterdam.' Behind is a green curtain on a rod, a rich Renaissance pilaster on one side, and on the other a cupboard or shelved recess, in which are a small bottle or carafe, and three books; and here, on one of the books leaning against the bottle, is the date, which is at present distinctly MDXXIII. On the edges of the leaves of this same book is a damaged Latin legend," &c. (as already quoted).

There is an extraordinary incompleteness in the information that Mr. Wornum derived in regard to these pictures from the letters of Erasmus and Sir Thomas More. He read enough to convince himself thoroughly that the Longford Castle picture of Ægidius is the work of Quintin Matsys, and yet in p. 141 of his book he laments that Erasmus did not allude to his own picture by that painter. Mr. Wornum's words are, "It is a pity he has told us nothing about the portrait painted of him by Quintin Matsys." But in fact the very letters of Sir Thomas Moore to Ægidius and Erasmus which Mr. Wornum quotes, and the Latin verses which accompany them, contain that information of which he bewails the absence. The title to the verses distinctly identifies each picture. It is to the following effect, "Verses upon a picture [it was regarded as one picture when united together by hinges as a diptych] in which Erasmus and Peter Ægidius

* Walpole, in his note already mentioned, says that Dr. Mead "had the lines written on the frames."

are represented together by the excellent artist Quintin, so that in Erasmus's portrait he appears as commencing his Paraphrase on the Epistle to the Romans, and the painted books present to view their titles, and Peter is holding a letter directed to himself by More."

This is such identification as is rarely found for pictures after a lapse of nearly three centuries and a half; but, whilst the description exactly agrees with the picture of Ægidius at Longford Castle, it as distinctly differs from that of Erasmus, its present companion, in which he is resting both hands upon a closed volume. We have not, however, to look far for the missing composition of Quintin Matsys. It was in fact the original from which the portrait of Erasmus at Hampton Court,* now numbered 597 (formerly 331), is a copy, and which is described by Mr. Wornum himself at p. 142 of his *Life and Works of Holbein*. It is one of the many pictures which at Hampton Court, as well as elsewhere, falsely go by the name of Holbein, and Mr. Wornum has noticed it as one of his productions: "The *Erasmus Writing* at Hampton Court," he says, "may be looked upon as a fine genuine portrait, though so dark and dirty that much of the expression of the eyes is obscured. The philosopher is seated, or standing, in his ordinary cap and coat, writing in a book; he has a ring on his fore-finger, and this, the right hand, is in a good state, and is a fair example of Holbein's manner of painting a hand at this time."

It is, however, by the accessories, which correspond so exactly to those placed by Quintin Matsys on the other half of his diptych, that we clearly recognise this as the companion to the portrait of Ægidius. "The background" (I continue Mr. Wornum's own description) "represents a shelved recess or cupboard, with six books in it: on the topmost book, on the edges of the leaves, are the letters HOR— for Horace; on one beneath is NOVVM TESTAMENT—, on another is the name of Lucian, ΛΟΤΚΙΑΝΟΣ; and on a fourth is written the name of

* This Hampton Court copy, however, has, together with its companion, been considerably altered from the original, being converted from a square to an oblong upright picture, with an additional background. "The original size of these pictures," observes Mr. Wornum, "was 18½ in. high by 12½ in. wide; but, for some reason not very evident, unless it were to make them fit two old carved frames, two inches and a half have been added to the top of each, injuring, not improving, the effect of the portraits, and involving the necessity of repainting the backgrounds, which, instead of some simple foil to the heads, as Holbein commonly supplies us, now consist of cold minutely-elaborated Gothic pillars and arches, as if the two friends were in some gloomy church or other dismal Gothic apartment. Steenwyck, the architectural painter, has the credit of having furnished these backgrounds in 1629, possibly when the pictures were in Le Blond's possession. The King's brand [of Charles I.] is on the back of the added pieces." (*Life and Works of Holbein*, p. 139.)

Jerome, *HIERONYMVS*. By the side of the books is hanging a pair of scissors of very modern fashion, *all reminding very much of Quintin Matsys.*"

To Quintin Matsys, beyond all question, the composition belongs, and it is evidently the identical composition which, together with the picture of Ægidius now at Longford Castle, formed the diptych received by Sir Thomas More at Calais in October, 1517. Erasmus is represented nearly in profile, looking to the left, and with a large purse at his girdle. He is writing, and Sir Thomas More tells us what he is writing. He is commencing his Paraphrase of the Epistle to the Romans. On the book before him the painter has represented these words as having just proceeded from his pen: "In Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos Paraphrasis Erasmi Roterodami. Paulus ego ille e Saulo factus, e turbulento pacificus, nuper obnoxius Legi Mosaicæ, nunc Mosi libertus, servus autem factus Jesu Christi." These words altogether occupy ten lines; the title or heading four, in capitals, the sentence commencing the Paraphrase in six lines of smaller letters. They are greatly blundered in the Hampton Court picture, which shows that it is not the original work of Quintin Matsys, but there is no doubt of their identity. They appear somewhat like this:—

.
 *PARAPHRASIS*
 ERASMI ROTTERODAMI
 . . . A . . .
 Aulus ego ille a Saulo
 factus, a turbulento
 pacificus

 liber . . . , servus
 factus

On the opposite page of the book are the letters *VRATIA*; an explanation of which has not as yet occurred to me.

On the shelves in the background are represented other books which had occupied to a great extent the laborious studies of the great scholar; Horace, the New Testament, Lucian, from whose writings he had made various translations, and Jerome, the father of the Church upon whose teaching he modelled his own, and whose entire works he edited.

Thus, precisely as Sir Thomas More describes the painting of Quintin Matsys, "*picti libri titulos præferrent suos,*" the books in the picture present their titles, written upon their fore-edges, in the manner then customary. There can

then be no reasonable doubt that the original of this picture of "Erasmus Writing" at Hampton Court was the portrait of him which was painted by Quintin Matsys in the year 1517.^a

In the companion portrait Ægidius is surrounded in like manner by some of his favourite authors. His hand rests upon a copy of the invective which Erasmus had put forth in his youth against the opponents of Greek learning, and of which only the first book has been preserved :

'ANTIBAPBAPOI.

On the shelves behind him are five volumes :

(Plu?)TARCHVS VERSVS^b

SENECA.

'Ἀρχοροπαιδεία.

SVET[ONIVS].

CVR[TIVS].

The superscription of the letter received from Sir Thomas More, which Ægidius holds in his hand, appears to be, *Viro Literatissimo Petro Egidio, Amico Carissimo, Anversæ*. On the table before him is a sand or pounce box.

Among the many contemporary pictures of Erasmus still in existence it is far from improbable that the original by Quintin Matsys may still be identified, though I have found no clue to it. I believe it has not been engraved, though the ordinary portraits of Erasmus, almost all derived from the pictures of Holbein, are so very numerous. Nor have I met with any engraved portrait of Ægidius.

And here it may be well to notice a misapprehension into which Mr. Wornum (pp. 146, 208) has fallen when he considers Peter Ægidius, the town clerk of Antwerp, to have been the same person with Peter Giles or Gilles, "a celebrated traveller," who published a book on the topography of Constantinople, and some other works of like character, as well as one on the nature of animals. This Peter Gilles was born at Albi in 1490, and died at Rome in 1550, and his name

^a Erasmus evidently liked to be drawn writing. It was at once the most characteristic position and one which would not entirely interrupt the progress of his work. It was thus he was represented by Albert Durer in an etching; Holbein also drew him writing, whilst his commentary on St. Matthew was in progress; and the drawing is in the museum at Basel. In the Louvre is a small picture of Erasmus writing, which is attributed to Holbein.

^b Perhaps intended for the translation by Erasmus, "Ex Plutarcho versa." (Opera, 1703, tome v. 1-92).

is Latinized as Gillius. Peter Ægidius was no traveller, but probably spent all his days at Antwerp, where he was born in 1486, and died on the 29th November, 1533.*

Having now shown that these works of Quintin Matsys are illustrated more fully than has hitherto been supposed by the literary correspondence of Erasmus, I may perhaps be allowed briefly to trace the whole subject through this interesting medium. The earliest letter alluding to it is one from Erasmus to Sir Thomas More. It is undated, but was the first he sent to England after returning from this country to Antwerp in the spring of 1517. He commences by relating that, on the first of May, at midnight, he had been wrecked in a boat upon the coast of France, not far from Boulogne, and had escaped after encountering considerable peril. This determines the date very nearly.

We may safely imagine that More, who was passionately fond of portraiture, had begged Erasmus before his departure to send him his picture, and that Erasmus had made some promise, absolute or conditional, so to do. In subsequent passages of the letter Erasmus tells his friend, "Peter Ægidius and I are being painted in the same picture: we shall shortly send it as a present to you. But it happens unluckily that on my return I have found Peter greatly suffering from I know not what disease, nor entirely free from danger, from which he has not yet sufficiently recovered. I was well enough, but some fool of a doctor prescribed for me a few pills for purging my bile, and I still more foolishly followed his advice; my picture had been previously commenced, but, from the physic I took, when I came back to the painter he declared that my features were not the same: so his work is delayed for a few days, until I become a little more alive." Towards the end of the same letter he adds, "I will write more fully within a month's time, when I shall send the picture."

It was not one month only, but probably about four, before the picture was actually finished, for it came to the hands of Sir Thomas More at the beginning of the month of October. He was then at Calais.

On the arrival of the picture, More first indulged his sensations of delight in composing some Latin verses. These are preserved together with his letters. They consist of two pieces, first, three elegiac couplets supposed to be uttered by the picture, and then twenty-six iambic lines addressed by More himself, the first eight to every spectator, and the rest to Quintin the painter. I will append these verses to my paper, but it is here only necessary to notice that they afford additional identification of the portraits, in mentioning that one of the persons

* There are memoirs of both in Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary.

represented (*Ægidius*) is denoted by the letter he holds in his hand, and the other (*Erasmus*) by writing his own name, as well as by being surrounded by those books of his which were read throughout the world. In addressing the painter Quintin, More declares that he has revived the art of *Apelles*; and he employs expressions, which he repeats in his letter to *Erasmus*, that the subjects of the picture were such men as former ages had rarely seen, his own age still more rarely, and as future ages would perhaps never see. He concludes with a wish that the work were committed to a more trustworthy material than frail wood, for if preserved, and if future ages maintain any regard for the arts, and the horrors of war do not entirely destroy all learning, "at how high a price," he exclaims, "will not posterity estimate this picture!"

After finishing his verses, More sat down to write to *Ægidius*, whom he esteemed not only as the generous friend of *Erasmus*, but as his own, for two years before More had been at Antwerp,* and during his visit had received great kindness from the accomplished town-clerk.

In all his travels (he had assured *Erasmus*) "nothing had occurred more agreeable than the acquaintance of *Peter Ægidius*, a man so learned, so witty, so unassuming, and truly friendly, that I would cheerfully bestow a good portion of my fortune to purchase his company."^b

After this, we shall not be surprised to find More writing to *Ægidius* in these familiar and affectionate terms:—

My dearest Peter, all hail! I sadly desire to learn whether you are recovering your health, for that is no less a concern to me than any matter of my own.

I have written a letter to our *Erasmus*. I send it open to you, you will seal it yourself. There is no occasion that what is written to him should come closed to you.

I have written out for you some little verses that I have made upon the picture, made as unskilfully as it is skilfully painted. You may communicate them to *Erasmus* if you think them worth his having; otherwise, commit them to the flames. From Calais the 6th of October 1517.

* "In May 1515 More was sent out on an embassy with Bishop Tunstal, Sampson, and others into Flanders. The party were detained in the city of Bruges about four months. In September they moved on to Brussels, and in October to Antwerp; and it was not till towards the end of the year that More, having successfully terminated his part in the negotiations, was able to return home." *The Oxford Reformers* of 1498, by Frederic Seebohm, 1867, 8vo. p. 272, where see fuller particulars of the embassy, with authorities for the dates.

^b — "in tota peregrinatione mea nihil mihi contigit optatius quam Petri Ægidii Antuerpiensis hospitis tui consuetudo, hominis tam docti, faceti, modesti, ac vere amici, ut peream nisi ejus unius convictum libenter mihi velim bona mearum fortunarum parte redimere. Is ad me misit *Apologiam* tuam," &c. *Epistola*, cexxvii. tome iii. col. 222, dated Londino, anno 1516 [qu. 1515?].

After the verses More again addresses Ægidius to express his particular admiration of the manner in which his own handwriting had been imitated by the painter :

My Peter (he writes), whilst Quintin has delineated every thing to a marvel he has especially shown that he can excel as a marvellous forger, for he has so imitated the address of my letter to you, as I could not myself write it again. On this account, unless he keeps it for some use of his own, or you for yours, I beg you to send it back to me; if placed next the picture it will double the miracle. But if it is destroyed, or will be of use to you, I shall try if I can again be the imitator of my own hand.

This letter, as I have already mentioned, is dated on the 6th of October, 1517. The letter inclosed for Erasmus is dated on the following day. Those passages of it which refer to the picture are to the following effect :

Peter Cocles has at last brought me, my dearest Erasmus, the long-expected portraits of you and our friend Ægidius, and how immeasurably they delight me it is easier for any one to imagine from his own impressions than it is for me to tell: for who is not ready to declare or to perceive upon reflection how the features of such men shadowed forth either by chalk or by coal must captivate any one who is not entirely benumbed to every sense of learning and of virtue? But I more particularly, having the remembrance of such friends brought back to me, am wonderfully ravished by likenesses delineated and expressed with such art that they fairly excel all the old painters; for whoever looks upon them must think them rather moulded or carved than painted. You cannot think, my Erasmus, my Erasmiostatos, how greatly my love towards you, to which I persuaded myself nothing could have added, has been drawn still closer by this attention of yours, and how eagerly I triumph in this boast, that you esteem me so far as to make known by a memorial of such beauty that there is no other person whose affection you prefer. For so, perhaps with some arrogance, but with no less confidence, I assuredly interpret this present, as one sent to me in order that the remembrance of you should be renewed to me not merely daily but hourly. I know indeed that you appreciate me too truly for it to be necessary to me to convince you that (though I am not free from other follies) I am very incapable of empty bragging. But yet, to confess the truth, I cannot really shake off this one itch of boasting, with which I feel both surprizingly and delightfully tickled, whenever it occurs to me that to a late posterity I am commended as THE FRIEND OF ERASMUS, attested by letters, by books, by pictures, and in every way. I wish I had the means to manifest by some evident proof that I was not unworthy the love of a man so greatly surpassing his own times and those that will succeed. But, since it is beyond my moderate powers to convince the world of that, I shall carefully strive that this your own testimony may prove me to be at least not ungrateful.

It is surely worth some trouble to ascertain the present owner of a picture which elevated its first illustrious possessor into such ecstasies of delight; but it

is now clear that the Earl of Radnor possesses only one-half of the treasure, although he has in place of the second half the still finer work of Holbein.

After introducing various other topics into his letter, More adds, "I have sent your scribe into England, having given him ten groats for the expenses of his journey, a poor reward to one who brought that noble picture, but Peter (that is, Peter Cocles) thought it enough."^a

All this was written eight years before the writer had heard of Holbein, and four at least before that greater artist than Quintin Matsys became known to Erasmus; but in the year 1521 Erasmus removed from Antwerp to Basel, thus quitting his old friend Quintin, whose works he had already introduced to English patrons, and soon after making the acquaintance of that younger and yet more perfect master whom he afterwards sent in person to pursue his fortune in England. Holbein was twenty-six years of age when Erasmus came to Basel in 1521.^b

He had already in 1519 painted the likeness of Boniface Amerbach, a work which it is the opinion of connoisseurs that he never surpassed in his best subsequent portraits; but it was not upon portraits that Holbein was chiefly employed at Basel. His principal works there were frescoes in the Council-house, other pictures of an allegorical character, and designs for the books of Froben the printer. He painted the portrait of Froben, of which we have a copy at Hampton Court, and he painted, probably repeatedly, the portrait of Erasmus. At length his employment at Basel began to fail, and he determined in 1526 to seek it elsewhere.

It seems probable that the picture of Erasmus which had been sent the year before to England, and the account he heard from Erasmus himself of its reception, as well as other motives, directed his course to this country. I need not repeat the circumstances connected with his leaving Basel, of which Mr. Wornum has collected many interesting facts.

^a The original is appended, and the reader is requested to compare my translation, both of this postscript and of the foregoing passages, with More's phraseology, which is involved, and the construction sometimes embarrassing. Peter Cocles, I presume the messenger who had brought the picture, was the same person whom More sent forward to England, designating him to Erasmus as "tuus scriptor."

^b See a paper *On the year of Holbein's Birth*, by Dr. Alfred Woltman, of Berlin, in the *Fine Arts Quarterly Review*, 1864, vol. iii. pp. 112-117; and another paper, by Professor Kinkel of Zurich, in the same periodical, 1867, vol. ii. pp. 223-250, reviewing the two large works upon Holbein recently produced by Woltmann 1866, and Wornum 1867. It is shown that Holbein was born at Augsburg in 1494 or 1495, and removed to Basel in 1515 or 1516 (pp. 231, 233).

The ordinary and oft-repeated story^a is that he came to England with a commendatory letter from Erasmus to Sir Thomas More, and it used formerly to be added that he carried also with him his portrait of Erasmus, which had really preceded him in the previous year. There is no existing trace of any letter that he may have brought with him to England; but Erasmus charged him with the care of a letter to Ægidius, which is dated on the 29th of August, 1526, and shows that it was Holbein's intention to descend the Rhine and embark from Antwerp for England.

There is reason to believe that he pursued this course, though we have no actual record that he did so, and a conjecture that Dr. Waagen made,^b that Holbein, during his sojourn at Antwerp in this journey, painted the portrait of Ægidius (which has now been shown to be by Quintin Matsys), is by Mr. Wornum (p. 209) properly pronounced to be "imaginary."^c

Nor was it merely to introduce the painter that Erasmus now wrote to Ægidius. He availed himself of this opportunity to write a long letter to his friend upon various topics; and its bearer is but passingly, though kindly, mentioned. "The man who delivers you this is he who painted me. I will not trouble you with his praises, though he is an extraordinary artist. If he should desire to visit Quintin, and you have not leisure to introduce him, you can let your servant show the house to him."^d Here the arts are starving; he repairs to England in

^a "Erasmus made a present of his picture to Sir Thomas More, and sent it over by Holbein (see the Life of Holbein, by Patin, prefixed to the *Encomium Moriae*, t. iv. c. 390), who had drawn it. It is now in the possession of Dr. Mead, the date (1523) agreeing with the time it was finished at Basel. More, in return to Erasmus for his present, had a picture copied by Holbein of himself and his whole family, from an original that Holbein had just before finished, and sent it to Erasmus by this painter. Erasmus expressed great satisfaction at the present in an epistle to Margaret Roper, eldest daughter of Sir Thomas. The original of this picture was lately in the family of the Ropers at Eltham in Kent; the copy is in the town-hall at Basel, where it is preserved with great care." (Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, 1726.)

^b *Art Treasures of Great Britain*, iii. 139.

^c Mr. Wornum, inadvertently perhaps, preserves the old story. His chapter xi. is headed, "The Painter leaves Basel, and comes to England in the autumn of 1526, carrying a letter of introduction from Erasmus to Sir Thomas More in London." And Wornum says, (p. 19) "He brought with him a letter of introduction from his old friend Erasmus, *together with a painted portrait of the great scholar*, which he was by Erasmus himself justified in saying was much more like him than the portrait painted by Albert Durer." And again, (p. 207) "Such was the land of promise (England) to which the humble painter of Basel hastened, *with the letter of Erasmus in his pocket*, as the key or talisman by which its treasures were to be made accessible to him." (Wornum, p. 207.) There is, however, no existing trace of such letter.

^d By Walpole this is translated: "Erasmus tells Ægidius that Holbein was very desirous of seeing the works of Quintin Matsys."

order to scrape together a few angels. You can write by him whatever you please."

If this projected visit to Antwerp was accomplished by the painter at all, as Erasmus imagined it might be, there can be little doubt that Holbein would sail for England fortified with a letter from Ægidius to Sir Thomas More, if he had not one from Erasmus himself.

Mr. Wornum (p. 209) considers it possible that Holbein may have arrived in England in October 1526. He was certainly here not long after that date, for in a letter to Erasmus written from the Court at Greenwich, on the 18th of December, More gives his opinion of him in these terms: "Your painter, dearest Erasmus, is a wonderful artist, but I fear that he will not find England so fruitful and fertile as he may have hoped. Still, I will do all I can that it should not prove wholly barren to him."^a

One of his earliest works in England was probably the portrait of Sir Thomas More, now belonging to Mr. Henry Huth, which is dated M.D.XXVII. His pictures of Archbishop Warham, one in Lambeth Palace and the other in the Louvre at Paris, and that of Sir Henry Guilford at Windsor Castle, are all dated in the same year.

In 1528 he painted Thomas Godsalve of Norwich, accompanied by a younger man (perhaps Sir John Godsalve), a picture now at Dresden; and in the same year Nicholas Kratzer the astronomer, then in England, a picture now at the Louvre.

All these pictures are dated, and the years of their production are therefore certain; but there are other portraits by Holbein of English men and women, which were probably works of the same period. We know that in 1529 he drew most of the heads for his large family picture of the Mores—a picture of which there are several copies, but none that actually proceeded from his own inimitable hand.

But in the summer of 1529 there was an interruption to his works in this country. His patron Sir Thomas More went to the Netherlands to assist in negotiating the peace of Cambray, and in the month of August Sir Thomas More's house at Chelsea was destroyed by fire. One or other of these circumstances may have determined Holbein to repair to the continent.

^a Epistola, cccxxxiv. edit. 1703. It is there dated 1525, which must be in error. Were it written in 1525, it would only be understood as prospective of Holbein's coming, and that his proposed coming had been announced to More in 1525, of which there is no evidence. It seems more probable that the letter is misdated, and that several others of the series are edited under the same disadvantage.

Before the 5th of September Holbein had paid a visit to Erasmus at Freiburg.

After this, Holbein returned to Basel, and some records of his employment there at that period have been discovered, whilst there are no traces of his presence in England either in 1530 or 1531.

But in 1532 he was again in this country, and his former patron, Sir Thomas More, having now fallen from his high estate, it appears that the painter's chief resource lay with his countrymen the merchants of the *Stahlhof*, or *Steelyard*, in London. Of these persons he painted the portraits of George Gysen (now at Berlin) and Heinrich —, the surname unknown (now at Windsor), both with the date 1532; Derick Born (also at Windsor); Geryck Tybis (now at Vienna); and Ambrose Falen (now at Brunswick); all with the date 1533. The same date also appears on a picture, at the Hague, of Robert Cheseman, who carries a falcon on his fist, and is said to have been one of the falconers of Henry VIII.

And this brings us to the period of the third picture from Longford Castle which I have proposed as the subject of the present memoir.

This picture has been formerly known by the name of "The Ambassadors," and since it came to Longford Castle the name of Sir Thomas Wyatt has been attached to it. In the recent catalogue of the exhibition at the Royal Academy it was thus described:—

114.—"THE TWO AMBASSADORS," believed to be a portrait of Sir Thomas Wyatt, æt. suæ 29 (sent by Henry VIII. on a mission to Paris), and of his secretary, æt. suæ 23. Signed "Johannes Holbein pingebat, 1533." *Hans Holbein*. Panel—81 inches by 83. Lent by the EARL OF RADNOR.

Mr. Wornum^a has characterised this picture as "Holbein's most important work in England; by no means the most delicate or refined, but the largest, and that on which he has bestowed the most labour." I beg to avail myself of Mr. Wornum's description of the whole composition: "By the side of a double table or what-not of two shelves are standing two gentlemen. The one on the spectator's left is magnificently dressed, in a pink satin doublet, and a black jacket, over which is a black surcoat lined with ermine; he wears a black cap; and round his neck is a simple chain with a large badge of the Archangel Michael attached to it. On a gold dagger-hilt at his side, richly chased, is his age, ÆT. SVÆ 29: a magnificent green and gold tassel is hanging here. He is looking straight out of the picture.

"The other man on the opposite side of the what-not has on a doctor's cap,

^a P. 275.

and a brownish-green figured morning gown; on the what-not by his side, on which he is leaning with his right arm holding a glove in his hand, is a book, and on the edges of its leaves is written *ætatis suæ* 25.

"The upper shelf of the table is covered with a Turkey carpet, and on this shelf are a celestial globe, some sun-dials, and other scientific implements in great abundance. On the lower shelf are a terrestrial globe, a guitar, some musical pipes, an open music-book with German words, and a book of calculations, also with German words. Beneath the lower shelf, on the floor, is another guitar, in shadow, and in the fore-ground, quite in front, is a singular object which looks like the bones of some fish. The whole of the back-ground is a green damask curtain. The floor of the room is parquettèd, or paved with various coloured marbles in a simple geometrical pattern; and in one of the forms just below the lower edge of the ermined overcoat of the figure presumed to be Sir Thomas Wyat is the following legend:—

JOANNES
HOLBEIN
PINGEBAT
1533,

"In oil, on ten boards joined vertically, 6 ft. 9 in. high by 6 ft. 10 in. wide.

"The faces of this picture are somewhat hard, but finely drawn; Sir Thomas's beard is well made out, with a few very fine lines; the hands are rather formal and are not perfectly modelled; there is a hardness throughout in the painting of the accessories, but the execution is generally very perfect, though much of it must have been left to assistants, for the amount of labour altogether bestowed upon this picture is prodigious. Some of the details, as for instance the books, are exceedingly elaborate. Sir Thomas Wyat's magnificent dress is admirably painted, and this figure has altogether a very grand and imposing effect."

The date is so little conspicuous that when Dr. Waagen first saw the picture in 1835 he overlooked it, and when he looked at it again some twenty years after he could not discover it. "Mr. Danby Seymour and I examined the whole picture in the closest manner, and found no trace of a date. We discovered, however, that the age of the learned man is 25." Dr. Waagen had previously said "25 or 26." (Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain, 1857, p. 359.)

So far Mr. Wornum. Now I wish it were in my power to trace the history of this grand picture as thoroughly as I have already traced that of the two portraits of Ægidius and Erasmus. I have given much consideration to the

subject, in the hope that I might be able to do so; for I cannot but think some clue to its proper development must exist, if one could but discover it. But, as I have not as yet succeeded, I must content myself in representing the state of the question, by pointing out the facts that are known and those that are deficient.

We know that it is an undoubted work of Holbein, for it is signed by his hand; we know its period, for it is dated 1533; and we know that it is one of his largest and finest works; and, knowing so much, the mere art-critic may say that he knows enough. But I am of another opinion, for I value portraits perhaps more as the monuments of great men than as the works of great painters, and it appears to me not an idle curiosity to desire to identify the two persons presented to our view in this noble picture, even if they should prove to be persons whose fame has not descended in very large characters to posterity.

I do not accept the description now given to them, as stated in the Royal Academy catalogue,^a that they are Sir Thomas Wyatt and his secretary. Who may have been the ingenious person who first suggested this name I am wholly unaware; but some credit may be allowed him for the plausibility of the suggestion. For Sir Thomas Wyatt was a distinguished ambassador; and he was so nearly a contemporary of the nobleman represented that it is almost difficult to show that the age does not entirely coincide. Still there is a slight difference. Wyatt is stated by all his biographers to have been born in the year 1503; if so, he was in his twenty-ninth year in 1532, but the picture is dated 1533. He died in October 1542, and (as Anthony à Wood says) in the thirty-eighth year of his age; if so, he was born in 1504, and so was actually in his twenty-ninth year in 1533.

^a Mr. Wornum says (p. 277) "Holbein was distinguished for a portrait of Sir Thomas Wyatt, probably the above-described picture; for in some funeral lines on the poet, who died in 1541, by Leland, Holbein is spoken of as the greatest in his art, for some such work." The lines are those under the medallion profile of Wyatt printed from a woodcut in the *Nænie in mortem Thomæ Viati* 1542.

In effigiem Thomæ Viati.

Holbenus nitida pingendi Maximus arte

Effigiem expressit graphicè; sed Nullus Apelles

Exprimet ingenium felix animumque Viati.

If, however, there is any particular meaning in these lines beyond the ordinary strain of the commendatory verses which it was then usual to place under portraits, it must apply to the portrait, the profile portrait, under which the verses are placed. That profile was very probably drawn by Holbein, and the wood-block may even have been engraved by him. (It is copied in the reprint of the *Nænie* appended by Hearne to Leland's Itinerary and also in Woltmann). Mr. Wornum (p. 404) mentions a profile portrait of Sir Thomas Wyatt in the possession of Lord Romney.

Had the noble personage represented been an Englishman there would seem to be very good reason to conclude that he was Sir Thomas Wyat. But he is not an Englishman. He wears the collar of the Order of St. Michael, and there is no mention of Sir Thomas Wyat having had that order. Nor is it at all likely that he would have it in 1533, for he did not receive the honour of knighthood at home until the 18th of March, 1536-7. Nor did Wyat ever go on a mission to Paris, as the Royal Academy catalogue states that he did. His embassies were to Germany, and the first of them was not before 1537, four years after this picture was painted.

But there is still another reason why this should not be Sir Thomas Wyat, namely, that we have his true portraiture by Holbein, of which there are two drawings in the portfolio of Holbein's drawings at Windsor, and they present the features of a very different man.

It seems highly probable, however, that the old title of "The Ambassadors" given to the picture has some good foundation. It was then customary to associate in embassies men of high rank and men of learned acquirements. The nobleman in the picture was evidently some man of high rank who had received the Order of St. Michael; but one may suppose that he was a German rather than a Frenchman, for among the accessories there is nothing but what is German. One of them is particularly remarkable. It is the piece of music, accompanied by the words *Zum heiligen Geist*, the beginning of a German hymn, a *sequenz*, which may be found in an old work *Das Plenarium*, printed at Basel, 1514, p. cxlviii.

But of all the accessories the most extraordinary is that which Mr. Wornum describes as "a singular object which looks like the bones of some fish." I observed that the visitors at the recent exhibition had generally learned that this is really a human skull in prolonged perspective, which assumes its proper shape when viewed from a particular point at the left hand side of the picture, where it is probable that the original frame was perforated with an orifice through which it might be viewed in its natural shape. There is perhaps in this extraordinary object, placed so prominently in the very foreground of the picture, some hidden enigma, which, if properly read, might lead to the satisfaction we are seeking.

We should be guided more directly to the subjects of the picture if we could be sure where Holbein was when he painted it. We have seen that he painted four portraits in England in the year 1533, but we cannot be sure that he passed the whole of that year in this country. "The Ambassadors" may have been

painted in England, and possibly in the Stahlhof in London. If the Steelyard merchants themselves had any important arrangements to make with the English Government, their advocates might be called ambassadors; as, subsequently, when their privileges were terminated in the reign of Edward the Sixth, "there came ambassadors from Hamburg and Lubeke to speak on the behalf of the Stiliard merchautes." (King Edward's Journal, Feb. 28, 1551-2.) And before, more nearly at the time we have now to consider, it is related of Dr. Robert Barnes that he was sent ambassador from the King of Denmark to King Henry in conjunction "with the Lubecks," and lay at the Steelyard.^a

But we have no actual evidence that the picture was ever in this country until towards the end of the last century. About the year 1790 it was in the possession of Lebrun, a painter and picture-dealer in Paris, who was accustomed to advertise the pictures he had for sale by publishing engravings of them in *livraisons*, which were afterwards collected into a work entitled the *Galerie des Peintres Flamands, Hollandais, et Allemands*. In this series he inserted a plate of "Les Ambassadeurs," which is engraved in line by J. A. Pierron; but, though a line engraving, it is, in regard to the original, rather a sketch than a faithful repetition, so slightly are the interesting details copied.

In the letterpress to his book, which is dated 1792, Lebrun states that since the plate had been engraved he had sold the picture for England, where it then was. Regarding the subject of the picture, Lebrun also states, without hesitation, that it presents the portraits of Messieurs de Selve and d'Avaux; one of whom was an ambassador at Venice, and the other in the North.^b This, however, seems to be nothing more than a picture-dealer's random guess, and by no means so felicitous a guess as that in favour of Sir Thomas Wyat. The family of Selve was one that gave birth to several eminent men who were distinguished in the diplomatic service of France, of whom Jean de Selve died in Paris in 1529, before

^a The biography of Dr. Barnes in which this occurs is that introduced by Foxe into his *Actes and Monuments*. The passage is this: "In the same season Dr. Barnes was made strong in Christ, and got favour both with the learned in Christ and with foreign princes in Germany, and was great with Luther, Melanchthon, Pomeran, Justus Jonas, Hegendorphinus, and Æpinus, and with the Duke of Saxony, and with the King of Denmark; which King of Denmark, in the time of More and Stokesley, sent him, with the Lubecks, as an ambassador to King Henry VIII. He lay with the Lubecks chancellor at the Stillyard. Sir Thomas More, then Chancellor, would fain have entrapped him, but the King would not let him, for Cromwell was his great friend. And ere he went the Lubecks and he disputed with the Bishops of this realm in defence of the Truth; and so he departed again, without restraint, with the Lubecks."

^b "Celui dont on voit l'estampe offre les portraits de MM. de Selve et d'Avaux; l'un fut Ambassadeur à Venise, l'autre le fut dans le nord; ils sont accompagnés des attributs des arts qu'ils cultivaient. J'ai depuis vendu ce tableau pour l'Angleterre, où il est maintenant; les figures sont de grandeur naturelle."

this picture was painted. George, his son, was for some years ambassador to Venice, but he became Bishop of Lavaur as early as 1526, and therefore could not be the gallant layman of this picture in 1533. Jean Paul de Selve, his brother, was also a bishop. Odet de Selve was Ambassador in England in 1547 and 1548, but not so early as 1533; nor, as I have before remarked, do I believe the nobleman in the picture to have been any Frenchman. No eminent person named d'Avaux will suit the age of the second of Holbein's Ambassadors.

It is remarkable that after this picture the dated portraits by Holbein are much fewer than before. None have been noticed bearing date 1534 or 1535. It is possible that he was away from England during those years, and during the latter part of 1533, at which time he may have painted "The Ambassadors," upon the continent. Bearing the date 1536 we have his portrait of Derick Berek, another of the Stahlfhof merchants, which is now at Petworth, and his portrait of Sir Richard Southwell, which is at Florence.

But, having now viewed the question which I proposed for consideration from all sides upon which it has occurred to me to obtain any evidence or probable suggestion, I must leave what I have stated for the consideration of others, or for the accidental acquisition of more direct information.

APPENDIX.

Letter of Sir Thomas More to Peter Ægidius.

THOMAS MORUS

PETRO ÆGIDIO

SUO.

Mi Charissime Petre salve. Miserè cupio eequid tu convalescas intelligere, quæ res non minori mihi curæ est, quàm quidvis mei: itaque et inquiri diligenter, et omnes omnium voces excipio sollicitus. Aliquot mihi meliores de te spes renuntiarunt, seu (quod opto) compertas, sive ut desideriis meis inserviant. Scripsi literas Erasmo nostro, eas tibi apertas mitto, signabis ipse. Nihil opus est quod illi scribitur clausum ad te venire. Versiculos, quos in tabellam tam inscitè feci, quàm illa scitè depicta est, ad te perscripsi. Tu, si digna videbuntur, Erasmo imperti, alioqui Vulcano dedas. Vale. Caletio, sexto Octobris, Anno 1517.

Versus in tabulam duplicem, in qua Erasmus ac Petrus Ægidius simul erant expressi per egregium artificem Quintinum, sic ut apud Erasmum exordientem paraphrasin in epistolam ad Romanos, picti libri titulos præferrent suos, et Petrus epistolam teneret, Mori manu inscriptam ipsi, quam et ipsam pictor effinærat.

TABELLA LOQUITUR.

Quanti olim fuerant Pollux et Castor amici,
 Erasmum tantos Ægidiumque fero:
 Morus ab his dolet esse loco, conjunctus amore
 Tam propè quàm quisquam vix queat esse sibi.
 Sic desiderio est consultum absentis, ut horum
 Reddat amans animum littera, corpus ego.

IPSE LOQUOR MORUS.

Tu quoque adspicis, agnitos opinor
 Ex vultu tibi, si prius vel unquam
 Visos: sin minus, indicabit altrum
 Ipsi littera scripta, nomen alter:
 Ne sis nescius, ecce scribit ipse,
 Quanquam is qui siet, ut taceret ipse,
 Inscripti poterant docere libri,

Toto qui celebres leguntur orbe.
 Quintine ô veteris novator artis,
 Magno non minor artifex Apelle,
 Mirè composito potens colore
 Vitam adfingere mortuis figuris:
 Heu cur effigies labore tanto
 Factas tam bene, talium virorum,
 Quales prisca tulere secla raros,
 Quales tempora nostra rariores,
 Quales haud scio post futura an ullos,
 Te juvit fragili indidisse ligao,
 Dandas materiæ fideliori,
 Quæ servare datas queat perennes?
 O si sic, poteras tuæque famæ et
 Votis consuluisse posterorum,
 Nam si secula, quæ sequentur, ullum
 Servabunt studium artium bonarum,
 Nec Mars horridus obteret Minervam,
 Quanti hanc posteritas emat tabellam?

MI PETRE, cum omnia mirificè Quintinus noster expressit, tum mirificum imprimis falsarium videtur præstare posse: nam ita inscriptionem litterarum ad te mearum imitatus est, ut ne ipse quidem iterum possem itidem. Quare nisi aut ille in suum aliquem usum, aut tu in tuum eam servas epistolam, remitte rogo ad me, duplicabit miraculum apposita cum tabella: sin aut periit, aut vobis usui erit, ego experiar meæ manus imitatore[m] ipse rursus imitari. Vale cum lepidissima conjugē.

[Thomæ Mori Opera omnia. Frankf. 1689, p. 310. Des. Erasmi Opera, t. iii. p. 1635. Leyden, 1703.]

II.

Portion of a Letter from Sir Thomas More to Erasmus.

Pertulit tandem Petrus Cocles, Erasme charissime, tuam Ægidiique nostri diu expetitas effigies, quæ quam impense me delectent, proclivius cuivis est è suo sensu consequi, quam dicendo mihi: nam quis vel explicet verbis, vel cogitatione non sentiat, quorum hominum vel creta modo vel carbone vultus adumbrati, capere etiam quemlibet poterant, qui non ad omnem litterarum virtutis-que sensum prorsus obstupuerat, me vero singulariter etiam permovere, talium amicorum qualitercunque representata memoria, eorum nunc mirifice rapi me, tanto artificio delineatis atque expressis imaginibus, ut quæ veteres facile pictores omnes provocaverint; quas quisquis intuetur, is nimirum

fusiles eas potius aut sculptiles arbitretur quam pictas. Ita porro eminere atque exstare videntur, justa virilis corporis crassitie. Non credas, Erasme mi *ἐρασμιόστατε*, quam valde amorem in te meum, cui nihil adjici potuisse ipse mihi persuaseram, studium hoc tuum arctius adhuc obligandi me intenderit, quamque ego vehementer hac triumpho gloria, quod tanti abs te æstimor, ut tam egregio monumento declares, non alium esse quemquam, a quo tu amari malis. Nam sic ipse certe, satis pol superbe, sed tamen sic interpretor, quod istud abs te missum est mihi, quo non in dies modo, sed in horas etiam, tui apud me memoria renovetur. Equidem scio me sic perspectum tibi, ut non sit in eo mihi valde laborandum, me ut tibi probem (quamquam multis alioquin ineptiis non vaco) vacare saltem longissime ab Thrasonicis adfectibus. Sed tamen ut verum fatear, unum hunc pruritus gloriæ excutere profecto non possum, quo mirum quam suaviter titillor, quoties animum subit seræ demum posteritati me Erasmi amicitia, litteris, libris, tabulis, omnibus denique modis contestata commendandum. Utinam ea mihi facultas esset quæ insigni aliquo documento possit efficere, ne indignus amore tam impenso viri, cum suo seculo, tum secuturis ætatibus incomparandi, videar! sed quum tam longe supra meam hanc mediocritatem sit, ullo meo facto præstare, illud ut mundus intelligat, sedulo certe enitar, ut saltum non ingratus esse, tuo unius testimonio comprober Caletio, 7 Octobris, Anno 1517.

[Des. Erasmi Opera, t. iii. p. 1635. Leyden 1703.]

XXIX.—On *Donnington Castle, Berkshire.* By HENRY GODWIN, Esq. F.S.A.

Read February 13th, 1873.

ON the brow of a hill situate about a mile to the north of the market town of Newbury in Berkshire stand the picturesque ruins of Donnington Castle. The castle derives its name from the little village of Donnington, which is linked with the adjoining hamlet of Shaw in the parochial designation of Shaw-cum-Donnington—a rural district, divided from the parish of Speen by the tiny river Lamborne, which, to use the quaint expression of Sylvester,

in haste doth run
To wash the feet of Chancer's Donnington.^a

The castle, of which the existing ruins formed the towered gateway only, was erected in 1385 by Richard de Abberbury, guardian of Richard II. during his minority, under a licence to crenellate granted to him by that monarch.^b From the peculiar language of this royal licence, "*Quod Ric'us Abberbury quoddam castrum in solo suo proprio apud Donyngton in com. Berks de novo constituere, ac petra, &c., kernellare,*" it may be inferred that the new structure was the re-edification of a former castle, and this inference is corroborated by a statement of Grose's that "by a MS. in the Cotton Library it appears that in the time of Edward II. it belonged to Walter Abberbury, son and heir of Thomas Abberbury, who gave the King c.s. for it."^c Certain it is, the family of Abberbury, or Adderbury, was connected with Berkshire as early as 1291; for in that year Edward I. granted the right of free warren over Donnington and Bradley to Thomas Abberbury, probably the person above named.^d

The antiquary Grose has given an excellent ground plan of the castle; from

^a Du Bartas's Works and Weeks, Third Day of the Week, Sylvester's Trans. p. 24.

^b 9 Rich. II. Cal. Rot. Pat. 213.

^c Grose's Antiquities of Berkshire, p. 5.

^d 20 Edward I. Cal. Rot. Chart. p. 122.

which it will be seen that its walls fronted the four cardinal points, and were defended by four round towers; its west end terminated in a semi-octagon; and at its east was a stone gate-house 40 feet long, flanked with two high round towers, and guarded by a portcullis. Its length east and west, reckoning the thickness of the walls, was 120 feet; and its breadth, including the towers, 85 feet.^a It could hardly be better described than in the language of Camden, "a small but very neat castle seated on the banks of a woody hill, having a fair prospect and windows on all sides, very lightsome."^b Its small dimensions deserve the more notice as presenting a striking contrast with its wide renown. Its tall, towered gateway and labelled windows exhibit a fine specimen of early Perpendicular architecture.

The erection of the castle could scarcely have been completed before its owner obtained a grant from the Crown of the manors of Donnington, Winterbourne, and Peasemore. This grant bears date 1387.^c

Hardly had Richard de Abberbury secured this retreat from the political storms which began to threaten, and shortly afterwards so miserably to overwhelm, his monarch and former ward, than he too experienced the mutability of fortune; for Holinshed informs us that in 1388 he was expelled from Court by the discontented lords on account of his loyalty—and this event, or its immediate consequence, seems referred to in a very brief note in the Patent Rolls of 1390, recording his dismissal, together with that of John de Lovell and Richard le Scrope, from the councils of the King.^d

The last express mention which I find of the builder of Donnington Castle is in a royal licence, granted to him in 1392, to build and endow almshouses, with a house for the master or minister, in his manor of Donnington.^e It may however, I think, be inferred that Richard de Abberbury was living in 1397; for he had a son of the same name, to whom John of Gaunt by his will, dated 3rd February, 1397, bequeathed a legacy of 50 marks, by the description of Mons. Ric. Abberbury le fils.^f

Perhaps it will not be deemed an unpardonable digression, if I add that a beaked helmet, supposed to have belonged to this Sir Richard Abberbury, was discovered at Donnington Castle, and is now in the armoury of the Tower of

^a Grose, *ut supra*, p. 8.

^b Camd. Britan. i. 216.

^c 11, 12, and 13 Rich. II. Cal. Rot. Chart. p. 191.

^d Johannes de Lovell, Ricūs le Scrop et Ricūs Abberbury a conciliis Regis. 14 Rich. II. Cal. Rot. Pat. 221. Also Holinshed, edit. 1807, ii. 793.

^e 16 Rich. II. Cal. Rot. Pat. p. 226.

^f Nichols's Royal Wills, p. 159.

London. It is made of iron, in four pieces, and weighs 13 lbs. 4 oz. ; its height is $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches.^a

Hitherto our course has lain along the safe though sometimes dull road of history, but here for a short space that road disappears, effaced by the plough-share of destruction which left so many deep furrows in this country during the wars of the Roses. Nature is said to abhor a vacuum ; certainly she weaves her fairest garlands to conceal destruction and decay ; accordingly, no sooner does this hiatus occur, than tradition and poetry hasten to hide or rather to embellish it. In the present instance they have combined to place before us one of the most charming tableaux imaginable. Froissart presenting his illuminated chronicle to Queen Philippa—Virgil reading his epic to Octavia—do not surpass in beauty the following picture by Elias Ashmole :—"Donnington Castle," says Ashmole, "became the seat of Sir Geoffrey Chaucer, the prince of English poetry ; who composed many of his celebrated pieces under an oak in this park."^b This oak is mentioned by Speght, an early editor of Chaucer's works :—"Donnington Castle," says Speght, "standeth in a park in Barkshire, not far from Newbery, where to this day standeth an elde oke called Chaucer's Oke."

It is not surprising that this picture has attracted many copyists. It would be tedious to enumerate them, for the list embraces nearly all the biographers of Chaucer and the topographers of Berkshire from the middle of the sixteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century, and includes the names of Camden, Urry, Bishop Gibson, Evelyn, Aubrey, Grose, and Godwin. I shall confine myself to two specimens of their productions :—The first is from Evelyn, who has introduced two or three new features, which we shall find by no means unimportant. Evelyn, when descanting on celebrated oaks, proceeds as follows :—"Nor are we to overpass those memorable trees which so lately flourished in Donnington park near Newberry, amongst which three were most remarkable, from the original planter and dedicator (if tradition hold), the famous English bard Geoffrey Chaucer ; of which one was called the King's, another the Queen's, and a third Chaucer's oak."^c

The second example is supplied by the antiquary Aubrey, which enables us to trace the venerable tree under which Chaucer is supposed to have sat (but which we can hardly be expected to believe was planted by him in his 70th year),

^a Godwin's English Archaeologist's Handbook, p. 259.

^b Ashmole's Antiquities of Berkshire, vol. ii. 285.

^c Evelyn's Forest Trees, fol. London 1664, p. 83.

to its final destruction—an event which it is gratifying to find was avenged by the Star Chamber, whose judge is said to have delivered an oration on the occasion. Aubrey's singular narrative is as follows:—"Donnington Castle, near Newbury, was Sir Geoffrey Chaucer's, a noble seat and strong castle, which was held by King Ch. I., but since dismantled. Mem.: Neer this castle was an oake under which Sir Geoffrey was wont to sitt, called Chaucer's Oake, w^{ch} was cutt downe by temp. Car. I^{ma}, and so it was that was called into the Starre Chamber, and was fined for it. Judge Richardson harangued against him long, and, like an orator, had topiques from the Druids, &c. Note: This information I had from an able attorney that was at the hearing."^a

Had the Star Chamber never acted more arbitrarily, it might have braved popular indignation some years longer; but I consider it fortunate for myself that this tribunal has been swept away; for, if the person who deprived the fair landscape of the oak were deserving of a fine, what punishment, it may be asked, is too severe for him who would seek to remove the far more interesting figure of Chaucer himself from the scene? And yet, such is at present my unfortunate task; and I may be allowed to call it unfortunate, as few persons can have more reasons than I have to deplore the severance of the poet Chaucer from Donnington Castle. This castle has been familiar to me from my childhood. I cannot walk in my garden or grounds without seeing it; it is one of the first objects which greet my eye in the morning, and almost the last which fades from my sight on a summer's evening; and, picturesque though it is, its principal charm to me was its association with the venerable bard.

The simple fact however is, that the connection of the poet Chaucer with Donnington Castle having been impugned by Sir Harris Nicolas, in his Aldine edition of Chaucer's works,^b I was induced to investigate the subject, in the hope of re-establishing the tradition upon a more secure basis. I am sorry to say, however, that the result has not been favourable, and I have, after much inquiry, arrived reluctantly at the conclusion that there is no evidence whatever to prove that the poet Chaucer was the owner of Donnington Castle!

Those writers who maintain the contrary support their views by two hypotheses:—First, that the poet purchased the domain; Secondly, that it was given to him by John of Gaunt. The first was held by Chaucer's early editor Urry, and is approvingly quoted by Grose; but a momentary glance at the financial resources

^a *Lives of Eminent Men, &c.*, by John Aubrey, ii. 284.

^b *Poems of Chaucer*, Aldine edit. i. 81-2.

of the bard, which at this particular crisis are exposed by him with singular candour, is sufficient to dispel this theory. The following address to his purse, supposed to have been written in 1398, is not the language of a castle-buyer or castle-builder :—

To you my Purse, and to none other wight,
Complain I, for ye be my Ladie dere,
I am sorie now that ye be light,
For certes ye now make me hevie chere,
Me were as lefe laid upon a bere,
For which unto your mercy thus I erie,
Be hevie againe, or els mote I die.

* * * * *

In another stanza of the same piece, he declares—

For I am shave as nere as any frere.

To these verses is appended an *Envoi*, addressed to Henry IV., showing the whole to have been an indirect appeal to that monarch, probably occasioned by the poet's annual pension of 20*l.* having fallen into arrear for a few months, during the unsettled period which closed the reign of Richard II. the precise period, be it remembered, assigned for the purchase of this extensive property, including two or three whole parishes.

The immediate success of this appeal, evidenced by a confirmation of the grant of the pension, and an order for the payment of arrears, might be adduced as another proof that Henry IV. regarded the suppliant as a "pore bedesman," rather than a rich landowner.^a

Chaucer's most voluminous biographer, probably perceiving the incredibility of this theory, has started another, namely, that "John of Gaunt purchased Donnington Castle and settled it on his distinguished relative Chaucer, in order, in the feudal sense, to ennoble him."^b

As there appeared to me something more within the limits of probability in this hypothesis, I requested my friend the late F. A. Carrington, Esq. to make inquiries on the subject, and he forwarded to me the reply of the Keeper of the Records of the Duchy of Lancaster, to the effect that Donnington Castle, near the town of Newbury, in Berkshire, had never belonged to the Duchy of Lancaster.

^a See transcripts from the Issue Roll of grants of Chaucer's Pension in Notes to Sir Harris Nicolas's accurate and valuable *Life of Chaucer* prefixed to the Aldine edition of the poet's works, i. 120—137.

^b Godwin's *Life of Chaucer*, ii. 523.

It is needless to allude to the circumstance of the poet having died at Westminster, in 1400, as a further refutation of these theories; the truth is, that they are wholly untenable, and would not have deserved the space which I have allotted them had they not been interwoven with English literature, and did they not relate to him who may almost be considered the founder of it. Before I return from tradition to history, I would remark of the former, that, although an unsafe guide, it is sometimes a valuable indicator; seldom indeed accurate, but rarely without some foundation. The present instance is an illustration; for, although no authentic document has been found which vests the ownership of Donnington Castle in Geoffrey Chaucer, yet there is irrefragable evidence which connects it with his son (supposing Thomas Chaucer to have held that relationship) and with his granddaughter.

Through the kind assistance of John James Bond, Esq. of the Public Record Office, I am able to supply the desiderated link between Sir Richard Abberbury and the Chaucer family. This link is a hitherto unpublished fine, or legal conveyance, made in the second year of the reign of Henry V. (1414-15), by Richard Abberbury, Knight, and Alice his wife, to Thomas Chaucer, Esq. Edmund Hampden, John Golafre, and William Beck, of the Castle and Manor of Donnington, and some other manors in the vicinity, including those of Peasemore, Penclose (Pentelow), and Winterbourn, with the advowson of the church of Peasemore, and other hereditaments. The purchase-money is stated in this instrument to have been 1,000 marks in silver.^a

Thomas Chaucer referred to in this document, who there is little reason to doubt was the son of the poet,^b held at various times, in addition to two or three royal annuities, the following lucrative offices: Chief Butler to Richard II., Constable of Wallingford Castle, and Steward of the Hundreds of Wallingford, St. Valery, and of the Chiltern Hundreds (granted by Henry IV.). He had been Sheriff for Bedfordshire and Oxfordshire in 1400 and 1403, and was Member of Parliament for Oxford at intervals from 1400 to 1428, and Speaker of the Commons in 1414; probably at the time this purchase was in negotiation.^c He

^a See this fine fully set out in the Appendix.

^b Mr. Furnival impugns the relationship between Geoffrey Chaucer and Thomas Chaucer (*Notes and Queries*, vol. ix. 381—3.) Sir Harris Nicolas, however, after discussing the question very dispassionately, deems the traditional belief to be well founded (see his *Life of Chaucer* before referred to, pp. 60 and 96).

^c Sir H. Nicolas's *Life of Chaucer*, *ut supra*, pp. 108—112, and Fuller's *Worthies*, *List of Sheriffs of Berks and Oxon.*

was also employed in several very important diplomatic commissions; and served at the battle of Agincourt, where he accompanied Henry V., attended by a staff of twelve men-at-arms and thirty-seven archers.

It would be wearisome to follow Thomas Chaucer through all his various public employments, or to burden ourselves with all his acquisitions; but there is one royal grant to which I would refer, as throwing considerable light on the traditions connecting his father with Donnington Castle. On the 23rd of February, 1411, the Queen of Henry IV. granted Thomas Chaucer, amongst other emoluments, the farm of the Manor of Woodstock, for her life, and on the 15th of March following the King extended the grant for the whole period of Chaucer's life, should he survive the Queen. Now, these grants constitute, in the opinion of Sir Harris Nicolas, the earliest evidence of the connection of any member of the Chaucer family with Woodstock; which place stands in precisely the same relation to them as Donnington, and, as I cannot help suspecting, upon the same fallacious ground, namely, that the son has been mistaken for the father. This surmise receives some confirmation from the narrative of the planting and dedication of the oaks referred to by Evelyn as the King's, the Queen's, and Chaucer's oaks; for to whom, it may be asked, could they be more appropriately dedicated under the circumstances to which I have referred? ^a I will only add in reference to Thomas Chaucer that in 1404 he married Matilda, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir John de Burghersh, through whom he acquired large estates in Oxfordshire, including, amongst others, that of Ewelme. The only issue of this marriage was a daughter, named Alice, of whom we shall have more to say.

We will now return to the other persons mentioned in the conveyance from Sir Richard Abberbury, viz., Edmund Hampden, John Golafre, and William Beck. These individuals were doubtless some of the principal landowners of the neighbourhood. Sir John Golafre was lord of the manor of Fyfield near Abingdon, and sheriff of the county of Oxford in the years 1399 and 1413, which county he also represented in Parliament in 1396. He was associated with Thomas Chaucer as a governor of the Fraternity of the Holy Cross at Abingdon, and, as is supposed, in the erection of a beautiful cross in that town, unfortunately destroyed by Waller's army in 1644, but which had been ornamented with his arms. He died in 1442, and a monument still exists to his memory

^a Godwin, indeed, in his *Life of Chaucer*, ii. 523, supposes that the Queen to whom one of the oaks was dedicated was Ann of Bohemia, but as her demise took place on the 7th of June 1394 this supposition falls to the ground, and brings down some large fragments of hypothesis with it.

in Fyfield parish church, called by the villagers Gulliver's Tomb.^a A still more enduring memorial of him is to be found in the pages of Froissart, who relates, that when he took leave of Richard II. "the King presented him, by one of his knights called Sir John Golafre, a silver-gilt goblet weighing full 2 marcs, filled with 100 nobles."^b

To return to his connection with Thomas Chaucer. In family arrangements, which, as we shall see, the lapse of time served but to cement, Golafre's name occurs, together with that of Beck, in a legal instrument called a Declaration of the Trusts of Thomas Chaucer's Marriage Settlement, dated 1408.^c In the present instance therefore we may safely conclude that Hampden, Golafre, and Beck, all acted in the same capacity of trustees for Thomas Chaucer, and probably for his daughter, for it appears by a fine of a shortly subsequent date that they granted an estate tail in the Castle and Manor of Donnington to Sir John Phelipp and Alice his wife, which Alice was the only daughter of Thomas Chaucer, to whom the estates were made to revert in case of the failure of issue.^d

Of the husband of this lady, Sir John Phelipp, we know but little. He is stated by some writers to have been a Knight of the Garter, but they have probably mistaken him for Sir William Phelipp, sometimes called Lord Bardolph, who was elected K.G. during the siege of Rouen in 1418.^e Sir John died in 1415, and we learn from an Inquisition held shortly afterwards^f that he had attained the age of thirty-one years; that he was seised, together with Alice his wife, of the Castle and Manor of Donnington; and that she survived him. Singular to say, a portion of the land included in the Manor of Donnington still retains his name as "Phelipp's Hill."

Thomas Chaucer's daughter could not have been older than about ten years at the time of her husband's demise; the precise age at which Queen Isabella, the consort of Richard II., commenced her widowhood.

Before many years had elapsed, the Lady Alice became the second wife of Thomas de Montacute, called "the brave earl of Salisbury,"^g who obtained an important victory over the French at the battle of Crevant in 1423, and received his death-wound in the memorable blockade of Orleans in 1428,^h having had

^a Lysons's *Berkshire*, i. 227, 282.

^b Froissart's *Chronicles*, ch. cxxi.

^c *Archæologia*, xxxiv. 42.

^d 3 Henry V. No. 2.

^e Sir Harris Nicolas's *History of the Orders of British Knighthood*, i. 59.

^f *Inquisitio post mortem* 3 Henry V. No. 42.

^g *Historic Peerage*, p. 418.

^h The dates of the subsequent part of this narrative are taken generally from the Chronological Index to Knight's *History of England*, compiled by H. C. Hamilton, Esq., of Her Majesty's State Paper Office.

the distinction, according to Camden, of being the first English gentleman slain by a cannon-ball.^a

Doubtless his wife shared his estate at Donnington with him, as she had done with his predecessor; but the wars in France probably allowed him but little leisure to enjoy the comparative retirement of Donnington Castle. There was no child of this marriage.

The Earl of Salisbury was succeeded in command by William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, who, notwithstanding the display of considerable military ability, was compelled to raise the siege, and retire to Sargran, where he was taken prisoner by the Maid of Orleans in 1429. He, however, contrived to escape to England, and in the following year an event occurred which is thus recorded by Leland, who, it must be remembered, transmutes Suffolk's earldom into a dukedom by anticipation: "Alice, Doughter and Heire to Thomas Chaucer and Matilde, tooke to husband William de la Pole, Duke of Southfolk, the which for love of her & the commodite of her Landes fell much to dwelle yn Oxfordshir and Barkshir, wher his wifes landes lay."^b How the retired warrior employed his time we may learn from the preceding paragraph of the same writer: "Menne say that he [Chaucer] mindid the fundation of the Hospitale of Ewelme, and also the Hospitale by Dunnintoun Castelle. But William Duke of Southf. did build them booth: eche pore man ther having xiiij*l.* by the weeke." These estates became more absolutely the property of the Countess of Suffolk about this time, in consequence of the death of her father in 1434, and of her mother in 1436.^c

In 1444 (14 Sept.) William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, was made a Marquis, and he and the Marchioness in the same year (5th Nov.), proceeded to France on the occasion of the marriage of Henry VI. with Margaret of Anjou; on which occasion he acted as Procurator for the King, and the ceremony was graced by the attendance of the French king and queen, three dukes, seven earls, twelve barons, and twenty bishops. In 1446 another earldom—that of Pembroke—was added to his honours; and in 1448 he was created Duke of Suffolk, K.G., Lord Chancellor, and Lord High Admiral.

Ere the sun of his good fortune had, however, reached its zenith, a storm of popular indignation had been gathering which was soon to overwhelm him. The King's marriage with Margaret of Anjou, which had been wholly the policy of

^a Camden's Remains, p. 208.

^b Leland's Itinerary, ii. 33 (Hearne's edit.)

^c See the Inquisitions on their respective deaths set forth by Sir H. Nicolas in his *Life of Chaucer*, p. 141.

De la Pole, was always distasteful to the commonalty, and the Queen did not make the match more palatable by her conciliatory spirit.

One of the opponents was the Duke of Gloucester, known to posterity as "the good Duke Humphrey;" and, as it had become a necessity that he should be removed out of the way, the Duke of Suffolk, Queen Margaret, and Cardinal Beaufort labour under the suspicion of having effected his removal in the most summary manner. A contemporary chronicler, hostile indeed, but by no means the Duke's bitterest accuser, thus refers to this transaction:—"In the moneth of Feverer (1447), the x day thereof, began the parlement at St. Edmundis Bury in Suffolk; the whiche parlement was maad only for to sle the noble duke of Gloucestre; whos deth the fals duke of Suffolk, William de la Pole, and ser James Feyns, lord Say, and othir of thair assent, hadde longe tyme conspired and ymagyned. And they, seying that thay myȝt not sle him be no trewe menes of justise ne of lawe, and enfourmed falsli the king, and sayde that he wold reise the Walshmenne forto distresse him and destroie him; and ordeyned that every lord sholde come to the said parlement in thair best aray and withe strengthe. And alle the weyes aboute the said toun off Bury, be commaundement of the said Duke of Suffolk, were kept with gret multitude of peple of the cuntre, wakyng day and nyghte; unknowyng the said peple wherfore it was; and the wedir was so cold that some of the poer peple that there wakid, deide for cold."

"And ayens the ende of the parlement the said duke of Gloucestre was sent for, for to come and answer to such poyntes of tresoun as sholde be laid ayens him; and er he cam fully into the town of Bury, ther were sent unto him messagers commaundyng him on the kyngis behalfe, that he sholde go streighte to his yn, and come not nyghe the kyng til he hadde othirwise in commaundement. And the secunde day after, whiles he sat at mete in his yn, cam a sergeaunt of armes and arestid certain knytis and squyers and othir special servauntis of his, and ladde thaym to divers prisons.

"And the iij day aftir, the lord Beaumont with othir, that is to say, the duke of Bukynghame, the duke of Somerset, and othir, cam to the said duke of Gloucester and arestid him: and thanne were certayn of the kyngis hous commaunded to waite on him. And the iij day aftir, he deide for sorow, as some men saide, because he myghte not come to his ansuer and excuse him of suche thyngis as were falsli put on him; for the said duke of Suffolk and lord Say, and othir of thair assent, so stirid and excitid the kyng ayens the said duke of Gloucestre that he might never come to his excuse; for thay hadde cast among thaym a prive conclusioun, the whiche as yit is not come to the knowlage of the commune peple,

and thay wiste welle that thay sholde nevir bring it aboute til he were ded; but the certaynte of his deth is not yit openly knowe, but there is no thyng so prive, as the gossell saith, but atte last it shal be openne.”^a

The “privie conclusioun” is thus hinted at by Drayton:—

When to their purpose things to pass were brought,
And these two brave ambitious spirits were met,
The queen and duke now frame their working thought
Into their hands the sovereignty to get.

The charge of conspiring the murder of Duke Humphrey was not the only accusation brought against the Duke of Suffolk. The chronicle thus pursues the subject: “The comune vois and fame was that tyme that the duke of Suffolk William de la Pole and the said duke of Somerset, with othir of their assent, hadde maad deliveraunce of Aunge and Mayn (Anjou and Maine) withoute assent of this lond unto the kyng of Cicile the quenes fader: and hadde also aliened and sold the duchie of Normandie to the king of Fraunce; wherfore alle the peple of this lond and specialli the comunes cride ayens the said duke of Suffolk, and said he was a traitour; and atte instaunce and peticioun of the said communes of the parlement holden that tyme at Westmynstre he was arested and put in to the tour.”^b

“This duke of Suffolk hadde axed befor this tyme of on that was an astronomer what sholde falle of him, and how he sholde ende his lif; and whanne the said astronomer had labourid therfore in his said craft, he ansuerde to the duke and said that he sholde die a shameful deth, and counselid him alwey to be war of the tour; wherfor, be instaunced of lordis that were his frendis, he was sone delyverid out of the said tour of Londoun.

“Thanne the kyng, seyng that alle this lond hatid the said duke dedly, and that he myȝt not bere ne abide the malice of the peple, and exilid him for terme of v year. And the Friday the iij day of May he took his shippe at Episwich and sailed forth in to the high see, where another shippe called the Nicholas of the Tour lay in waite for him, and took him. And they that were wythynne grauntid him space of a day and a nyghte to shryve him, and make him redy to God. And thanne a knave of Yrlond smot of his hed, upon the side of the boot

^a English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II., Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI., written before the year 1471, published by the Camden Society, pp. 62, 63.

^b This petition is set forth in the Paston Letters, edited by Gairdner, i. 99. (Arber's reprints.)

of the said Nicholas of the Tour, notwithstanding his saaf conduct; and the body with the hed was cast to the land at Dovor.”^a

Thus have we traced this sport of fortune from the prison-ward of Joan of Arc to the presence chamber of Margaret of Anjou, daily rising in honour, and increasing in influence with the Queen and ascendancy over the King, until he reached the highest pinnacle of power, thence to be precipitated to an ignominious death on an improvised scaffold in a cock-boat.

It is not wonderful that such a career fixed the attention of poets. The authors of the “*Myroure for Magistrates*” were among the first to secure the subject for themselves, and certainly a more fitting place could hardly be found than in a work expressly written to set forth “with how greivous plagues vices are punished and how frayle and unstable worldly prosperity is founde even of those whom fortune seemeth most highly to favour.” In “the legende of William de la Pole duke of Suffolk” the duke’s last interview with his executioner is thus described as by himself:—

He led me back again to Dovor road,
Where unto me recounting all my faults,
As murdering of duke Humphrey in his bed,
And how I had brought all the realm to naught,
Causing the king unlawfully to wed,
There was no grace, but I must lose my head.

The poet Drayton, too, has employed his descriptive powers with more than usual success in illustration of this subject, in the “*Heroic Epistle from William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, to Queen Margaret,*” and in her reply, and also in the poem entitled “*The Miseries of Queen Margaret.*”

But a bolder artist has watched and sketched, as none other than Shakspeare could, the fiery evolutions of the three mighty spirits—the ambitious Suffolk, the relentless Margaret, and the remorseless Beaufort—until, in conjunction, they struck their helpless victim, the good Duke Humphrey; the pale imbecile king meanwhile looking on calmly as an autumnal moon.

^a English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II., Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI., written before the year 1471, published by the Camden Society, pp. 68, 69.

^b Drayton’s *Poems*, fol. ed. pp. 140, 141.

^c Latimer, who was the great exponent of the popular feeling, more deeply steeped in anti-prelacy, lays the chief blame upon Cardinal Beaufort: “There was a byshop of Winchester in King Henry the VI. days. Thys bishop was a great man borne, and did beare such a stroke that he was able to shoulder the Lorde Protector. Well, it chaunced yat the Lorde Protectoure and he fell out, and the byshoppe would beare nothyng at all with him but played me the *Satrapas* so that the Regente of Fraunce was fain to be

Doubtless the poets did but express the popular belief and feeling, but those who read the Duke's letter to his son,^a written just before his fatal voyage, and telling him how he might escape "the grete tempestes and troubles of this wrecched world," will hardly require to be reminded that they must make some allowance for party feeling, which never raged more violently than in these perilous times, and that persons of the "opposite assent," as the historian styles it, were no "gentle chroniclers." How this calamity affected Chaucer's daughter, and whether it caused her mind to revert to the comparative obscurity of Donnington Castle, we cannot tell, but this we know, that the narrator of it for once broke through the conventionalities of epistolary correspondence in those days, and actually made his letters almost illegible by his tears.^b

Although William Duke of Suffolk suffered the death of a traitor, yet Sir Harris Nicolas informs us (and in so doing corrects the error of Dugdale and a host of followers) he was never attainted. He had been accused of treason by the Commons, and was banished the kingdom for five years; but the Lords protested against the sentence; and when, in the year following, the Commons petitioned that an Act of attainder should pass against him, the petition was merely indorsed, "*Le Roi s'avisera*;" and his son and heir, John de la Pole, succeeded to his estates and honours, and was confirmed in his title of Duke of Suffolk in 1463.^c

Alice, the daughter of Thomas Chaucer, survived her third husband, and lived to 1475, when, doubtless, Donnington Castle passed to her son.^d

sent for from beyond the seas to set them at one and to go betwene them. For the bysshoppe was so able and readye to buccle with the Lord Protectoure as he was with him. * * * This Protectoure was so noble and godly a man that he was called of everye man the good duke Humfrey. * * * Upon this the bishop (who was made Cardinall at Calise—these Romish hats never broughte good into Englande) goeth me to the quene Katherin [Margaret] the kinges wife—a proude woman and a stout, and perswaded her that if the Duke were in such author^{ty} styl, and lived, ye people wold honor him more then they did the king and ye kyng should not be set by, and so between them, I cannot tell how it came to pas, but at S. Edmundesbury in a parliament the good Duke Humfrey was smothered.—Latymer's II. Sermon before Kyng Edward VI. p. 23, 15 March, 1549.

^a Paston Letters, No. 91, i. 121 (Arber's edition).

^b William Lonmer's Letter to John Paston, dated 5th May, 1450, which thus commences:—"Ryght worchipfull Sir, I recomaund mee to yow, and am right sory of that I shalle sey, and have soo wesshe this litel bille with sorwfulle terys, that on ethes ye shalle reede it."—The Paston Letters, No. 93, i. 124 (Arber's edition).

^c Nicolas's Historic Peerage, p. 459 n.

^d An engraving of the splendid tomb of Alice Duchess of Suffolk is given in Gough's Sepulchral Monuments.

The Donnington estate constituted but a very small fragment of the large possessions of John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, who seems to have been as ambitious as his father, and married Elizabeth Plantagenet, sister of Edward IV. This royal alliance nearly placed his son on the throne, but it really conducted him to the scaffold.

The eldest son of John de la Pole, an elegant, popular, and talented youth, married the daughter of Sir John Golafre, and died in the lifetime of his father. He had been created Earl of Lincoln, and declared by Richard III. his presumptive heir, but, having espoused the cause of Lambert Simnel, he was slain in the battle of Stoke (1487), and was attainted; consequently, his next brother, Edmund de la Pole, succeeded to his father's title and estates.

Henry VII. could bear no rival near the throne, and resolved to humble and remove Edmund de la Pole on the first opportunity. Contending, contrary alike to law and to reason, that Edmund succeeded not to his father, but to his brother, although his brother had never held the title, and being supported by an obsequious Parliament, he wrested from him the title of Duke, and substituted that of Earl of Suffolk in 1493. Of this latter title he deprived him by attainder in 1503, and thus Donnington Castle became the property of the Crown.^a

The only memorial which I can find of Henry VII.'s connection with the castle is, that this monarch's badge (a rose per pale gules and argent, crowned or) within the garter, was observed in a window in Donnington Castle in 1664.^b

Being now crown property, Donnington Castle passed to Henry VIII., who is said to have granted it to his favourite and brother-in-law, Sir Charles Brandon, fifth Viscount l'Isle, when he bestowed upon him the revived title of Duke of Suffolk (1514).

There is little doubt, indeed, that this castle was in the possession of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, for his arms are mentioned in the diary of Richard Symonds as being in the windows, as well as "dyvers Lyons heads," and this motto very often, "Loiaulte oublige" (the crest and motto of Brandon); but in all probability the grant was only made for life, for in 1545, the very year of Suffolk's death, an Act of Parliament was passed, empowering the King, "by his joint or several letters patent under the great seal and proclamation, to make the city of Westminster one Honour, the town of Kingston upon Hull another, his castle of Donnington in the county of Berks a third, and St. Osith in the

^a Lord Bacon's Henry VII. *sub anno*. Historic Peerage, *ut supra*.

^b Diary of Richard Symonds (published by the Camden Society), p. 143.

county of Essex a fourth Honour."^a Had this grant been for a longer period than his life, this castle would have devolved upon the Duke's son and successor to his title, Henry Brandon, who died six years later, in 1551.

From Henry VIII. the castle passed to his son, Edward VI., who, as appears by his diary, visited it on the 10th of September, 1551, and continued there two days.^b This visit is interesting in relation to the circumstance that on the 24th of April preceding he had made a royal grant to his sister Elizabeth, afterwards Queen of England, of "his manor and lordship, deer park, and castle of Donnington, in the county of Berks," for her life, until she should be provided for by some honourable marriage. The manor of Hampstede Marshall, and certain premises at Newbury (including the house which was afterwards known so well as the "Globe Inn") and Cholsey, were included in the grant, and the whole was stated to be of the clear value of 3,064*l.* 17*s* 8½*d.*^c

The Princess Elizabeth would gladly have taken refuge in this castle from the surveillance of her sister Mary, for we are told by Miss Aikin that Queen Mary on one occasion interposed to prevent her sister Elizabeth's removal from Ashridge in Buckinghamshire to her castle of Donnington in Berkshire.^d

Elizabeth's interest became more permanent by her succession to the crown in 1558, and she probably revisited this scene of her youth ten years later, namely, in 1568, when she was at Newbury;^e by royal grant, however, dated the 15th of May (A.D. 1600), the Queen granted her manor, deer-park, and castle of Donnington, in fee, to the nominees of Charles Earl of Nottingham. The consideration for this grant is thus expressed; "Know ye that we, having experience that our very dear cousin and counsellor, Charles Earl of Nottingham, Baron Howard of Effingham, K.G., did for some years behave strenuously and bravely as Lord High Admiral of England, and did render very great services to us and our kingdom, with our ships and our royal fleet; and did with our armament, in the year of our Lord 1588, and of our reign the thirtieth, under our auspices and the favour of God, conquer in an open naval battle the Spanish fleet, prepared to invade our kingdom (although the Spaniards ships were much greater in number), the Duke Medina Sidonia, the supreme leader and captain-general of the Spanish

^a 37 Henry VIII. c. 18.

^b Edward VI.'s Diary, published in the Appendix to Burnet's History of the Reformation.

^c See Royal Grant, 24th April, 5 Edward VI. Rot. Pat.

^d Miss Aikin's Life of Queen Elizabeth, i. 138.

^e Nichols's Progresses, i. 254.

army being put to flight, and the greater part of his fleet being destroyed or sunk, and by obtaining that victory he rendered our kingdom safe from all Spanish invasion and from suspicion of dangers; We, therefore, willing graciously to reward such laudable services,"^a &c.

Patriotism and loyalty were not the only excellent qualities of the new owner of Donnington Castle, for one of his first acts of ownership was to improve the munificent endowment of the Donnington Almshouses, or Hospital as it is called. "After the dissolution of Monasteries," says Dugdale, "the Estates of this Hospital continued in the Crown till about the year 1670, when, upon the petition of Charles Earl of Nottingham, Lord Admiral, they were restored to the Hospital, which from that time was called 'The Hospital of Queen Elizabeth at Donnington,' in time past begun to be founded by Sir Richard Abberbury, Knt., and by Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, perfected and consummated."^b It is probable from the association of the name of the Queen with that of the Earl of Nottingham, and from the circumstance of the re-endowment of the hospital having been procured by the Earl before the Donnington estate came into his actual possession, that he had a previous grant of it for his life.

The Earl of Nottingham died in 1642, full of years and of honours, but it is uncertain whether he retained this property until his death, although it is extremely improbable that he parted with it during the life of its royal donor. Symonds the diarist alleges that "in 1644 it was the habitation of Mr. Packer," who bought it of Mr. Chamberlayne. John Charberlayne is undoubtedly described in the Rolls of the College of Arms for 1623, as of Donnington Castle, Berks.^c And the castle is stated, by Clarendon and other writers on the Civil War, to have belonged to Robert Packer, who appears to have been son of John Packer, who was a clerk of the privy seal and secretary to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, and to have married one of the heiresses of Sir Henry Winchcombe, a descendant of the celebrated clothier John Winchcombe, *alias* Jack of Newbury. I have discovered I think irrefragable proof of the castle having belonged to Robert Packer in 1654, for the solicitor of the present owner of the castle, W. H. H. Hartley, Esq., has recently shown me an old terrier of the Donnington estate, with this inscription on it :—

^a Rot. Pat. 42 Elizabeth, pt. 19, m. 32.

^b Dugd. Monast. Angl., vi. pt. 2, pp. 753, 754 (edition 1830)

^c Symonds's Diary, p. 143 n. and 152.

Aug^t 1654
Dinnington Parke
Com Berks
Geographically dis-
cribed parcell of the Posses-
sions of Rob^t Packer Esq
Taken by me
John Godfrey Artist.

The nominal ownership of Donnington Castle however, in the interval between 1643 and 1654, is comparatively unimportant, for, as Lysons observes, "In 1643, being then the property of the Packer family, it was garrisoned for the King; being esteemed an important post as commanding the road from Oxford to Newbury, and the great road from London to Bath and other parts of the West of England."

The last skirmish between the Royalists and the Parliamentarians previous to the battle of Newbury on the 20th of September, 1643, occurred at Aldbourne Chase, between Cirencester and Newbury, and the occupation of the latter town was the common object of both armies—that of Essex, to secure his return to London, and that of Prince Rupert, to intercept his adversary; and, on this occasion, the protection afforded to the royal army by Donnington Castle enabled it to secure for itself the higher and more direct route to Newbury, and thus to reach that town two hours before the Parliamentary forces could arrive, they being obliged to take the lower road, and to ford the Kennet in the face of their foes.

This advantage, if skilfully turned to account, might have been fatal to Essex and his party; but the result did not correspond with the opportunity.

It is not my wish to "fight these battles o'er again." Still I cannot pass over the feats of prowess connected with Donnington Castle in silence; for the defence of this small but invincible fortress appears to me to present the finest instance upon record of what may be effected by the indomitable courage of an English officer.^b

The bravery of Colonel Boys has been chronicled by an abler pen than mine. Clarendon's narrative is or ought to be familiar to every military man; but I must claim indulgence if I repeat a more than "twice-told tale." The circum-

^a Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, lib. vii. s. 207 *et seq.*, ii. 178 (Oxf. edition); and Lysons's *Berkshire*, i. 356, 357.

^b For the subsequent narrative the principal authorities are Symonds's *Diary*, 142—149, and Clarendon, lib. viii. s. 150—164.

stances attending the first battle of Newbury convinced both the contending parties of the great importance of Donnington Castle; on behalf, therefore, of the Royalists the Earl of Rivers despatched thither his regiment, consisting of about two hundred foot, twenty-five horse, and four pieces of cannon, under the command of Colonel Boys. At the same time the three adjacent hundreds of Kintbury Eagle, containing twenty parishes, Faircross fourteen, and Compton eight parishes, were laid under contribution for the maintenance of this small garrison, and for the cost of strengthening the outworks, which was estimated at £1,000. On the other hand, Lord Essex, when he was informed of the King's march into the westward provinces, sent his Lieutenant-General Middleton to "wait upon his rear," as Clarendon expresses it, with three thousand horse and dragoons, with orders to reduce Donnington Castle in his progress. The little castle seemed too insignificant to withstand such an army, and the inexperienced Middleton can hardly be excused of arrogance in presuming that it would be delivered up as soon as demanded. Not so, however, thought Boys. The impatient general found himself obliged to halt, and, what seemed more irritating still, to deploy his whole force before it. Deeming this demonstration irresistible, he sent the following summons:—

"Sir,—I demand you to render me Donnington Castle, for the use of King and Parliament; if you please to entertain a present treaty you shall have honourable terms. My desire to spare blood makes me propose this. I desire your answer.

"JOHN MIDDLETON."

This peremptory summons drew forth from Colonel Boys the following reply:—

"FOR LIEUTENANT-GENERAL MIDDLETON.

"Sir,—I am entrusted by his Majesty's express command, and have not learned yet to obey any other than my sovereign. To spare blood do as you please; but myself and those that are with me are fully resolved to venture ours in maintaining what we are entrusted with; which is the answer of

"JOHN BOYS."

An assault was accordingly made on the next day, but with no encouraging result; for Middleton, after he had lost at least three hundred men, officers and soldiers, in attempting to take it, was compelled to recommend the Governor of Abingdon to send an officer and some troops, not to take the castle, but "to

block it up from infesting the great road in the West; and he himself prosecuted his march to follow the King.”^a

Colonel Horton succeeded Middleton, and, having received reinforcements from Abingdon and Reading, resolved to besiege it. Accordingly, on “the 29th of September (1644) he made his approaches, and raised a battery on the foot of the hill next Newbury (probably Shaw Hill), and plied it so with his great cannon, that after twelve days continual shooting he beat down three towers and a part of the wall; which he believed had so troubled the governor and the garrison that they would no longer be so stubborn as they had been; and therefore he sent them another summons, in which he magnified his own clemency, that prevailed with him, now they were even at his mercy, to offer them quarter for their lives if they gave up the castle before Wednesday, at 10 o’clock in the morning; but if that his favour was not accepted, he declared, in the presence of God, that there should no man amongst them have his life spared.” The governor made himself merry with his high and threatening language, and sent him word he would keep the place, and would neither give nor receive quarter.

At this time the Earl of Manchester himself, with his forces, came to Newbury, and, receiving no better answer to his own summons than Horton had done before, he resolved to storm it the next day. But his soldiers, being well informed of the resolution of those within, declined that hot service, and plied it with their artillery until the next night; and then removed their battery to the other side of the castle, and began their approaches by saps, when the governor made a strong sally, and beat them out of their trenches, and killed a lieutenant-colonel, who commanded in chief, with many soldiers, shot their chief cannonier through the head, brought away their cannon baskets and many arms, and retired with very little loss. The next night, however, they continued their battery, and persisted for some days plying their great shot till they heard of the approach of the King’s army, and thereupon they drew off their advance; and, their trained bands of London not being yet come to them, the Earl thought it fit to march away; there having been in nineteen days above one thousand great shot spent upon the walls without any other (further) damage to the garrison than the beating down some old parts thereof.

When the King came to Newbury the governor attended him, and was knighted for his very good behaviour. This ceremony was performed on Tuesday, the 22nd of October, on Red Heath, probably Greenham Common, where his Majesty held a general rendezvous on his march from Kingsclere, where he had slept on the

^a Symonds, p. 142—161.

preceding night. The King, after conferring this well-merited honour, marched on to Newbury, where he took up his quarters at the house of one Mr. Dunch, and his army was for the next two or three days encamped between Newbury and Donnington Castle.

On Sunday, the 27th of October (1644), the second battle of Newbury was fought, the issue of which was the retreat of the King to Wallingford, in anticipation of which proceeding, all the carriage and great ordnance had in the morning been drawn up under Donnington Castle, and orders had been issued, that in the evening all the rest of the army, horse, foot, and cannon, should be collected on Snelsmore Common, which lies immediately around it.

The King, Prince Maurice, and the royal troops, having thus safely withdrawn, Waller, on the next day, drew up his whole army before Donnington Castle, and summoned the governor to deliver it up to them, adding that, "in default of their so doing, they would not leave one stone upon another." To this peremptory demand Sir John Boys replied, curtly, "that he was not bound to repair the castle, but that by God's help he would keep the ground." "Afterwards," continues Clarendon, "seeing his obstinacy, they offered him to march away with their arms and all things belonging to the garrison; and, when that moved not, that he should carry all the cannon and ammunition with him;" to all which he answered, "that he wondered they would not be satisfied with so many answers that he had sent, and desired them to be assured that he would not go out of the castle till the King sent him orders so to do." Offended with these high answers, they resolved to assault it, but the officer who commanded the party being killed, with some few of the soldiers, they retired, and never after made any attempt upon it, but remained quietly at Newbury, of which town they had taken possession.

Thus ended the perils of Donnington Castle; but it is gratifying to find that the King was not unmindful of the services or situation of his intrepid officer, for, having met Prince Rupert, as he had anticipated, he returned in eight days with considerable reinforcements to the relief of the castle. Having provisioned it, and with drums and trumpets made a more noisy demonstration than appears necessary, he lay that night (the 9th of November) in Donnington Castle. On the morrow (Sunday) the King marched with all his cannon and ammunition over the heath from Donnington to Lambourne, where he quartered that night and the next day, to refresh his men for the ill-lodging they had endured at Donnington. Let not this last expression be deemed the mere rounding of a period, rather let it be well considered in connection with the dilapidated state of the

castle, of which only the gateway was left remaining, the last of the four towers having come crashing down during the last general assault; and let it also be remembered that the noble knight, Sir John Boys, had patiently borne, not only this ill-lodging, but also these perilous assaults for many months.

It only remains to observe, that these ruins passed from Robert Packer to his son, Winchcombe Howard Packer, who devised the estate to his brother-in-law, David Hartley, Esq., M.A. and M.D. of Bath. The estate subsequently descended through his son Winchcombe Henry Hartley, and his grandson the Rev. Winchcombe Henry Howard Hartley, of Bucklebury, to his great grandson the present proprietor, Winchcombe Henry Howard Hartley, Esq.

A P P E N D I X.

Copy Fine 2 Henry V. No. 3 (1414-15), Thomas Chaucer, arm., Hampden, Golafre, and Beek, Plaintiffs, and Rich^d Abberbury, Chev., and Alec^e, Ux., Deforc.; cons. 1000 marcas.

[Pedes Finium, Berks, 2 Hen. V. No. 3.]

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia Domini Regis apud Westmonasterium in Crastino Purificacionis beate Marie, anno regnorum Henrici filii Regis Henrici Regis Anglie et Francie secundo, coram Ricardo Norton', Roberto Hull', et Johanne Cokayn, justiciariis, et aliis Domini Regis fidelibus tunc ibi presentibus, Inter Thomam Chaucer, armigerum, Edmundum Hampden', Johannem Golafre, et Willelmum Beek', querentes, et Ricardum Abberbury, chivaler, et Aliciam uxorem ejus, deforciantes, de Castro et Manerio de Donyngton, Maneriis de Pesemere, Pentelowe, Wynterburn' Mayn, et Wynterburn' Daunvers, cum pertinentiis, ac decem et octo mesuagiis, quatuor toftis, sex carucatis et centum acris terre, quadraginta acris prati et centum acris bosci cum pertinentiis in Donyngtone, Thacham, Wynterburne Mayn, Wynterburne Daunvers, Crookham, et Pesemere, ac advocacione ecclesie ejusdem ville de Pesemere, unde placitum convencionis summonitum fuit inter eos in eadem Curia: Scilicet, quod predicti Ricardus et Alicia recognoscunt predicta Castrum, Maneria et tenementa cum pertinentiis et advocacionem predictam esse jus ipsius Thome, et illa remiserunt et quietumclamaverunt de ipsis Ricardo et Alicia et heredibus ipsius Ricardi predictis Thome, Edmundo, Johanni, et Willelmo et heredibus ipsius Thome imperpetuum. Et preterea idem Ricardus concessit pro se et heredibus suis quod ipsi warrantizabunt predictis Thome, Edmundo, Johanni, et Willelmo, et heredibus ipsius Thome predicta Castrum, Maneria, et tenementa cum pertinentiis et advocacionem predictam contra omnes homines imperpetuum. Et pro hac recognicione, remissione, quietaclamacione, warranto, fine et concordia iidem Thomas, Edmundus, Johannes, et Willelmus dederunt predictis Ricardo et Alicie, Mille marcas argenti.

Berk'.

APPENDIX.

On a Ring with a Runic Inscription.

June 20, 1872. Augustus W. Franks, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited a ring, with a runic inscription, on which he made the following communication:—

"In the twenty-first volume of the *Archæologia* (p. 117) appeared an "Explanation of a runic inscription upon a jasper ring, by William Hamper, Esq., F.S.A.," communicated to the Society on the 13th May, 1824, and, at p. 119, a dissertation on the same ring, by Francis Douce, Esq., F.S.A.

The ring then belonged to George Cumberland, Esq., of Bristol, and by means of Notes and Queries I was able to trace it into the possession of the late Mr. Loscombe, of Clifton, at whose sale it passed into the collection of Mr. Purnell, and at the sale of the latter I was fortunate enough to become possessed of it.

Before placing it in the British Museum, I have thought that the Society might like to have an opportunity of seeing once more the original, which I beg to exhibit.

It has been described as of jasper, but it appears rather to be of a pinkish agate with streaks of a darker colour; its diameter is $1\frac{1}{10}$ in. and width $\frac{9}{10}$ in. The inscription is neatly cut in a band along the centre of the ring, which is somewhat convex in section. It has at some time been unfortunately broken into several pieces, none of which are however missing.

In the *Archæologia*, vol. xxi. the inscription is given, but no representation of the ring, and the letters are not quite accurately figured, the sign, something like a G, which precedes the inscription being omitted. It is therefore desirable that a fresh engraving should be given.



*X-MRA-RIN-NE-ARL-AR-DEPTM-4-TM-GE-TM-4-ET

• ERY • RI • UF • MOL • YRI • URI • THOL • WLES • TE • POTE • NOL.

The great interest of this ring consists in the inscription upon it being nearly identical with the legends on two other rings, but which are of gold and in a slightly different runic alphabet. One of these was found in 1817 on Greymoor Hill, in the hamlet of Kingmoor, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Carlisle. It was formerly in the possession of the Earl of Aberdeen, F.S.A., by whom it was presented to the British Museum. It is published in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxi. page 25. The letters are inlaid in niello.

The other was discovered at Bramham Moor, Yorkshire, and is engraved in Drake's Eboracum. If I mistake not, this ring is now in the museum of Copenhagen, and is engraved in Worsäae, Nordiske Oldsager, page 105, fig. 442. There is, however, some doubt on this point, as the ornaments which break the inscription into three portions, though occurring in both rings in the same place, are not quite identical. Professor George Stephens, F.S.A., who has published an account of all these rings in his magnificent work "Northern Monuments," vol. i. page 496, has been unable to decide whether the Bramham Moor ring and that now at Copenhagen are the same; but he seems somewhat disposed to think that they are.^a

The inscriptions on these rings have been noticed in Mr. Kemble's paper on Anglo-Saxon Runes, printed in the Archæologia, vol. xxviii. pl. xx., who considered them not to be in Anglo-Saxon or any cognate tongue. They have been pronounced by Rask to be Celtic, and have been read as Welsh by a writer in the Cambrian Quarterly Magazine, vol. i. page 318.

Mr. Daniel Haigh has published the inscriptions in his work on the Conquest of Britain by the Saxons, page 47, and attempts to render them as Anglo-Saxon.

Professor Stephens considers them charm-rings or amulets, and the inscriptions to be cabalistic; he refers them to the 10th or 11th centuries of our æra.

With regard to the use of these rings, it has occurred to me that they may have been employed as rings attached to the sword, such as have been found more than once with swords in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, and this suggestion has been approved by Mr. Haigh."

On an Anglo-Saxon Brooch found in Ragley Park, Warwickshire.

February 20, 1873. The Marquis of Hertford exhibited, through Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq., F.S.A., some Anglo-Saxon relics found many years since in Ragley Park, Warwickshire. These objects had been previously exhibited to the Society on 28th January, 1836.

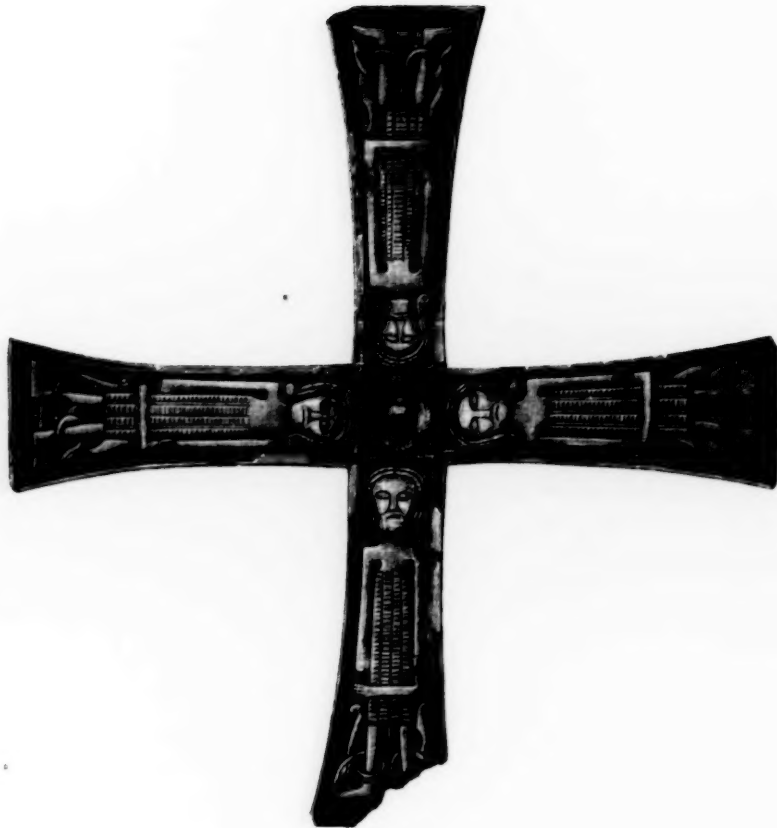
The most remarkable of them was the large cruciform brooch, represented of the full size in Plate XVIII. It is of metal, richly gilt, and in excellent preservation.

The type is a well-known one in the Midland Counties. It bears a considerable resemblance to the brooch found in the parish of Norton, Northamptonshire, engraved in Archæologia, vol. xli., p. 480, plate xxii. It bears also great resemblance to the brooch found with a crystal ball, in the parish of St. Nicholas, Warwick, and preserved in the Warwick Museum. It is figured in the Archæological Journal, ix. 179, and in Akerman's Pagan Saxondom, pl. xx. fig. 1. A portion of another large fibula of this class from Ingarsby, Leicestershire, is engraved in the same work, plate xvi., as well as in Roach Smith's Collectanea Antiqua, ii. plate xliii., but in this the ornaments are somewhat richer, and garnets or pastes have been set at intervals.

^a Another specimen, believed to have been found in Cumberland many years since, was exhibited to the Society March 11, 1875, by Robert Ferguson, Esq., M.P. (Proc. 2nd S. vi. 339), and was presented by him to the British Museum. It is of brass, and bears the same inscription as the ring noticed above, found on Greymoor Hill, in the same county, but the letters are more slightly cut.



ANGLO-SAXON BROOCH
FOUND AT RAGLEY PARK, WARWICKSHIRE.
Full size.



CRUCIFORM OBJECT

FOUND NEAR THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. COLMAN, CLOYNE.

Full size.

The same type, but smaller in size, and with more garnets or pastes, has been found at Sarre, in Kent; see *Archæologia Cantiana*, vi. 180, pl. vi. On comparing this specimen with that from Ragley it appears probable that the plain projections, pear-shaped and pointed oval, which appear on the latter were substitutes for stones, and when highly polished would have a brilliant effect.

The only specimens in the British Museum that resemble the brooch from Ragley are a pair from Chisell Down, in the Isle of Wight, but they are smaller in size though somewhat richer in some of the details.

*On a Cruciform Object found in the precincts of the Cathedral Church of
St. Colman, Cloyne.*

Feb. 27, 1873. Richard Caulfield, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited, by permission of the Dean of the Cathedral Church of St. Colman, Cloyne, a remarkable cruciform object found in the course of excavations within the precincts of the Chapter-house of the Cathedral, in a spot which seemed to have been formerly much used as a place of burial.

This cruciform object, which is represented in Plate XIX. of the full size, has not improbably the ornament of a *cumdach* or shrine.

It will be seen that on each of the arms is a similar human figure which wears a short dress with straight folds, or possibly a shirt of mail; the arms are elongated and curiously placed, so that the right hand passing behind the body grasps the left arm, which is in front; between the legs seems to appear the point of a sword or sheath; round each leg is twined a serpent. In the centre has been set a stone or paste.

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ERRATA.

- P. 316, note, line 7 from bottom :—*for Zustanden read Zuständen*
Ibid. line 8 from bottom :—*for Abtheilung von read Abtheilung. Von*
P. 318, note 2, line 2, *for curiæ read curia*
P. 356, line 6, *for periscelcis read periscelis*
P. 369, last line, *for perectly read perfectly*

